



UNIVERSITÉ D'ABOMEY-CALAVI



FACULTÉ DES LETTRES, ARTS ET SCIENCES HUMAINES

Excelsior Semper Excelsior

École Doctorale Pluridisciplinaire « Espace, Cultures et Développement »

Laboratoire du Groupe de Recherche sur l'Afrique et la Diaspora (GRAD)



Thèse en vue de l'obtention du Doctorat Unique d'Études Anglophones



Littérature et Civilisation Britanniques

Prof Innocent S. KOUTCHADE

PROF. Placide F. G. A. CLEDJO

Political and Social Governance in
Some of George Orwell's Fiction and
Non-Fiction: A Critical Analysis

Présentée et soutenue publiquement le 07 Mai 2013
Par Bertin Yélindo DANSOU

Jury de Soutenance :

- ☞ Président : Komla Fidèle NUBUKPO, Professeur à l'UL, Togo
- ☞ Premier rapporteur : Augustin AINAMON, Professeur à l'UAC, Bénin
- ☞ Deuxième rapporteur : Taofiki KOUMAKPAÏ, Professeur, UAC, Bénin
- ☞ Membres :
 - Ataféi PEWESSI, Maître de Conférences, UL, Togo
 - Ambroise MEDEGAN CODJO, professeur, UAC, Bénin
 - Léonard KOUSSOUHON, maître de conférences, UAC, Bénin

Directeur de la Thèse
Monsieur le professeur Augustin AÏNAMON, UAC, Bénin
Codirection de M. Taofiki O. KOUMAKPAÏ, professeur, UAC, Benin.
N° 136-2013/UAC/ FLASH/EDP-ECD

Dedication

I dedicate this doctoral dissertation to all those who struggle for social justice, freedom, good governance, and ethics in politics. This is the best guarantee to security, peace, welfare and sustainable development.

Acknowledgments

I am, first of all, grateful to Professor Augustin Aïnamon, the supervisor of this doctoral dissertation, who has made so many sacrifices to assure the quality of this research work by providing me with advice, literary works and information. I also thank, Professor Taofiki O. Koumakpaï, the co-supervisor, for his assistance and corrections. I am also grateful to Dr. Patrice Akogbéto for his advice, orientations and relevant information on my topic during many sessions of debates I have had with him. I particularly remember the late Professor Noël Dossou-Yovo whose intellectual and human qualities have been very helpful to me during my pre-doctoral dissertation courses and writing. I should sincerely and deeply thank Dr. Pamphile Agossou for his advice and orientations as a good, wise and model senior researcher and colleague. I also thank Mr. Ramanou Amadou for his advice and assistance. May Dr. Fatiou Raïmi also benefit from my gratitude for his advice, information, orientations and corrections. I also express my thanks to Pr. Emile Hounbo of the University Campus of Kétou for his advice and information.

I am thankful to Professor Leonard Koussouhon for his moral assistance, his strong and warm will to help me by proofreading my work in spite of his numerous preoccupations. I thank Professor Daniel R. Akédengué for his corrections, observations and advice. All my thanks to Professor Ambroise Mèdégan for his advice, corrections and assistance.

My sincere and warm gratitude is also addressed to Dr. Prosper Atchadé, Dr. Maurice Hounzangbé for their advice, recommendations and information.

I can never forget other senior lecturers at the English Department; these are: Dr. Estelle Minaflinou, Dr. Laure Zanou, Dr. René Ahouansou, Dr. Innocent Datondji, Dr. Mathieu Affanuh, Dr. Célestin Amoussou, Dr. Didier Kombiéni, Dr. Innocent Koutchadé, Dr. Ferdinand Kpohoué, Dr. Célestin Gbaguidi and. Dr. Ibrahim Yekini .Special thanks to the Dean, Professor Flavien Gbeto and the Associate-Dean, Professor Guedegbe of

the Faculty of Arts of Abomey-Calavi University for their policies, laws, and philosophy to promote the English Department and the whole Faculty.

I am thankful to all my friends and colleagues of the Doctoral School. I offer a special thank to Etienne Kinzo, owing to whom, I and most of my colleagues have bought required literary works for the writing of our dissertations, because he is the most efficient book supplier of Benin Universities. I also thank the leading staff of the polytechnic school of Abomey-Calavi and that of the agricultural grammar schools of Adja-Ouèrè and Sékou. I can neither forget my colleagues of those schools for their moral assistance.

My uncle Alain Zanmènou; my junior brothers Ambroise Dansou, Mathias Agossa, Pascal Agossa and others are also thanked for their assistance and good intention. I can never forget my children, Aristote S. Dansou and Queen Olive Dansou; my wife, Nadège O. Saïzonou and my parents for their sacrifices and moral assistance.

Mrs. Mariam Alao Soulé Hans is highly and exceptionally thanked for her skills and qualities in helping to computerise this dissertation.

May God bless all of them!

Abstract

World's conflicts and catastrophes are often generated by some totalitarian regimes' misconduct. This threatens and cancels security and peace efforts for sustainable development. British novelist and non-fiction writer, George Orwell, shares the same view, but he makes the restriction that democratic socialism rooted in social justice is the only pledge to security, peace and sustainable development. *Animal Farm*, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, *Burmese Days*, *Homage to Catalonia* and *Down and Out in Paris and London* are some books containing Orwell's approach. However, this view is not definitely convincing; for, socialist democracies also showed many flaws before modern and contemporary dictatorial regimes. Accordingly, the objective of my dissertation is to scrutinise the history of British and other countries' political mentalities, behaviours and actions so as to offer my view about the ideal, humanistic, philanthropic, peaceful and developmentalist democracy which should neither be only socialistic nor capitalistic but rather based on ethics in politics of which the cornerstone should be an education system favourable to moral values profitable to the citizens, mainly the youngest ones. Marxist Criticism, New Historicism and Psychoanalytic Criticism are the literary, social and political theories sustaining my analysis. They help to shed light on the historical, psychological, psychoanalytical, rational, rationalised and antagonistic dimensions and aspects of the selected works.

Key words: Totalitarian regimes; democracy; socialism; capitalism, ethics; politics; good governance; fiction; non-fiction; sustainable development.

Résumé

Les conflits ou catastrophes dans le monde émanent souvent des manoeuvres des régimes politiques totalitaires. Cet état de chose menace et annihile les efforts de sécurité et de paix pour le développement durable. George Orwell, romancier et essayiste britannique accepte cette approche mais nuance que seul le socialisme démocratique enraciné dans la justice sociale est un gage de sécurité, de paix et de développement durable. *Animal Farm, Nineteen Eighty-Four, Burmese Days, Homage to Catalonia and Down and Out in Paris and London* constituent certains des ouvrages comportant l'analyse de George Orwell. Mais cette opinion ne convaint pas définitivement ; car les démocraties socialistes ont également montré leurs limites en face des régimes dictatoriaux modernes ou contemporains. En conséquence, l'objectif de ma thèse est de pénétrer l'histoire des mentalités, comportements et actions politiques britannico-internationaux pour rectifier que la démocratie idéale, humaniste, philanthropique, pacifiste et développementaliste n'est pas seulement socialiste ni capitaliste mais plutôt celle de l'éthique en politique dont la pierre angulaire doit être un système éducatif, garant des valeurs morales en faveur des citoyens, et surtout des jeunes. Les théories littéraires et socio-politiques soutenant ma thèse sont les critiques marxiste, historique et psychoanalytique grâce auxquelles les aspects historiques, psychologiques, psychanalytiques, rationnels, rationalisants, et antagonistes des œuvres sélectionnées seront exposés et examinés.

Mots clés : Régimes totalitaires, démocratie, socialisme, capitalisme, éthique, politique, bonne gouvernance, fiction, non-fiction, développement durable.

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	i
Acknowledgments.....	iii
Abstract.....	vi
Résumé	viii
Table of Contents.....	x
Introduction	1
<u>Part One</u> : Historical, Social, Political and Literary Backgrounds to George Orwell’s Fiction and Non-Fiction.....	16
<u>Chapter One</u> : An overview on Backgrounds to George Orwell’s selected Works	17
1.1. Historical, Social and political Backgrounds.....	18
1. 2. Literature Review.....	22
<u>Chapter Two</u> : History, Society and Politics in George Orwell’s Fiction and Non-Fiction.....	47
2.1. Historical, Social and Political Realities in <i>Burmese Days, Homage to Catalonia, and Down and Out in Paris and London</i>	48
2.2. <i>Animal Farm</i> and <i>Nineteen-Eighty-Four</i> as Allegories	55

2.2.1. Animal Farm	56
2.2.2. <i>Nineteen Eighty –Four</i>	65
2.3. Orwell’s Perception of the English Society	72

Part Two: George Orwell’s Fiction and Non-Fiction as Essence of Revolution and Change..... 75

Chapter Three: Orwell’s Recreation of the English Society..... 76

3.1. Fiction and Reality in Orwell’s Works	77
3.1.1. Definition of Realism.....	77
3.1.2. Realism as the Making of Creativity	78
3.1.3. Realism as a Recall of Human Experiences	79
3.1.4. Realism through Orwell’s Novels	79
3.1.5. Realism through Orwell’s Documentary Reportages..	81
3.2. Concepts of Utopian and Dystopian Writings	83

Chapter Four: Politics and Power in Orwell’s Fiction and Non-Fiction 92

4.1. Chaos and Injustice in the Selected Books	93
4.2. Essence of Socio-Political Revolution in Works by George Orwell	96
4.3. Strengths and Weaknesses of Orwell’s Socio-Political Perception of the English Society.....	98

Part Three: Social and Political Governance

in Selected Works by George Orwell 110

Chapter Five: Political Theories and the Reading

of George Orwell 111

5.1. George Orwell and some Political Practices... 112

5.2. George Orwell and some Political Ideologies
or Theories 113

5.3. George Orwell and Making the Bridge
between Fiction and Reality 116

Chapter Six: Reading George Orwell and

Understanding his Contribution to Contemporary

Social and Political Governance 123

6.1. Political Ideologies, Theories and Practices

Today..... 124

6.1.1. Ideologies and Theories 124

6.1.2. Democratic Regimes and Practices inside the
Commonwealth and Across Borders..... 135

6.2. Orwell's Direct or Indirect Contribution to the

Social and Political Governance in the

Commonwealth Member Countries, and Across

Borders..... 140

6.2.1. Some Conclusions and Results..... 140

6.2.2. Ethics in Politics as a Sustainable Guarantee to

Successful Social and Political Governance	152
6.3. Constitutional Law as a Cornerstone of any Social and Political Agreement for Success in Social and Political Governance.....	159
Conclusion	173
References	179
Corpus	180
Other Writing by and about George Orwell.....	180
Unpublished Dissertations and Other Writings.	182
Websites.....	198
Annex Pages.....	201

Introduction

The philosopher, Aristotle has stated and written that human-being is, by nature, a political animal, because he gets born, lives, and dies in society. The larger dimension of Aristotle's statement is that each person belongs to either a nuclear or to an extended family. This family is part and parcel of a community, which belongs to a society. This community may be composed of clans, ethnic groups, social classes and any other social organisations. So, human-being is part and parcel of the society through its diverse complexities. The named human society is a reality in the world's organisations. A group of societies may form a country or a federative system. The ruling of this system demands a specific mind, particular behaviours, practices, and art. It may be the reason why, politics is defined as the art or strategy of ruling a society. This definition also fits well the Greek version of politics that is the putting in place of strategies to rule and manage any social unit and community well.

That art of ruling the society raises the question of 'who is able to rule human societies?' To this question, many political theorists, philosophers, and politicians like Plato, Aristotle, Montesquieu, August Comte, Rousseau and many others, have answered: the philosophers because they are law abiding people. Therefore, in the framework of political governance, political leaders and stakeholders are very important. For, political leaders are the great decisions makers of their societies. They should then be men with a high sense of justice, because when political leaders fail to promote justice for all, disappointment, frustrations, riots, uprisings appear, and these can lead to any kind of conflict, mainly the armed ones with their well known negative consequences. If the leaders have those good qualities, they will select and build good social and political systems, rules, ideals and practices.

These answers related to the qualities of good leaders raise another question. That question is to know the suitable ways in which social affairs should be handled for the satisfaction of everybody. To the same question, the answer is that any political

thought, behaviour, decision and action should be sustained by the (constitutional) law. This constitutional law should serve as an agreement between the society and its selected political leaders. It is also reinforced by Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Du Contrat Social (Social Contract)* in which the writer has shown that for political governance to be successful, it should be based on a social contract between the society and its leaders. The elected leaders who are the representatives of the people should respect the clauses of this agreement for social justice, security, peace, political stability and sustainable development. As a matter of fact, this agreement contains the rights and duties of the political leaders and those of ordinary citizens. Political practices will give birth to social classes that may alternate in power.

Unfortunately, some of the richest or the strongest classes try to break the constitutional law sustaining their system. They attach no importance to political ethics, and they fall engage in power abuse, authoritarianism, totalitarianism, bad governance, and corruption which result in poverty, sufferings, diseases and underdevelopment in their country. Before those awesome practices, writers and political theorists wrote and denounced political immorality and malpractices, which jeopardize the people's interests. Then, they suggested political ideologies, principles, systems, decisions and actions, conducive to peace, happiness and sustainable development. For example, the English statesman, Sir Thomas More has suggested an alternative system. This is an ideal political and social system in which social justice and welfare will reign. He was the first ever to introduce the word utopia in the English language. He suggested his alternative world to replace the old world order. Political actors or theorists of the American Revolution, led by Thomas Paine, those of the French revolution and those of the British New Wave, led by The Angry Young Men have suggested the alternative and ideal political systems for social justice, peace and development in the world.

However, most of the suggested ideas, practices, and systems proposed by the above mentioned writers have shown some weaknesses. This is the reason why the literary views of these writers are said utopian or dystopian. Thus the concepts of utopia, dystopia, utopian literature, dystopian literature, utopian and dystopian writers, utopian and dystopian societies occur. Indeed, according to *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* utopia and dystopia are defined: "Utopia: an imaginary place or state in which everything is perfect. Dystopia: an imaginary place or state in which everything is extremely bad or unpleasant."¹ As for utopian and dystopian societies, they are explained in "*Dystopian Societies*":

A dystopia from ancient Greek: *δυσ*, "bad, ill", and Ancient Greek: *τόπος*, "place, landscape", alternatively cacotopia, or anti-utopia is the idea of a society in a repressive and controlled state, often under the guise of human being utopian as characterised in books like *Brave New World* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Dystopian societies feature different kinds of repressive social control systems, various forms of active and passive coercion. Ideas and works about dystopian societies often explore the concept of human abusing technology and humans individually and collectively coping or not being able to properly cope with technology that has progressively far more rapidly than humanity's spiritual evolution. Dystopian societies are often imagined as police state, with unlimited power over the citizens².

George Orwell is known as a dystopian and utopian writer because he behaves as a social and political alarmist; which means that he selects only shocking, dangerous and darkest events of his experiences and society to show and explain his pessimistic view of social organisation and governance. For George Orwell, no hope for happiness was possible in social and political context of his time. The world he has described is so dark that it has never existed exactly as he thinks; hence the dystopian side of his view which determines his utopian tendency. The utopian side of George Orwell's view is related to the fact that, once aware of his society's evils, Orwell suggested another world, an ideal world for the making of

¹ A. S. Hornby. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 7th Edition. 2007. pp.1690/479.

² [http://www. JeremyBentham.Com](http://www.JeremyBentham.Com)."Dystopian Societies", retrieved in June 11th, 2011.3:20 am.

security, peace, social justice and sustainable development. In this direction, he suggested a world in which social and political governance is so perfect that it can never exist on the earth. Thus the utopian tendency of George Orwell's view is established. So throughout his writings, Orwell moves from dystopian literature to the utopian one. And what makes George Orwell a dystopian and utopian writer?

As a matter of fact, George Orwell has been a great social and political reader, observer and analyst. This happened throughout his childhood in Burma, his schoolboy's life at St Cyprian's School, throughout his police officer's career in Burma, throughout his social experiences in Paris and London, throughout his experiences as a participant to the Spanish Civil war, and throughout his period of disease in Morocco. But truly speaking, what is George Orwell? George Orwell is a social observer, a social and psychological analyst. He has been a good literary student and a great reader of famous writers of his time. His literary and reading background at Eton explains this well:

Blair had been a voracious reader long before enrolling at St Cyprian. At school his reading intensified; the principal memory of those who knew him during these years is of a quiet, bookish, self-contained boy, passionately interested in literature and in curious facts gleaned from his books even the redoubtable Mrs Vaughan Wilkes had to admit that he was a very bright little boy [...] The list of books which he read between the age of eight and thirteen is impressive and reveals precocity unusual for one of his background. During these years, he read *Vanity Fair*, Well's *The Country of the Blind* and *A Modern Utopia*, The short stories of Poe and Kipling and The short stories of Conan Doyle, GK. Chesterton and E. W. Hornung .He was also reading widely Swift, Dickens, Shakespeare and Charles Reade and dipping into modern works such as Compton Mackenzie's *sinister street*.³

These aspects of the writer show that he is a good literary man. This also means that he knows very well about novels, plays, essays, short stories, poetry articles etc. ; then, if he wants to write any of them, he will be able to do it very well, because he has a good

³ J. R. Hammond. *A George Orwell Companion*. London / Basingstoke: THE MACMILLAN PRESS LTD.1984(1982).p.7.

theoretical and practical knowledge of society, people's psychology and politics. What are then the Key aspects of Orwell's existence?

George Orwell's life at St. Cyprian's has been influenced by shocks and humiliations. His parents are not rich to make him at ease in his social context. As a poor boy from a poor family, he should study in a school where most of his comrades are from rich families. There, he witnessed humiliations and other psychological chocks from his school officials, and some of his fellows. After his basic, and a part of his secondary education, he decided to join a police training school to become a police officer. His first posting was in Burma where he became one of the actors of British imperialism implementation. He was bitterly shocked by social injustice, racial and other discriminations perpetrated by British imperialists among whom he was. He resigned from this position and career, and became a lower class worker, a journalist in Paris, London, Germany... He also became a war participant in Spain during the Spanish Civil war. He was wounded during the war. He caught tuberculosis, suffered and died. That troublesome existence of George Orwell has seriously influenced his literary psychology, view and time.

These circumstances of George Orwell's time have raised the resentment of the writer against imperialism, colonialism, social injustice, any form of dictatorship, discrimination and totalitarianism. They have also boosted his plea for social justice, human values, freedom for all and common decency to make peace, security and sustainable development. The same human and social values have also been raised and discussed by other writers. Pre-Socratic writers as Plato, Aristotle, Anaxagoras, Anaximander, Xenon have discussed the natural, psychological and social principles leading and moving or removing people for social justice, security and peace. Other post-Socratic theorists discussing the same issues are St Thomas Aquinas (1225), François Rabelais (1558), Francis Bacon (1627), James Harrington (1656), Glanville (1680), François de Salignac de la Mothe – sélenon (1699) ,David Hume (1752),

Voltaire (1759), Jean Jacques Rousseau (1762), Denis Diderot (1773), Aldous Huxley (192), H. G. Wells, etc..

To further explain, a utopian writer is a theorist explaining, discussing and suggesting issues too good to be implementable. These ideas are unrealistic. A dystopian writer is the one discussing or dealing with matters too bad to be implementable. He raises views too bad to be credible. The flaws and weaknesses of Orwell's views make the writer a utopian or dystopian writer, dealing with or discussing utopian issues. Those works of art also belong to utopian or dystopian literatures. These works explain, depict, caricature; and criticise utopian and dystopian societies, political systems, political governance, philosophies or ideologies.

In spite of all these literary works depicting and criticising weaknesses or failure of political systems and leadership throughout times, things haven't reached the state of success yet. Social and political governance is always in troubles and great difficulties. The breach of state's laws and decisions continues to lead political and social leaders to power abuse, exploitation, dictatorship and totalitarianism. And the major concern of my dissertation is to find out and discuss the true causes of failure in political and social governance. To explain and demonstrate this, George Orwell's selected writings are the basic literary works. These works are: *Burmese Days*⁴ (1934), *Homage to Catalonia*⁵(1938), *Down and Out in Paris and London*⁶ (1933), *Animal Farm*⁷ (1945) and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*⁸(1949). These works are categorised into two groups. These are the fictional works: *Burmese Days*, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. The second category is composed of non-fiction or general books such as: *Homage to Catalonia*, and *Down and Out in Paris and London*. They are George Orwell's

⁴ George Orwell. *Burmese Days*. London: SECKER AND WARBURG.1978(1934).

⁵ http://www.orwell.ru/library/novels/Homage_to_Catalonia/Last modified:2004-12-20 George Orwell. *Homage to Catalonia*. Retrieved,5th,March,2008.5:00am.

⁶ George Orwell. *Down and Out in Paris and London*. London: SECKER and WARBURG.1973(1933).

⁷ George Orwell. *Animal Farm*.London:Longman.2007(1945).

⁸ George Orwell. *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. PENGUIN BOOKS.2000(1949).

documentary reportage. They are not mere fiction. It is the logically and coherently arranged account of Orwell's experiences during the Spanish Civil War and those of his experiences in Paris and London. This view is even shared by Simon Leys:

...mais il est certain que, malgré certaines inégalités, *Down and Out* présente une importance capitale .Orwell a créé là une forme neuve qu'il devait dans la suite porter à sa perfection(dans deux livres, *The Road to Wigan Pier* et *Homage to Catalonia*, ainsi que dans les courts essays tels que *Shooting an Elephant* et *A Hanging*) et qui demeure ,dans l'ordre purement littéraire, sa contribution stylistique la plus originale :la transmutation du journalisme en art, la re-création du réel sous le déguisement d'un reportage objectif, ... (un bon quart de siècle plus tard, Truman Capote et Norman Mailer ont gaspillé beaucoup de temps à se chamailler pour savoir lequel des deux avait créé le roman-sans-fiction : ils oublient qu'Orwell avait inventé ce genre bien avant eux ... (... but it is certain that, in spite of inequalities, *Down and Out* Shows a major importance. Thus, Orwell has created a new literary genre that he should highly improve later (in two books, *The Road to Wigan Pier* and *Homage to Catalonia*, as well as in all his short essays such as *Shooting an Elephant* and *A hanging*) and in a pure literary style, his most originally contribution: the transmutation of journalism into art, the re-creation of reality under the cower of an objective reportage, ... (a quarter of century later, Truman and Norman Mailer have wasted much time to contradict each other on which of Orwell's two literary genres has created a novel – without – fiction : They lose sight of the fact that Orwell had created this genre earlier before their time ...)⁹

Throughout all these writings, George Orwell has explained, depicted, illustrated and criticised capitalist and socialist malpractices in the context of social and political governance. He comes to the conclusion that capitalist and traditional socialist governance are not the required ones to make justice for security, peace and sustainable development. To his mind, only socialist democracy rooted in social justice, freedom and common decency is the best guarantee to just political governance for security, peace and sustainable development. George Orwell is an ardent socialist democracy defender .This conviction leads him to the Spanish Civil War in which he was wounded and disappointed because he became aware of the betrayal of socialist values by political leaders. His view of socialism is more than what is

⁹ Simon Leys. *Orwell ou L'horreur de la Politique (Orwell and the Horror of Politics)*. Paris : COLLECTON SAVOIR HERMANN. 1984. PP. 9-10.

openly shown to contrast communism, capitalism, fascism and Nazism. The deeper meaning of his commitment and view is eloquent and more illustrative. Unfortunately, neither socialist nor capitalist democracy, whatever the form, hasn't escaped from power abuse, exploitation, political betrayal, cheated elections, despotism and totalitarianism yet. Many illustrative situations are omnipresent in fiction, nonfiction and even in real life. Those weaknesses have been noticed in both Orwell's writings and in other post-Orwell's literary works, and even in real life.

To understand more George Orwell, one should learn more about literature and politics. George Orwell is then a political writer and scientist because he skilfully shows relations and interrelations between literature and liberal democracy. This is further explained in this passage from *Orwell ou L'horreur de la Politique (Orwell or the Horror of Politics)* : "Dans la pleine maturité de son talent, Orwell s'est défini lui-même comme «un écrivain politique» en donnant autant de poids à chacun des deux mots"¹⁰ (In the full maturity of his talent, Orwell defined himself as "a political writer" by giving the same importance to each of the two words). Because of this, I want to raise and show in my dissertation, the weaknesses of previous literary works so as to perform my criticism, and to offer my contribution for a just political and social governance, favourable to peace, security and sustainable development.

In this vein, the problematic of my dissertation is to show that the ideal political governance suggested by George Orwell and his fellow writers through their criticism and analysis, has not constantly met with success despite their explanations and discussions. An eloquent illustrative situation is that of George Orwell who has strongly explained, illustrated and argued that socialist democracy, rooted in social justice, freedom and common decency, is the best political governance favourable to people's happiness and societies' sustainable

¹⁰ Leys, Op. Cit., p.9.

development; which view has been betrayed later by political realities. As an example, George Orwell has highly satirised Russian communism and socialism that he has presented as a failure, because it hasn't been rooted in social justice, freedom and common decency. He has discussed this in *Animal Farm* in which his dystopian views have allegorically been expressed through Mr Jones's and Napoleon's communist and socialist political governance over the world of animals. Through this allegorical criticism in *Animal Farm*, Orwell has also developed, both directly and indirectly, his ideal political views.

Unfortunately, in spite of the beauty and relevance of these views, socialism and communism have shown great flaws in the world's political systems. The same difficulty or contrast has been noticed in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in which George Orwell has also negatively satirised English socialism that happens to influence Russian communism and socialism. George Orwell has denounced such a practice and he has warned people about the dangers of socialism, oriented towards totalitarianism by Big Brother and his political system. On the other hand, through Winston Smith's and Julia's fight against the system, George Orwell has shown his version of socialist governance that has really been viewed as a utopia. The major obstacle leading to the failure of political governance is the fact that relations within and between social classes are mismanaged. Immorality and injustice in relations among social classes are threatening and destroying political governance. For, the quest of political power is a matter of well organised social groups or classes. Political struggle is always a matter of social class leadership. Poor people may be oppressed by rich people and the latter may have the desire to retaliate by overthrowing the system set up by the rich.

The same social satire has been oriented towards the sufferings, misery and starvation of soldiers at war, during the Spanish civil war, described and discussed in *Homage to Catalonia*. Added to this social satire, Orwell's satirical political views have been shown through the ideological conflict between Franco's regime and the republican elected

government, supported by the United Kingdom, the USA, France and their other allies. Throughout this political and social satire, George Orwell has denounced the dangers of Russian and pro-Russian communism and socialism as well as the risks to which English socialism is exposed, and he went on to suggest his version of socialist democracy. However, time has shown the weaknesses and limits of Orwell's suggested political governance.

The geographical land area covered by this governance is international, because Orwell's different books have shown Russian, British, German, American, French, Spanish, Indian political ideologies, trends and practices. Thus, the British and the international scope of political governance are determined. And, the failure of the system equals the failure of the international political governance. It is then obvious that the success of political governance does not depend on the validity and the quality of its ideology; it rather depends on political practices and ethics. In fact, ethics in politics involves the respect for the basic principles of the system as well as the strict respect of its philosophy and ideological spirit. The respect for norms should be the sine qua non condition of success in politics for social justice, security, peace, happiness and development. These norms lead to the combination of people's minds, beliefs, philosophy and practices in a single framework of political ethics. This simply means that, whatever the political doctrine, philosophy, decision and practices, morality and justice in politics are important for people and societies' development and success. This ethics in politics should be backed up with education to leadership and to social or political life.

Utopian and dystopian writers such as Plato, Aristotle, Thomas Paine, Thomas More, Jules Verne, Aldous Huxley, H. G. Wells, Jean Jacques Rousseau, George Orwell included..., should know that changing political doctrine is not the only solution for the success of political governance. Socialism as well as capitalism may not be the only remedy to the problems of political governance. The solution may reside in ethics in politics. Political ethics is difficult to implement in political systems and governance. Political ethics should normally

be understood as the strict commitment to political promises, and actions that should fit the system's ideology, philosophy and principles.

The ideology and principles of a system should not be contradicted by the political practices of the leaders. Ethics in politics means that moral values should not be absent from politics. Betrayals, lies, demagoguery, corruption should not characterise political practices and governance. People think that politics means cheating, duplicity and betrayal. Those practices are evils, leading to bad governance and failure in politics. Truly speaking, politics is a noble activity that needs to be taken seriously. It is the ruling of human society. Betrayal and cheating should be banned from political practices. Ethics in politics is transversal to political regimes; because, whatever the political system, ethics is required to avoid frustrations, disappointment, anger, riots, wars and any other conflict for social justice, security, peace and sustainable development.

Being aware that political ethics is very important for success in political governance, I will explain and demonstrate that George Orwell's views of political governance is limited because the focus, through his novels, has been on socialist democracy, rooted in social justice, freedom and common decency as a remedy to political evils for success and sustainable development. I will show the need for political ethics in political governance. In the same direction, I will explain what political ethics is, and show its characteristic features. I will, likewise, explain and show that its basic philosophical content is framed for peace making, peace maintaining and sustainable development achievement. I will show its principles and legal framework. I will show that, even if George Orwell seems to plead for ethics in politics, the weaknesses of his view reside in the preference of the writer for socialist democracy as the perfect regime and the only framework for political ethics implementation. I will explain those flaws and show how political ethics should go beyond its theoretical aspect to become a reality for good governance, discipline, order, peace, political stability and

sustainable development. To reach all these goals, I have selected three theories which are the basic theoretical indicators of my research work.

These main theories applied to this dissertation are Psychoanalytical Criticism, Marxist Criticism and New Historicism. Psychoanalytical Criticism is a literary, social, philosophical and psychological theory which attempts to explain the hows and whys of human actions without developing an aesthetic theory. It is a systematic, philosophical body of beliefs concerning how meaning occurs in literature. I apply this theory to my dissertation, because of the fact that Orwell's books have massively been influenced by people's individual and collective psychology, his personal and other people's conscious and subconscious materials and phenomena. The content of his writings has been determined by his views and interpretations of his own and other people's dreams, minds and nightmares. My dissertation will also take into account these elements and parameters to build my argumentation. This will highly determine the psychological effects and involvements of George Orwell's fictional and general books under study. The philosopher and psychologist, Sigmund Freud is the founder of this theory. It derived from his theories and practice. Indeed while working with patients, diagnosed as hysterics, Freud theorised that the root of their problems was psychological, but not physical. For, Freud, the storehouse of human's feelings, desires, fears and passion is his psyche or mind. Freud asserts also that the reasoning and analytical skills of human beings are solely responsible for their behaviours. And psychoanalytic criticism is transversal to Marxist criticism and New Historicism¹¹.

Marxism criticism is the literary, philosophical and political theory that struggle, classes' differences and classes' conflicts are the driving forces of change and revolution in society or in politics¹². It simply means that the theory joins and completes Psychoanalytic Criticism by the fact that its central philosophical meaning and dimensions are

¹¹ Kelley Griffith. *Writing Essays about Literature: A Guide and Style Sheet* (6th Edition). USA : Thomson/Heinle. 2002. PP.131, 137 – 139.

¹² Griffith. Loc. Cit.

based on thinking. This thinking is the fuel or the driving motor to class struggle, competition for leadership, power and wealth¹³. It is applicable to the theoretical framework of this dissertation, based on books highly influenced by thoughts, actions and propaganda for revolution, conflicts and change for a better future. George Orwell's selected books show diverse dimensions of classes' conflicts, revolution and change, rooted in thinking; this in the same direction as Marx and Engel's doctrine. As for New Historicism, it is the theory that historical contexts and events are fundamental and important to explain, interpret and understand literary works. This theory develop that historical events highly influence or inspire works of literature. George Orwell's writings are also totally involved in this reality. In fact, through his writings, George Orwell has shown that his life experiences, that of his society have seriously affected and inspired the content of his writings. He easily moved from history to fiction or to his documentary reportage; which simply means that his writings can't exist without his personal and social history, and that history determines his writings.

This theory was founded by two German writers, philosophers and social critics. These are Karl Heinrich Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895). These theorists wrote the *Communist Manifesto* in which they explained the basic Marxism's doctrine. This doctrine is summed up in this passage:

Engels and Marx declare that the capitalists or the bourgeoisie had successfully enslaved the working class, or the proletariat through economic policies and control of the production of goods. Now the proletariat, Engels and Marx assert, must revolt and strip the bourgeoisie of their economic and political power and place the ownership of all property in the hands of the government which will then fairly distribute the people's wealth¹⁴

As for New Historicism, it is an alternative theory to Old Historicism. Old Historicism is Professor Wellington's method of literary analysis. It asserts that history serves as a background to literature. The historical context, then serves to shed light upon the text, the

¹³ Griffith. Loc. Cit.

¹⁴ Charles E. Bressler. *Literary Criticism: An Introduction to Theory and Practice*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1994. pp. 117-118.

object of primary concern. The alternative theory to Old Historicism is New Historicism. This theory is the most recent approach to literary analysis challenges. It appeared in the late 1970s and early 1980s. New Historicism asserts that all history is subjective, written by people whose personal biases affect their interpretations of the past history. New Historicism views history as one of many discourses or way of seeing and thinking about the world. It also views and highlights history as one of many equally important discourses such as sociology and politics¹⁵. The research approach, I used is the qualitative approach by which I have shown, the analytical, the critical and deductive aspects of my dissertation. To carry out, this research work, I have got information from printed and virtual documents or files.

The dissertation is divided into three main parts. The first part shows the research dimensions, the social and political contexts of Orwell's experiences and writings. At this step, I have gathered information which has helped me to discover the harsh and poor conditions of Orwell's childhood. I have discovered that the writer has also undergone very difficult and troublesome professional life, mainly in Burma, Spain, Paris and London. All those situations have built, in his psychology and behaviours, nightmares and traumas. This has raised his pessimistic sense and feelings about his time's political and social governance. Most of his writings, mainly the selected books, have highly been influenced by those aspects of his life; even some of them are inspired by those experiences. And to prevent himself and his society from undergoing once more such situations, he has suggested his best dreams for ideal political governance.

In part two, I undertook an analytical study of Orwell's works. Here, I have shown the flaws of Orwell's view that only socialist democracy rooted in social justice, freedom and common decency, is the only best political system favourable to security, peace and sustainable development. To his mind, only this system of governance can put an end to power abuse and totalitarianism in the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Germany, the USA and

¹⁵ Bressler. Op. Cit. P. 131.

in any other context of international politics. The last part of my dissertation deals with George Orwell in functional literature. This puts an emphasis on the role of literature in real social and political life. It explains how creative works can inspire, influence and shape real social and political life. It mainly shows relations and interrelations between fiction and reality. In this direction, literary works should not be useless. They should help to instil the sense of justice and ethics in political leaders and ordinary citizens. This part contains the conclusions and results of my work as well as the implementation framework of those results. This last part of my research work also shows my answer to the research question I have raised in my introductory part.

Part One: Historical,
Social, Political and
Literary Backgrounds to
George Orwell's Fiction
and Non-Fiction

Chapter One: An Overview on Backgrounds to George Orwell's Selected Works

Many factors have influenced and contributed to the shaping of George Orwell's mind, view, tone, style and writings in general. These factors are historical, social, political and literary. Those factors are composed of social events, historical facts, people's behaviours, spirits and actions individually or collectively.

1.1. Historical, Social and Political Backgrounds

The historical context of George Orwell's life and writings is related to the fact that Orwell spent his life and existence from the start of the twentieth century to the middle of the century. To my mind and according to many writers, this period was seriously disturbed and traumatised by a series of sad and troublesome events. There is, for example, the World War I. That war happened both in the United Kingdom and in other countries of the world. It took place from 1914 to 1918. And most of British people took an active part to that war, included some of Orwell's country men and parents. During that period, George Orwell was a child. He didn't take part to the war but he was the young eye-witness of that horrible conflict. The disasters of the war were told and shown to them. The war and its damages were in every young boy and girl's mind as an omnipresent topic. The disasters of that war were so catastrophic that their negative effects led to the economic crisis of 1929.

The economic crisis of 1929, created great difficulties to the world's economic and political bilateral and multilateral relations. The world's monetary system was broken down. The developed countries decided to protect their internal interests against the ones of international affairs. That wind of protection in state policies led to the loss of confidence in economic and commercial transactions. The situation became worse and worse. Different ideologies struggled to impose their rules and systems. German nazism, Italian fascism,

Russian communism, British socialism, American socialism and capitalism, French capitalism and socialism were in competition to protect and safeguard their political, social scientific and economic interests. The rush for heavy military weapons was also on the agenda of international politics. The Spanish Civil War was provoked as a transition and anticipation to the World War II.

Indeed, the Spanish Civil War is an ideological war. Totalitarian regimes were fought against by democratic regimes in the intention of saving people's rights, duties and freedom. And George Orwell's engagement in that war has been determined by his revulsion and resentment for totalitarianism, imperialism and any form of dictatorship. Orwell's despise for social injustice, exploitation and domination of men by men was openly expressed in most of his writings:

Je sentais qu'il fallait non seulement que je rejette l'impérialisme mais aussi bien toutes les formes de domination de l'homme par l'homme. Je voulais m'immerger, m'enfoncer profondément dans la foule des opprimés, n'être plus que l'un d'eux, être avec eux contre les tyrans.¹⁶ (I felt that I had not only to reject imperialism but also any form of domination of man by man as well. I wanted to immerge and to deeply be involved in the world of the oppressed people, to just become one of them, and to be with them against the tyrants).

Among all these reasons of his political commitment, wrings and actions, the central rationale behind his participation to the Spanish Civil War is clearly explained in this passage:

Les motivations conscientes qui le déterminèrent à se porter volontaire pour la défense de la République espagnole étaient solides, simples et sensées. «Je pars pour l'Espagne», annonça -t-il au prié levé à l'un de ses éditeurs. «Pourquoi donc ?», demanda celui-ci. «Ce fascisme, il faut bien qu'on l'arrête» D'autres acteurs plus obscurs peuvent avoir également joué ; il n'enlève rien à la noblesse, à la générosité et au courage de son geste – en les signalant, nous cherchons seulement à jeter une lumière supplémentaire sur un aspect de sa psychologie.¹⁷ (The conscious motivations which determined Orwell's will to engage himself for the defence of Spanish Republic were solid, simple and conscious. "I am moving for Spain", he announced to one of his editors, in his position of departure for Spain." Why then?", asked

¹⁶ Leys, *Op. Cit.*, pp.129-130.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.30.

the latter. That fascism, we should stop it''. Other hidden factors can have also boosted this commitment; they withdraw nothing to the nobility, the generosity and the courage of his action – by mentioning them, we just want to cast a complementary light onto one aspect of his psychology.

It is then obvious that George Orwell is totally against totalitarianism, imperialism, exploitation, any form of dictatorship and social injustice. In this context, George Orwell's existence and actions have been directed towards the eradication of those social and political evils for the promotion of socialist democracy for freedom, justice, human values, duties and rights. Unfortunately, Orwell's commitment was betrayed and this also failed during the Spanish Civil War. Later on, the alliances of the Spanish Civil War, were reinforced, and these political tendencies led to the World War II, including its disastrous effects on Orwell and the whole humanity. All these political and social elements and facts enriched the positions of different tendencies during the cold war and even throughout the different political divisions in the world today.

The psychological, social or sociological roots of Orwell's resentment and bitterness for any form of domination is in his childhood. In fact, George Orwell was born in a modest family. So, the modest social means of his parents didn't permit him to get great means for his dreams and ambitions. In the contrary, he underwent a series of humiliations as a school boy at St Cyprian's:

Any breach of accepted standards of behavior – for example, bed wetting – was punishable by the cane. When Eric had been at the school for a few days, he found to his horror that he had wetted the bed, and did so repeatedly for several nights. This was punished by a savage caning which he never forgave. The disgust and humiliation of this episode rankled in his memory for the remainder of his life. He harbored many other bitter memories, the insipid food, the icy cold water in the swimming pool, the unimaginative teaching, the preferential treatment accorded to boys from wealthy families.¹⁸

¹⁸ J. R. Hammond. *A George Orwell Companion*. London: p.p. 6- 7.

These psychological, social and political facts and experiences have highly influenced the writer's writings. Most of his works come from the logical and good recreation of his life experiences. Even his novels have been highly influenced by his life experiences. He sometimes selects elements of his experiences to build his novels, or he just reports them in the form of a documentary reportage to demonstrate the truth about some historical events upon which people are confused as far as the truth is concerned. It is, for example, the case of the Spanish Civil War for which political propaganda of dictators made believe that they created that war to free their people and save democracy. So, as an answer to that false opinion, George Orwell wrote *Homage to Catalonia* to offer his part of truth for the context and spirit behind the Spanish Civil War.

In other words, the major books written by Orwell happened after each aspect of his existence. When Orwell undergoes a sad situation or when his fellow country-men undergo a sad situation, he writes every time a book to make the account of that situation, to recreate it in a form of reportage about it. Chronologically, his writings occur to follow the logical line of this existence. In addition, an investigation on Orwell's school and literary background shows that George Orwell was a brilliant schoolboy, he was intelligent and an excellent reader of great classical works as well as these of his time. He read with ease the most difficult classical works of his time:

He seems to have been an intelligent pupil, quick to learn and taking delight in his boyhood reading. During these early school years he was an avid reader, devouring with enthusiasm Tom Sawyer Coral Island and Gulliver's Travels and also reading widely among Marjorie's books including Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm.¹⁹

Other illustrative examples and witnesses further explain the fact that George Orwell was a good reader, and he knew or understood very well, writers, literary demands and issues before

¹⁹ Hammond, *Ibid.*, p.5.

and during the Edwardian period. These realities made George Orwell use and manipulate literary genres of any kind. He showed abilities in writing fiction and non fiction :

Chose étrange, au lieu de développer et d'approfondir aussitôt la méthode qu'il venait de découvrir, Orwell s'en écarta momentanément et revint au roman traditionnel. Les quatre exercices qu'il exécuta dans ce domaine plus conventionnel *Burmese Days*, *A Clergyman's Daughter*, *Keep the Aspidistra Flying*, *Coming Up for Air*, présentent un réel intérêt ; mais si nous les lisons encore aujourd'hui, c'est en partie pour le complément d'histoire, d'information qu'ils nous apportent sur la personnalité et la pensée d'Orwell ; eussent-ils été signés d'un autre nom, malgré leurs qualités certaines, je me demande si on les rééditerait encore aujourd'hui²⁰ (What is surprising is that, instead of developing and deepening immediately the method that he has just discovered, Orwell abandoned it momentarily and came back to the traditional novel. The four achievements that he carried out in this traditional field are *Burmese Days*, *A Clergyman's Daughter*, *Keep the Aspidistra Flying*, *Coming Up For Air*, show a real interest ; but if we read them again today, it is partly for the additional history and information that they bring to us on Orwell's personality and thought; had they been signed by another writer in spite of their certified qualities, I wonder if they would be reedited today.)

1.2. Literature Review

The major dimensions of this Literature review are related to the aspects of the deepest root of George Orwell's knowledge and awareness of domination throughout despotism, totalitarianism, authoritarianism, imperialism and any kind of dictatorship in the context of political and social governance. What is then the basis of George Orwell's desire and engagement to discuss social and political teaching? Early Orwell's literary skills, efforts and his friendships are of decisive importance in shaping the writer's personality, his literary and political careers: "These were, in particular, three aspects of these years which were of decisive importance in shaping his personality – his reading, his early literary efforts, and his friendships"²¹

²⁰ Leys, Op. Cit., p.10.

²¹ Hammond, Op. Cit., p.7.

In his quality of a good masterer of literary genres, techniques and other devices, George Orwell shows good skills in writing novels, essays, auto-biographies, documentary reportage. And more, he moves easily from fiction to nonfiction. He even writes issues, with as core elements criticism about totalitarianism or despotism, and a plea for democracy, especially socialist democracy. This literature review will display different literary views available on these questions, and how they appreciate the different views. My critical analysis of available literatures and views will also be added to the review. What is then the origin of Orwell's knowledge and awareness about domination, exploitation and totalitarianism as major aspects and evils leading to social injustice, troubles, wars and catastrophes in political and social governance?

The first dimension of this origin is related to Orwell's childhood sad experiences, humiliations, disappointments and other social discriminations. As a native Burmese child, he lived among British children at St. Cyprian School. The first remark he has made was that he had impression to live among people to whom he felt totally inferior in many fields. This feeling raised in him frustrations and anger against class discriminations and domination of men by men. This has been worsened by an open discrimination between the poor children and the rich ones perpetrated by St. Cyprian School's official themselves. The second dimension is related to the fact that, because of the lack of means, Orwell was obliged to stop his schooling to go to a policemen's training school. He was then educated and became a police man of the British colonial police. His first post was Burma. He took an active part to many imperial military interventions, patrolling and repressions. In spite of the fact that he belonged to the imperial team, he didn't feel at ease, and his anger or resentment against imperialism were still so burning in him that he pretended he was sick and resigned from his position and career. At that moment, he got the intention of writing his *Burmese Days*. He decided to create in a fictional form, what his mind was full of in Burma as a sad and

shocking remembrance. He decided to live and to become the eye-witness of poor, weak and exploited people's conditions. This passage provides us with more illustrative information:

The story can be fully understood only in relation to Orwell himself: his complex personality, his deeply ingrained sense of failure, his sense of alienation, his Anglo-Indian background [...] The novel can be regarded, first, as a deliberate act of exorcism: an attempt to eradicate the Burmese experience from his mind. The landscapes of Burma, 'he wrote', which, when I was among them, so appalled me as to assume the qualities of nightmare, afterwards stayed so haunting in my mind that I was obliged to write a novel about them to get rid of them [...] To regard the book merely as an indictment of imperialism as he had experienced it as a member of the Indian Imperial Police is too simplistic. It is that, but only in part. It is much more a distillation of the Burmese experience as a whole – an attempt to summarise what he thought and felt about the Burmese land and people, and to convey this to the reader in the form of fiction²².

This illustrative passage above shows also the deepest root of George Orwell's writings to criticise and denounce imperialism, domination of men by men, despotism, totalitarianism and any form of dictatorship in the framework of political and social governance. In *Burmese Days*, George Orwell shows that imperialism and British influence and domination were so powerful that the central character, John Flory who was first shown as opposed to imperial system and country finally loved these institutions:

It is significant in this connection that when the central character, John Flory, has a chance of returning to England and the opportunity is withdrawn at the last moment he realizes that he does not wish to return. 'This country which he hated was now his native country, his home²³.

It is then clear that George Orwell's existence and professional experiences have played a great role in the inspiration, shaping and writing of his fiction and non-fiction against totalitarianism for democracy based on freedom for all, social justice, people's rights and duties.

²² Ibid., pp.90,91.

²³ Ibid., p.92.

After his resignation from his position of imperial policeman, he joined the group of dishwashers in hotel and inn services. He joined the life of streets dwellers and sweepers to become the eye-witness of the young people who were victims of political and social injustice caused by the failure of political and social governance. He was shocked by a system of governance in which poor people are exploited by rich people. What is surprising and bitter is that the rich who rest a lot and who work less benefit from the fruits of true workers and many other advantages than the poor, very hard workers who restless earn less, or they are not well paid, and get very bad social conditions. Then, no political and social authority can put an end to that social injustice in Paris and London, two great countries where laws and rules about workers' conditions, rights and duties are yet voted and implemented. George Orwell made the point of that social injustice, favoured by weaknesses and cheatings in political and social governance. *Down and Out in Paris and London* is the literary achievement in this vein.

After the writing of *Down and Out in Paris and London*, George Orwell started the process of writing *The Road to Wigan Pier* which is also a book about the evaluation of poverty and unemployment in the North of England. George Orwell was commissioned by Victor Gollancs to make this study before leaving for Barcelona:

In January 1936, Orwell was commissioned by Victor Gollancs to make a study of poverty and unemployment in the North England: a proposal that was so culminate of reportage, *The Road to Wigan Pier* [...] On the completion of *The Road to Wigan Pier*, he promptly left for Barcelona, where he was anxious to serve on the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War. He enlisted as a soldier in the militia of the POUM (Workers' Party of Marxist Unification), and served as a corporal on the Aragon front until May 1937 when he was wounded in the throat by a bullet fired by a Fascist sniper. This injury effectively ended his participation in the war and he returned to England in June to embark almost at once on his account of the conflict in *Homage to Catalonia*. These two experiences- of his journey to the coal mining areas of the North, and his participation as a militiaman in the Spanish Civil War – were of decisive importance in the making of George Orwell. It is clear from many indications in

his writings that he was shown to develop, both as an artist and as a political thinker²⁴.

It is then evident that George Orwell has background elements to well discuss and criticise social and political governance. He has been a good eye-witness of social and political practices, ideologies and philosophies. *Homage to Catalonia* is indeed, one of his best political and social writings.

As a matter of fact, *Homage to Catalonia* is written by George Orwell to shed light on the true reasons, conditions and contexts of the Spanish Civil War. This essay shows and explains more the rationale behind the engagement of Orwell in the war, to demonstrate the conditions of that war, and to show the end of that war for both Franco's group and the supporters of the Republican elected government and its allies. The Spanish Civil War is described by Orwell as an ideological conflict between the fascist or nazist camp, and that of socialist and capitalist democracies. The first camp of the elected Republican regime is supported by the United Kingdom, the USA, France and their allies. The second camp is that of General Franco. This camp is supported by the Russian communism, by the German communism, fascism and nazism as well as the Italian communism and fascism. All these forces, present at that war show the international scale and influence of the Spanish Civil War. All the forces which can be met at the Second World War were present at the Spanish Civil War. In this direction, the World War II is considered as anticipation to the Second World War, and it is even the battle field where each camp tested its military weapons. In *Homage to Catalonia*, George Orwell, by narrating his experiences at the Spanish Civil War, explains and further illustrates the highly social and political influence and involvements of that war. It is an anti-communist war and an anti-totalitarian war for the cause of socialism as it is further commented upon:

Quand les Français lisent Orwell, c'est généralement dans une optique digne du Reader's Digest : son œuvre est alors réduite au seul

²⁴ Ibid.,pp.21,22.

1984 privé de son contexte et arbitrairement réduit aux dimensions d'une machine de guerre anti-communiste. On ignore trop souvent que c'était au nom du socialisme qu'il avait mené sa lutte anti-totalitaire et que le socialisme, pour lui, n'était pas une idée abstraite, mais une cause qui mobilisait tout son être, et pour laquelle il avait d'ailleurs combattu et manqué de se faire tuer durant la guerre d'Espagne²⁵ (When the French read Orwell's writings, it is generally in the purpose of the Reader's Digest: his literary work is then reduced to *1984*, deprived of its context and arbitrary reduced to the dimensions of anti-communist war machine. One too often ignores that, it was in the name of socialism that Orwell had carried out his anti-totalitarian struggle, and that socialism, according to him, was not an abstract idea, but a cause which engaged his whole being and for which he has even fought and has nearly been killed during the Spanish War)

This is also another piece of reason why the Spanish Civil War is said a highly ideological war. So, *Homage to Catalonia* is also a highly political and ideological essay by Orwell. For the writer and the readers of *Homage to Catalonia*, the book means:

His book, then, is an act of homage both to the people of Catalonia and to the experiment in socialism he had briefly witnessed there [...] The war therefore was more than a simple struggle between democracy and fascism; it was a triangular conflict between those who wished to restore the status quo, those who wished Franco to succeed, and those who were determined that the revolution should be maintained and intensified [...] The six months he spent in the region were an interlude which he looked back upon for the remainder of his life with affection and nostalgia [...]. *Homage to Catalonia*, the memoir of these war, experiences that he wrote on his return to England (the book was written at his home at Wallington between July 1937 and January 1938) is an unforgettable book, unforgettable because of its passionate honesty and its moving evocation of a stricken nation, divided against itself, struggling against impossible odds to achieve a more egalitarian society²⁶

That war accounted for in *Homage to Catalonia* has been one of the decisive political attitudes of George Orwell. This reinforced also his dystopian view. It, likewise, determines his apocalyptic view of political malpractices and failure. His pessimistic tone about social and political governance has been nurtured accordingly. These mind and tendency have led him to the writing of *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* which are two of George Orwell's highly social and political books. The traumatised and nightmarish experiences of

²⁵ Leys, Op. Cit., pp.1,2.

²⁶ Hammond, Op. Cit., pp.132,133.

George Orwell's childhood, added to his war experiences in Spain made him set his pessimistic stone in *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* at its peak. It is even the reason why these novels are also called dystopian books. George Orwell's personal experiences and the content of his writings are so closely linked that they strictly interinfluence each other. Here are some illustrative information :

Les six années qu'Orwell passa dans un internat de huit à treize ans, furent profondément traumatisantes et marquèrent sa personnalité de façon indélébile. Les sentiments de dérégulation, de culpabilité et d'échec qui avaient écrasé son enfance, ne le quittèrent jamais véritablement pour tout le restant de ses jours. Ils lui inspirèrent d'une part un besoin une hantise d'autopunition, et d'autre part un anarchisme viscéral, une révolte incisive contre toute autorité établie, l'amenant ainsi à épouser spontanément, en toute circonstance, la cause des pauvres, des faibles et des opprimés²⁷ (The six years spent by Orwell in the boarding school when he was eight to thirteen were deeply traumatising, and this affected negatively his personality. Those feelings of solitude, culpability and failure which crushed his childhood didn't really disappear from the remaining part of his existence. They first inspired in him a need, a haunted feeling of auto-punishment, and a dreadful anarchism, a harsh revolt against any established authority. This lead spontaneously Orwell to share, in any circumstance the defence of the cause of the poor, the weak and the oppressed people)

The writing of *Animal Farm* derives its genesis from the influence of the Spanish Civil war. Orwell's camp has lost the war to which he took an active part, and he, himself was wounded. He realised that socialist movement has failed in Spain before the fascist and nazist offensive. Russian communism has been very active during the war against socialism on the side of Franco's regime. This certainly inspired his reflection on Russian communism. He realized that the Soviet myth destruction should be a priority, if the revival of socialist movement is desired. In the logics of this reflection, he decided an allegory about the Soviet political myth. Through this genre, he wanted to express his disillusionment with Stalinism in particular, and with totalitarian regimes in general; which also raised a lot of difficulties as far as the publication of the book is concerned:

²⁷ Leys, Op.Cit., p.18.

By November 1943, he had resigned from both home guard and the BBC and embarked at once on *Animal Farm*, the idea which had come to him some years earlier. In his preface to the Ukrainian edition (published in 1947), he summarised the genesis of the story in terms: and so for the past ten years [i.e., since the Spanish Civil War and the purges in the USSR]. I have been convinced that the destruction of the Soviet myth was essential, if we wanted a revival of the socialist movement. On my return from Spain, I thought of exposing the Soviet myth in a story that could be easily understood by almost anyone and which could be easily translated into other languages. However, the actual details of the story did not come to me for some time until one day (I was then living in a small village) I saw a little boy perhaps ten years old, driving a huge cart-horse along a narrow path, whipping it whenever it tried to turn. It struck me that if only such animals became aware of their strength, we should have no power over them, and that men exploit animals in much the same way as the rich exploit the proletariat. The idea of expressing his disillusionment with Stalinism and, in a wider sense with totalitarian regimes in general in the form of an animal fable was thus skimming in his mind for a long time before he found the opportunity to write it²⁸.

Indeed, *Animal Farm* is a novel which describes a group of animals on a farm. They were so oppressed by the farmer that they started finding out ways and means to get their autonomy and self-governance. Inspired by the teachings of a wise old boar, they rebelled, struggled and got their independence. The pigs were charged to lead the other animals and to run their enterprises. All their activities and behaviours were guided by seven commandments. Unfortunately, the pigs started breaking the tenets of this fundamental law until they became increasingly dictatorial and totalitarian against the general interests of their fellow animals. Those totalitarian leaders led to the total replacement of their democratically acquired system by the totalitarian one. The further meaning of this fable is related to the Russian dictatorial system. In fact, under the reign of Tsar Nicholas, one of Russian dictators, Russian people were so oppressed that they fought and acquired their independence for democracy. Once in democracy, their elected leader, Joseph Stalin started breaking their democratic principles until he turned the democratically built regime into a dictatorship. He accepted no opposition to his governance system. Leo Trotsky, his political adversary was

²⁸ Hammond, Op. Cit., p.159.

made to suffer and to run away for exile. In this specific context, Orwell's *Animal Farm* is also a political satire in which the writer has explained and shown his bitterness and resentment for totalitarianism and any kind of dictatorship. Orwell's same view and feelings will be crowned in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

Nineteen Eighty-Four is another social and political novel by George Orwell. It is another dystopian novel. Its writing is an answer to Orwell's intention and engagement to denounce imperialism, dictatorship, despotism and totalitarianism. The pessimistic tone in this novel has been reinforced by the writer's sufferings caused by the tuberculosis. The social and political context in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is so darkly depicted that it is impossible to believe in the existence of this world. Some other background aspects of *Nineteen Eighty Four* have further been explained:

Here in August 1946, he commenced work in earnest on *Nineteen Eighty Four* (as early as 1943, he had prepared a detailed outline for the book under the title *The Last Man in Europe*), completing the first draft by October 1947. Throughout the Autumn of 1947 however his health was markedly deteriorating. The chest ailment from which he had suffered for many years was now diagnosed as tuberculosis of the left lung, and on specialist advice he was obliged to adopt an increasingly sedentary way of life. The preparation of the final draft of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was recognised at once as a work of impressive and haunting imaginative power. Today, it is acknowledged as one of the seminal works of the twentieth century, a novel which ranks with Camus's *The Plague* and Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* as a searching commentary upon our times, and which, had Orwell written nothing else, will ensure him a permanent place in literary history²⁹.

Apart from Camus and Koestler's influence on the writing of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Jack London's view and Aldous Huxley's perception of a glittering sinister world in which society had hardened into a caste system, with workers permanently enslaved, have been of a great inspiration for the writing of Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. The significance of the book to the student of Orwell is that many of the ideas matured in *Brave New World*, *We* and *Nineteen-Eighty-Four* are present in embryo form within his book. Moreover, there are

²⁹ Ibid., pp.169,170.

interesting similarities between the shape of all four stories. Each tells the story of an individual who rebels against the established order.

As whole, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* contains a story in which George Orwell is depicting a political and social system established by Big Brother and his fellow leaders. This system is rooted in totalitarian governance. Within that system the political power is highly exercised with extremity. Human rights, duties and values are not respected. No private life exists. People are controlled, watched till the closest corner of their house. Big Brother, with the help of a telescreen, is able to control all the dimensions of people's life. That tyrannical rule has been contradicted and fought against by Winston Smith. Winston Smith is the protagonist of the novel who rejected Big Brother's totalitarianism. He was joined by Julia. But unfortunately for them, they failed in overthrowing Big Brother's dictatorial machine because of the tortures and ill-treatments imposed on them by the system. In fact, in spite of Winston's opposition to Big Brother's regime at the beginning of the novel, he gave up the fight and finally joined Big Brother's side; which clearly shows the failure of his position. By that resignation, George Orwell showed the failure of democratic values before dictatorship, tyranny and imperialism. It is also a great warning to the civilised world which should strengthen its strategies to make restore democracy for the respect of human or social rights, duties and values everywhere. This passage explains it more:

A satire must by its very nature exaggerate. Nevertheless many readers in 1949 must have baulked at the idea that a totalitarian government could establish itself in Britain. Orwell replied to such hesitations by stating that. 'The scene of the book is laid in Britain in order to emphasise that the English-speaking races are not innately better than anyone else and that totalitarianism, if not fought against, could triumph anywhere'. To see the book as a warning against totalitarian tendencies and attitude is to recognise that it is not simply an anti-communist treatise: the society described is an amalgam of the worst features of both communist and Nazi regimes. As with *Animal Farm*, it is not any particular form of dictatorship which is being

satirised but the insidious effects of concentrating power in the hands of an unscrupulous elite³⁰.

Historical, psychological, cultural, scientific, social, political and economic backgrounds to George Orwell's selected works show that from his childhood, throughout adolescence to the adulthood and death, George Orwell is shown as a freedom fighter, justice fighter; as sopped to exploitation of men by men, to any form of domination or dictatorship and totalitarianism. His wish and plea is for democracy, the promotion of social justice, freedom, human rights, duties and values. That is the reason why he thinks that the best framework for the promotion of these values is socialist democracy rooted in social justice, freedom and common decency. George Orwell is partly right to become so harsh and bitter with any social and political system of domination because he, himself, has been a victim, at St. Cyprian's school, of autocratic rule which was entirely characteristic of the standard of Edwardian England:

Greek, History, English and Arithmetic, a spirit of emulation was encouraged by a system of weekly placing in all the formal subjects. The values inculcated both formally and by implication, were those of the English public school tradition: the development of characters, a spirit of competition, a rigid adherence to discipline, and a total acceptance of the prevailing moral code³¹.

This shows for example, that everything is not bad and dark in Orwell's childhood. He became a policeman, and he worked for British imperial government in Burma. There, he witnessed and touched the reality of social injustice. And that system has developed practices which have negatively affected his psychology and life. But, what is striking in his case is that many critics and writers have explained that he is a very good dystopian writer. For, the worlds he has showed in his different works were so darkly and pessimistically described that they are rarely believed to exist. He only stuck to the negative aspects of his childhood

³⁰ Ibid.,p.173.

³¹ Ibid.,p.6.

without having a look on the positive ones throughout his writings. At least, his basic education is the basis of his good intellectual and human backgrounds.

The headmaster-proprietor and his wife, Mr. and Mrs Vaughan Wilkes, governance experiences raised in him frustrations, anger and bitterness for any imperialist and dictatorial system, they contributed in building in his mind materials of his literary points and criticism. And none of his writings can exist without those conditions created by the English social and political systems. Had Orwell stayed in his parents' native country, Burma, he couldn't have witnessed those experiences which shed light on his awareness of social injustice in the English society, and in the whole world's social a political systems of governance³². George Orwell is right in this logics of his experiences and that of the aim of his writing; i.e. to darkly depict totalitarian systems as dangerous to human beings and values, and plead for a world more just, free and not oppressive. What is surprising is that none of his writings escape from his highly pessimistic description and tone, from *Burmese Days* to *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. That flaw led him to his inability to show a single aspect of real and durable happiness in his books, except the bracketed enjoyment and leisure slightly shown in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* before the series of tortures Smith and Julia underwent in the novel. In other words, his pessimism has been further shown in his books than his optimistic view. This has also led him to the constantly creation of failure for his characters before the powerful influences of totalitarian social and political leaders. Leo Trotsky and his supporters have failed in stopping the totalitarian reign of Napoleon and his fellow leaders. Winston Smith and Julia have failed in implementing their democratic values and systems before the totalitarian practice of Big Brother and his supporters³³.

In addition, in spite of George Orwell's strong desire to eradicate totalitarianism and to replace it by socialist democracy, his actions in that vein always failed, taking into account the atmosphere of failure shown throughout his writings. Even his suggested socialist democracy

³² <http://www.UtopianWorks.com>. "George Orwell's writings" 06/06/2012. 7 am.

³³ <http://www.UtopianWorks.com>. Ibid..

for which he acted and pleaded did not make long route. It quickly showed its limits. For Orwell, communism and inhumane capitalism should be fought against to promote and protect socialism, but the form of socialism rooted in social justice, freedom and common decency. To understand more the definitions of these concepts, let's read the sentences below.

Communism is a system of government in which the state has the control of the means of production and acts for the generable interests of people. It is also a single party system in which the head of the state is a powerful personality who has influence over the detailed aspects of the system. Mr Jones's and Napoleon's governance in *Animal Farm* is rooted in communist philosophy³⁴. A one-man system or a one-party system rules political power for the general interests of all the citizens. Inside this system, the leaders are the only best thinkers and actors of the system. They even have right of control over the private and public life of their citizens. Big Brother's regime is seen as socialist but its great characteristics make it communist. For, Big Brother is the only powerful leader to whom everybody should obey and whom everybody should respect, and even worship as a god. Socialism shares some political and social characteristics with communism. It is characterised by a collective property of means of production. The system of government is held and ruled by a group of people who act and exercise the political power for the benefit of the citizens.

The priority points of their political governance are rights to education for all, rights to security, rights to common decency and the promotion of social justice. George Orwell is a socialist militant and defender. He fought against communism and fascism for socialism. He prefers socialism to other political systems. But, he disagrees on the classical version of British and international socialism. He suggested that socialism should be rooted in social justice, freedom for all and common decency. All his writings represent a plea for social justice through socialist values promoting against social injustice. Capitalism is the political tendency which favours a context in which the means of production is owned and controlled

³⁴ <http://www.Amazon.com>. "Realism: International Relation". Retrieved in 06/06/2008. 6.30 am.

by private people and enterprises. It favours a private property system. Unfortunately, it sometimes leads to the rise of a bourgeoisie who tries to exploit the proletariat throughout a generalised system of social injustice. George Orwell has always rejected this form of governance in favour of his suggested form of socialism.

George Orwell, victim of social injustice thinks that political morality is to be restored to save future generations. According to the writer, political morality should be implemented in a context of freedom, justice, people's rights and duties promotion. This is Orwell's way out of the horrors of British socialism:

British socialism, at its beginning was not Marxist and it has not been entirely inspired by Marx either. It rather started with the industrial experiments of Robert Owen after 1815. Unfortunately, it failed because its defenders failed in carrying out its ideals. In the second half of the 19th century, a new socialist inspiration arose indirectly from writing by Ruskin. This trend saw that the new capitalist system is degrading to men in general and to workers in particular. The defenders of this newly born tendency opposed to capitalist practices³⁵

In other words, George Orwell is not the first and the only one to have realised the danger of the new capitalism to the proletariat and poor people. The great utilitarian, John Stuart Mill has been his predecessor in the field. In fact, John has realised injustices caused to the workers and poor people by the capitalist bourgeoisie. This raised his anger against tyranny for social injustice, the absence of freedom, and that of common decency. George Orwell is certainly inspired by these ideas of John Stuart Mill.

The concepts of freedom, equality, justice and common decency raised by Orwell in the context of social democracy is to be further examined and understood. They consciously or unconsciously touch the dimensions of political morality and ethics in the framework of democratic governance. Democratic governance by itself leads to the promotion of human rights and duties (social, civil and human rights). Democracy favours people's rights. This

³⁵ Christopher Gillie. *Longman Companion to English Literature*. London: Longman Group Ltd.1980(1972).p.176.

means that, in the context of democracy, both leaders and common citizens should have and enjoy their rights and duties. The leaders should exercise the power in the limit of their prerogatives, and the common citizens should also play their part by working for the system for success. By playing efficiently their roles of leaders and by making the citizens accept their system of governance, they will gain legitimacy. True democracy should be legitimate, because its power truly comes from people who select a certain number of representatives to rule the system. Democracy can be then viewed as a brake to tyranny, dictatorship and any kind of power abuse by a small aristocratic or oligarchic group. The complexity of relations and interrelations in political morality, legitimacy and democracy have also been discussed by a certain number of writers, and reported by Richard Vernon:

This chapter turns to the possibility of developing from this the outlines of a political morality', a term given currency by John Stuart Mill (Mill, 1910: 83), though put to use more recently in sense that may not all be the same as Mill's own. Sometimes it is taken to refer simply to the conclusions of morality, whatever they are, in their application to politics: political morality would just be what morality requires us to do plus any items that are special to the political domain (or else minus any items that do not belong there). Like the term 'political morality', political legitimation' sometimes has a sense which yields nothing distinctive. Sometimes it is taken no mean legitimation of politics – that is, the activity of giving validating reasons for basic political institutions; and then of course its content is whatever the reasons are that we happen to favour. It has no distinct identity or logic.³⁶

The legitimacy of political power does not necessary come from people. It may depend on the religious, traditional and philosophical influences of the leaders. The legitimacy even in democracy is determined by the force in power. This passage is more illustrative and explanatory:

Sometimes they are held to be valid because of their relation to extra-political appeals: cosmological beliefs, or religious faith, or national mythologies, for example. Even where politics exists, it does not always play a legitimating role. There was certainly politics in Usbek's seraglio in Montesquieu's *Persian Letters*, in the court of

³⁶ Richard Vernon. *Political Morality: A Theory of Liberal Democracy*. London and New York: Continuum.2001.pp.35,36.

Louis XIV, and in Stalin's Russia. But the systems in question claimed legitimation on the basis of religious or traditional or ideological appeal which simply predetermined the question of rightness.³⁷

Social justice in the context of democracy may send to the question of equality among the different social classes. Discussing equality against inequality, Jean Jacques Rousseau thinks that laws and agreements should be the security barriers to justice and equality. Law should be the legitimate barometer to political malpractices. Political legitimacy should be created by political circumstances as it can be further meant:

Turning to Rousseau, we find a different picture indeed. The human situation, as described in the *Discourse on Inequality* (Rousseau 1974), can no longer be described teleologically, but is constructed by accidents, deceptions and unintended consequences. It does not contain harmony but paradox: unwanted wants, contentment without awareness or else awareness without contentment, and goodness without morality or else morality without goodness. Politically, legitimacy must be created by exercising 'the art of generalizing' on political circumstances themselves. This art must produce a 'will' which makes it possible for law to be self-imposed, as opposed to being discovered or deduced. Legitimacy, far from being a sort of copy derived from a larger original, is the work of a people who have succeeded in constituting themselves as a political entity by giving representation to their common situation in public acts.³⁸

When political power is democratically ruled and legitimatised, it gives opportunity to people to rule themselves. Thus, their rights and duties will be respected. But a sustaining attention is also required, because in a context of democracy whether it is a socialist or capitalist democracy or not, power abuse can occur from any majority group. This is the reason why social justice can never exist without ethics in politics.

Ethics in politics means respect for political norms, respect for political agreements and promises. It also means respect for political equity. This leads to the sharing of social, political and economic advantages with all the components of the society. It also has the meaning that the majority group of democratic regimes should rule the system, keeping in

³⁷ Ibid., p.36.

³⁸ Ibid., pp.37-38.

mind that, in spite of their position in power, they should do their best to make non majority parties take an active part in the construction of their social system. Official government and opposition should become meaningful and useful to political and social governance.

However, Vernon further explains in his book that Rousseau's view in *Social Contract* shows and explains that in political life, the representative choice or votes are cast according to specific interests of the voters. The force of the majority is always in full wing in democratic regimes:

Rousseau's argument sets out to accomplish the important task of explaining why (and when) a majority's view carries weight. Mere numbers mean nothing, and giving weight to numbers of votes alone would just be an instance so – called 'right of the stronger' which Rousseau, near the beginning of *Social Contract* (II, 3) shows to be no right at all.³⁹

This is the reason why, Rousseau suggests in the context of democracy the creation of institutions in charge of controlling each other for the success of democracy. The separation of branches of power is then recommended. Checks and balances, the media in political governance should constitute a guarantee to ethics in politics to avoid imperialism, tyranny, political and economic exploitation. George Orwell hasn't clearly emphasised ethics in politics for political morality and development. The sense of political ethics can't be instilled without education; education to leadership, to citizenship and to political responsibility.

Education is the process by which theoretical and practical knowledge is transmitted to people or younger generations. George Orwell has caricatured imperialism, totalitarianism and domination of any kind in the context of social and political governance throughout each of his selected books. In his native country, he spent a certain number of years, taking part in patrolling, in peoples' repression, exploitation and manipulations. He witnessed also a context of imperial domination in which imperial leaders used the Burmese natural resources for the benefit of British rulers whereas the natives were suffering from poverty, hunger and

³⁹ Ibid.,p.55.

starvation on their homeland. That contrasting situation bitterly shocked Orwell who decided to give up his position of colonial imperialist agent to become one of the sufferers to share their experiences and fight on their side for social justice, freedom and happiness for all. With this commitment in mind, George Orwell selected shocking and striking materials of his experiences to re-create the historical, social and political contexts of his writings.

Orwell's view about social justice, common decency and political morality is also shared by other scholars and writers who share exactly or with exception this opinion. For Noel Dossou Yovo, Orwell's political and moral views should be seen in other ways:

The most usual picture of Orwell is the simplification into the sufferer, the man whose courage and self—sacrifice became almost legendary. After his death, he was called a saint, a compliment he would not have understood. The facts of which the legend grew are incontestable, but the descriptions of Orwell which most convince are those where not only the dedication and the sacrifice, but also the deep reasons for his martyrdom are apparent. Here are V. S. Pritchett's memories of the man: I see a tall emaciated man with a face scarred by the marks of physical suffering. There is the ironic grin of pain at the end of the kind lips and an expression in the fine eyes that had something of the kind lips and obstructive far-sightedness one often sees in the blind, an expression that will suddenly become gently, lazily kind and gleaming with workman-like humour.⁴⁰

The pessimistic and dystopian aspects of *Orwell's 1984* have also been reinforced by Noel Dossou Yovo in the same book:

All that is claimed for Orwell—the self-criticism, the mark of physical suffering, the ironic grin together with the gentle kindness of the expression in the eyes that will suddenly gleam with workmanlike humour – seems to give of the man the picture of a character neither too sad nor exalted, but keen enough on ideas of truth, decency, utmost integrity and social justice, to set about castigating errors and evils in contemporary society. *Nineteen Eight-Four*, his last novel, represents the consecration of a whole life of political struggle, and is concerned with the condemnation of totalitarianism.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Noel Dossou-Yovo. *George Orwell's 1984: A Critical Study*. Porto-Novo: LNBP. Gevoix Publishers Limited, 2007, p7:

⁴¹ Dossou-Yovo. *Ibid.*. pp. 38-39.

The concept of social justice is thought to be achieved in the context of communist and socialist governance. Socialist and communist ideologies are thought to have the best strategies for workers' and common citizens' conditions betterment; which may not always be true. *Pamphile Agossou* has underlined this in his pre-doctoral dissertation: Ngugi's vision of a society where there is neither exploiter nor exploited is the very foundation of the communist society, a seemingly unattainable dream.

But we ought to bear in mind that "the word was at the beginning". Any socialist realistic writer, first of all, aims at voicing the truth, the overall truth which demands an exact and full representation of social relations and laws presiding over the system of production within a capitalistic society unavoidably open to and at grips with class struggle and social change. As a matter of fact, the preparation of a general strike in *Petals of Blood*, the death of very important personalities and the arrest of Karega show that things are moving ahead.⁴²

The advent of communism is seen as a way to social justice by Pamphile who has explained Ngugi's vision on the issue:

The outcome will be, not a society rid of domination, hatred, hierarchy, but a society' where fair opportunities will regulate the life of the populations. After all, on his return to Nairobi, July 31st, 2004, Ngugi paid his respects to his fellow countrymen and women by declaring that their collective struggle for liberty and dignity had made it possible for him to be back to his homeland after a long exile. Moreover, he noticed that his country had changed for better thanks to the democratisation of political procedures as a result of the progressive ideas of a government that swept away previous fears and complexes. "In the past people held their tongue for fear of being sent to Nyayo House where they were tortured, Ngugi said. "But, today, the Kenyan people are free to criticise their leaders" he added.⁴³

Through this analysis, Pamphile shares the same view as Ngugi that communism, socialism and democratized socialism are boosting to social justice and the same social

⁴² Pamphile Agossou. *Socialist realism as expressed in Ngugi Wa Thiongo's Petals of Blood*. UAC (EDP). 2007. p. 3

⁴³ Agossou. *Ibid.*. p. 4.

opportunities for all. This view bears great weaknesses because communism, socialism and democracy are not the panacea to political governance for social welfare and development. Ethics in politics should be the driving force for that. For, George Orwell who has been the pioneer of communism, socialism and social democracy has failed in suggesting definitive solutions to political bad governance and injustice. Even Orwell's view has shown great weaknesses. Democratic socialism has been a utopia as well as democratic capitalism. Only ethics in politics can assure social justice, welfare and sustainable development.

To further explain, ethics in politics is the of state's laws rules and regulations and that of political promises and agreements. Ethics in politics for social justice has been pleaded for by Chinua Achebe as well. In *A Man of the People*, Achebe has rooted his social and political satire in ethics in politics and social justice by criticising corruption, cheating and demagoguery. He is pleading for justice for all, mainly the weakest and poor people. He is teaching the political leaders that political governance demands morality and equity and he is also denouncing the frightening ignorance and cynicism of the poor:

As I stood in one corner of that vast tumult, waiting for the arrival of the Minister, I felt intense bitterness welling up in my mouth. Here were silly, ignorant villagers dancing themselves lame, waiting to blow off their gunpowder in honour of one of those who had started the country off down the slopes of inflation. I wished for a miracle, for a voice of thunder, to hush this ridiculous festival and tell the poor contemptible people one or two truths. But of course, it would be quite useless.

They were not only ignorant but cynical. Tell them that this man had used his position to enrich himself and they would ask you as my father did if you thought that a sensible man would spit out the juicy morsel that good fortune placed in his mouth.⁴⁴

The same plea for justice and morality has been the major preoccupation of Wole Soyinka in *The Interpreters*, Ayi Kwei Armah in *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born* and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o in *Weep, not Child*. Unfortunately, some of those works of fiction have been gathered under the heading of utopian or dystopian literature, because social justice,

⁴⁴ Chinua Achebe. *A Man of the People*. London: Heinmann. 1966 (1977) pp.4-5.

morality and welfare for development they have pleaded for have either always been a utopia or dystopia, whatever the political governance. So, they simply join Orwell's group of utopian or dystopian writers. George Orwell's *1984* is even the eloquent example of utopian and dystopian novel at the centre of his study.

Orwell's political satire and internationalism is obvious and influential to the world political governance. Noel Dossou-Yovo further explains the same reality while writing in his *George Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four: A critical study*:

The tricky thing is that like Orwell, Kipling is a man of two worlds; but unlike Orwell, Kipling can be seen broadly as a torchbearer of British imperialism in India, whose political philosophy and literature can be rightly viewed in terms of bridging the cultural gap between, Old Europe and Mythical, Enigmatic East. In five centuries, since the arrival of the *Pilgrim Fathers* in the New World, America evolved into a centre superior to that other centre which Britain used to be, having become the centre of Contemporary World subsequent to the fall of the Iron Curtain and the demise of Communism. But Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* deal with former USSR's totalitarian horrors. Further East of former USSR, India made giant steps in terms of ownership of the Atom bomb just as it has not yet reached anywhere near any of the centres or poles of development in today's world, due to its teeming, poverty-stricken population, among other apparently intractable circumstances. Africa, North and South of the Sahara, due to or in spite of colonialism, not to mention slave trade (East and West), has fared far worse than India⁴⁵

Noel Dossou-Yovo has given further information on the basic sources of Orwell's *1984* and his other utopian and dystopian works:

Orwell did not draw on Burnham alone; the book that influenced him most was Zamyatin's *We* from which Huxley had already borrowed copiously in writing *Brave New World*. In fact, it was after Orwell had obtained a copy of *We*, of which he already knew by hearsay, and which he immediately discussed in *Tribune*, that he started work on *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. But before we see how far Orwell's novel resembles *We*, we choose, in a manner of informative introduction, to give a brief account of Zamyatin's book.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Dossou Yovo. *Ibid.*, pp 4-5.

⁴⁶ Dossou Yovo. *Ibid.*, p55.

The realistic aspects of Orwell's fictional works have also been focused by Noel Dossou-Yovo in the passage below:

Much of the difference between these two twentieth century visions of the future can be explained by the events between, 1932, the date of publication of Huxley's book and 1949, that of Orwell's novel. These seventeen years saw the Moscow purge trials, the Spanish Civil War, the rise of dictators, the universal holocaust of World War II, with its genocide, its promiscuous slaughter of soldiers and civilians alike and the beginning of the Cold War. Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and Huxley's *Brave New World* resemble each other, but while one book owes a great deal to the other, they definitely vary in their respective outlooks on the history of human society⁴⁷.

George Orwell's utopian or dystopian writings have also shown political governance of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat and poor classes; and the political governance by the proletariat in the name of the proletarian and poor classes over or against the upper and the rich classes or the bourgeoisie. Those elements send us to the governing and the governed classes. So the concept of social class has become obvious. To define social class, the *Advanced Learner's Dictionary* explains: "One of the groups of people in a society that are thought to be at the same social or economic level; a group of people, animals or things that have similar characteristics or qualities"⁴⁸.

Therefore, social class is a group of people in a given society having the same characteristics, qualities, and concerns and sharing the same social, political and economic views, philosophies or ideologies. In British context, there are the upper, the middle and the working or lower classes. It is also called social layer by certain theorists. In Charles Dickens' *Great Expectations*; in George Eliot's *Silas Marner*, *Adam Bede*; in George Bernard Shaw's writings and in George Orwell's *Down and Out in Paris and London*, *Burmese Days*, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, there are three types of social classes, the upper class, the middle class, the working and lower classes. Those classes are in permanent struggle for the

⁴⁷ Dossou Yovo. *Ibid.*, p54.

⁴⁸ A. S. Horby. *Op. Cit.* P.1452..

quest of political power getting and controlling. The social structure of the United Kingdom has historically been highly influenced by the concept of social class. This concept has been affecting British society since the earliest time of British social and political organization. Although the definitions of social class in the United Kingdom vary and are highly controversial, most are influenced by factors of wealth, occupation and education. Until recent times, the Parliament of the United Kingdom was organized on a class basis, with the House of Lords representing the hereditary upper class and the House of Commons representing everyone else, and the British Monarch is often viewed as being at the top of the social class structure.

British social classes are generally organised into the upper middle and lower classes. Industrial revolution in the United Kingdom has helped to operate a great change in British social classes. There is, for example, the occurrence of British working classes. The category of people composing British working classes are skilled workers, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. The skilled workers are those employed in office jobs or other employed as civil servants. Another group is the class of people working in skilled blue collar jobs, traditionally in the construction and manufacturing industry, but in recent decades showing entrepreneurial development as the stereotypical white van man, or self employed contractors. These people speak in local accents and have craft apprenticeships rather than university education. Unskilled and semi-skilled working classes include people working in blue collar jobs. They would typically have left school as soon as legally permissible and not have been able to take part in higher education. Many would go on to work semi-skilled and unskilled jobs on the assembly lines and machine shops of Britain's major car factories, steel mills, foundries and textile mills in the highly industrialized cities in the West Midlands and North of England⁴⁹.

Furthermore, working class conditions have been of major importance in the building, the shaping and reshaping of British political system and governance. British political party

⁴⁹ Peter J. and Pierre L.. *Civilisation Britannique*. Paris: Hachette Livre. 2003. PP. 20-24.

that has set up and operated the greatest policies and change favorable to the workers is the Labour party. This party is mainly composed of workers and trade unions. Indeed, the Challenge of British political governance has always been between the block of the Conservative Party and that of the Labour Party. Right now, a social class has a lot to do with a political party. Even in the United Kingdom, social classes have to do with political groups and actors, because they are all involved in the political arena and movement. The bourgeoisie, the middle and lower classes are still running for the conquest and control of political power for the protection and development of their interests. We have the example of the Conservative capitalists and those of the Labour socialists. Then, social classes, ethnic groups deeply involved in politics or they are important elements for political policies, movements and ideologies. The way different writers have dealt with social classes is neither so assuring nor convincing. Truly, social classes are most important elements of apolitical organisations. Hitler's terrors have been raised by his desire to exterminate the Jews and other racial groups whom he considered inferior and useless races. In addition, the horrors of any dictator or tyrant always start from their ethnic, racial, tribal, apartheid and any other social discrimination. The phenomenon of racism, tribalism, ethnocentrism, apartheid usually paved the way to dictatorship, tyranny and totalitarianism. Orwell hasn't put an emphasis on those evils as major sources of political malpractices and tyranny. Indeed, whatever the political regime those phenomena have always been the sources of bad governance and problems⁵⁰.

George Orwell's utopian or dystopian writings have also shown political governance of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat and poor classes; and the political governance by the proletariat in the name of the proletarian and poor classes over or against the upper and the rich classes or the bourgeoisie. Those elements send us to the governing and the governed classes. So the concept of social class has become obvious. To define social class, the *Advanced Learner's Dictionary* explains: "One of the groups of people in a society that are

⁵⁰ Peter J. and Pierre L.. Ibid. PP 84-99.

thought to be at the same social or economic level; a group of people, animals or things that have similar characteristics or qualities''.⁵¹.

Therefore, social class is a group of people in a given society having the same characteristics, qualities, and concerns and sharing the same social, political and economic views, philosophies or ideologies. In British context, there are the upper, the middle and the working or lower classes. It is also called social layer by certain theorists. In Charles Dickens' *Great Expectations*; in George Eliot's *Silas Marner*, *Adam Bede*; in George Bernard Shaw's writings and in George Orwell's *Down and Out in Paris and London*, *Burmese Days*, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, there are three types of social classes, the upper class, the middle class, the working and lower classes. Those classes are in permanent struggle for the quest of political power getting and controlling. The social structure of the United Kingdom has historically been highly influenced by the concept of social class. This concept has been affecting British society since the earliest time of British social and political organization. Although the definitions of social class in the United Kingdom vary and are highly controversial, most are influenced by factors of wealth, occupation and education. Until recent times, the Parliament of the United Kingdom was organized on a class basis, with the House of Lords representing the hereditary upper class and the House of Commons representing everyone else, and the British Monarch is often viewed as being at the top of the social class structure.

⁵¹ A. S. Horby. Op. Cit. P.1452..

Chapter Two: History, Society and politics in George Orwell's Fiction and Non-Fiction

2.1. Historical, Social and Political Realities in *Burmese Days*, *Homage to Catalonia*, and *Down and Out in Paris and London*

History is the bedrock of Orwell's writings in general and his selected works in particular. In *Burmese Days*, history is related to the stay of George Orwell in Burma as a British imperial policeman. Indeed, after he had put an end to his schooling, because of his parents' incapacity to pay his higher education, George Orwell attended a policemen's training school. After his training, his first job posting was Burma. Some years later, he pretended that he was ill and asked for a vacation time, and he travelled back to London forever, abandoning his job and position. All his experiences in Burma have inspired his fiction which is indeed a recreation of his *Burmese Days*⁵². Thus the process of the writing of the novel is engaged. Then, he wrote and published his *Burmese Days*.

In fact, *Burmese Days* is George Orwell's first novel, published in the USA in 1934. It is a tale from the time of the waning days of British colonialism, when Burma was ruled as a part of the Indian Empire. This book is the portrait of the dark side of the British Raj⁵³. The Burmese society is described here as a place where corruption is dominant⁵⁴. That corruption is favoured by some British leaders and citizens. Immorality, in the rank of colonial imperial leaders is tolerable, but not for the native Burmese people. The minor mistake made by those Burmese people is harshly repressed by the imperial police where George Orwell was working⁵⁵. Racism was at its peak with the presence in the novel of very racist English

⁵² Hammond. Op. Cit. P. 27.

⁵³ Orwell. *Burmese Days*. Ibid. P. 29.

⁵⁴ Ibid. P. 8.

⁵⁵ Ibid. P. 18.

people. There is the example of Ellis who is an Englishman, and who was shown in the novel as a violently racist Englishman, and who managed a timber company in the Upper Burma⁵⁶.

Added to that racist behaviour of British people, the writer shows also that British people are very boastful and proud of being English. They have the feeling that their race is the highest race in the world, and the others are inferior to them, mainly the colonised people as the Burmese. Burmese people are despised on their land and their natural resources are good for British people. For example, Mr Macgregor is the society commissioner and secretary of the Club. He is pompous and self-important. It is the same with Lieutenant Verral, a military policeman who has a temporary posting in the town. He looks down on everybody. He makes no concession to civility and manners. His only concern is playing polo and being athletically fit. He is smug and self-centred. He uses Elisabeth for entertainment and ultimately leaves the town in a hurry without saying goodbye. Apart from those practices of racism and despise, other social discriminations are shown in *Burmese Days*⁵⁷. This is shown throughout the fact that Orwell has shown different groups and classes of Burmese, other Indians and British. The first striking remark is the formation of a Club by privileged people.

The Club is composed of the members of British imperialist colonial team, and their Indian or Burmese supporters and sympathisers. British people enjoy their rights and duties on Burmese native land. They accepted and well treated those who share British values with them. Doctor Veraswami, for example is Indian but he likes very much British values; and he even considers himself lesser human than English. Although he is John Flory's friend, he does not share the same view as the protagonist of the novel who in his turn likes very much Burmese culture and values. This attitude by John Flory brings him into contact with British leaders and people, and other British citizens living in Burma. Another social reality, depicted

⁵⁶ Ibid., P. 19.

⁵⁷ Ibid., PP. 38-43.

and criticised by George Orwell in *Burmese Days* is corruption; corruption even encouraged and favoured by some of British leaders. The striking example in the field is UPo Kyin, a very corrupt and cunning magistrate who is hideously overweight. He feels he can commit whatever corrupt and wicked acts he wants. He cheats people of their money, jails the innocent and abuses young girls⁵⁸.

Social conflicts or competition for interests is also another reality in *Burmese Days*. Dr. Veraswami, Flory's friend tries to trap and betray the latter because of his intention to become a member of the Club. Flory and Dr. Veraswami used to hold debates on British cultures and practices. During these debates, Flory shows his view that British administrators are money makers and most of them live on lies whereas Dr. Veraswami appreciates them and wants to live with them. This clash of cultures occurred in this Burmese Society and would lead to rebellion. In this context, the writer has made political and social realities interact. Social thinking, actions and behaviours have determined and reinforced political commitment, activism and actions⁵⁹. The clash between European and Burmese cultures has led to the division of Burmese society into two groups. The first group defended and supports European values and practices whereas the second group defended and struggles for the restoration of Burmese culture and values. Flory then became the hero of this struggle. The natives' rebellion began accordingly, but a native rebel was killed by an acting Divisional Forest Officer, Maxwell. But the body of Maxwell was cut to pieces by two relatives of the man who had been shot. That socio-political situation created a tension between the Burmese and the Europeans; which was exacerbated by a vicious attack on native children by the spiteful arch-racist timber merchant, Ellis. A large but ineffectual anti-British riot began, and Flory became the hero for bringing it under control with some support by Dr. Veraswami⁶⁰. Therefore, racism, colonisation with its catastrophic effects, and imperialism, dictatorship are the highly

⁵⁸ Ibid., PP. 100 - 104.

⁵⁹ Ibid., PP. 43 - 47.

⁶⁰ Ibid., PP. 30 - 33.

social and political issues discussed by George Orwell in his novel. By depicting, and criticism these realities, the writer is demonstrating that his novel is a social and political satire about social and political local and international governance.

Homage to Catalonia is a highly historical reportage. History in this essay is related to the fact that the story in the book is entirely about the Spanish Civil War. In fact, after the First World War, the economic crisis of 1929, the Spanish Civil War⁶¹ broke out before the Second World War and the Cold War. The major historical contexts of the book are: an overview on the social and political situations in Spain and in the world before the war; a point on the reasons for Orwell to decide to take part in the war; the war itself, and its social and political consequences. The political realities and dimensions of the war are related to the fact that the Spanish War is a highly philosophical and ideological war. The battle of Spain was carried out by leaders who wanted to defend their personal ideologies and interests. It is a war between democracy and tyranny. It is a war for socialism against fascism and Nazism⁶². It is a war for free thinking, for free action and progress against domination and totalitarianism. It is a war for justice against injustice. At least in Orwell's mind, this is the major rationale behind that war. It is even the reason why he was willing and totally engaged in the making of the war, because he thinks that it is an ideal war, a war of liberation, a just war which deserves to be made to save democracy:

Les motivations conscientes qui le déterminèrent à se porter volontaire pour la défense de la République espagnole étaient solides, simples et sensées. «Je pars pour l'Espagne», annonça-t-il au pied levé à l'un de ses éditeurs. «Pourquoi donc ?», demanda celui-ci. «Ce fascisme, il faut bien qu'on l'arrête». (The conscious motivations which made Orwell engage himself for the defence of the Spanish Republic were solid, simple and reasonable.» I leave for Spain”, announced Orwell, in his position of fighter to his editors.» Why then “asked the latter.» This fascism, we should stop it.”)⁶³

⁶¹ George Orwell. *Homage to Catalonia*. Ibid., PP. 3 – 5.

⁶² Ibid., PP. 22 - 26.

⁶³ Leys. Op. Cit., P. 30.

Homage to Catalonia is the account of the Spanish revolution and the Spanish Civil War. The Spanish revolution is organised by the Spanish anarchists. They share socialist democratic ideology and principles and they want to restore and impose democracy to Franco's totalitarianism. Anarchists are supporting the Republican democratically elected government. This side is also supported by British, American, French socialists and their allies. The aim of this group is to eradicate Franco's resistance and to restore democracy; whereas Franco's side is also supported by Roman Catholic Church, by Russian, Italian and German communists with their allies. Apparently, the war is to make democracy triumph of fascism and Nazism. Unfortunately, other economic interests have made this war for democracy fail in favour of the Spanish dictatorial regime, led by General Franco.

Each component of that international war has seized the opportunity to test its military and communication weapons, and means for the World War II. George Orwell has taken an active part in this war in which he has been wounded by the bullet, shot by a fascist sniper:

Il avait d'ailleurs développé une réelle compétence pour les affaires militaires ; c'est ainsi qu'au front d'Espagne il put mettre aussitôt à profit son expérience d'ancien officier de police des jeunes volontaires ; puis, durant la seconde guerre mondiale, il devait encore rédiger de sa propre initiative, et soumettre au ministre de la défense, un projet hautement professionnel d'organisation des milices populaires pour faire face à une éventuelle invasion allemande. (He has indeed developed a real competence for military affairs; thus at the Spanish front, he used his experience as a former voluntary police officer; then during the Second World War, he should initiate and write to the Secretary for Defence a highly professional project of militia organisation to overcome a probable German invasion).⁶⁴

George Orwell has fought during the Spanish War. And he was shocked by the failure of that war due to the betrayal of some leaders of the left-side who promised to torture and shoot all the former fighters coming from Spain. He was bitterly disappointed by the Spanish War, its negative effects on the fighters, and the political betrayal of their social camp. He then hated the horror of politics:

⁶⁴ Ibid., P. 32.

Rentré en Angleterre, quand il voulut témoigner de la manière dont les communistes avaient trahi la cause républicaine en Espagne, il se heurta aussitôt et durablement, à la conspiration du silence et de la calomnie, effectivement organisée par les commissaires du Comintern et tous leurs auxiliaires bénévoles de la gauche, qui afin de pouvoir tranquillement et cyniquement réécrire l’histoire, s’étaient bien juré de bâillonner les combattants revenus du front. Pour la première fois, il avait été directement confronté avec le mensonge totalitaire: «L’histoire s’est arrêtée en 1936». La leçon fut inoubliable. Ainsi se trouva soudain parachevée la longue éducation politique qui avait été commencée à tâtons et au hasard, près de vingt ans plus tôt en Birmanie, par le jeune et naïf officier de police, frais émoulu de son collège aristocratique. Maintenant il pouvait enfin conclure : «Ce que j’ai vue en Espagne, et ce que j’ai découvert depuis, concernant les opérations internes des partis politiques de gauche, m’ont donné l’HORREUR DE LA POLITIQUE». Il n’en démordra plus, jusqu’à la mort et c’est de là que sortiront ses trois chefs d’œuvre : *Hommage to Catalonia*, *Animal Farm* and *1984*. (When he returned back to England from Spain, and when he wanted to explain how the communists had betrayed the republican cause in Spain, he immediately and persistently faced the trap of silence and insult, efficiently organised by the commissioners of Comintern and that of their benevolent auxiliaries of the left, who in order to rewrite calmly and cynically the story, swore that they would gag all the fighters who came back from Spain. For the first time, Orwell has been confronted with the totalitarian lies: “the world history stopped in 1936 for George Orwell»⁶¹. The conclusion drawn was unforgettable. Thus, the long political education that Orwell had started with hesitation and randomly about twenty years earlier in Burma, as a young and naïve police officer, freshly drawn from his aristocratic school, was suddenly completed. Now, he could eventually conclude: “what I saw in Spain, and what I have discovered so far, concerning the internal operations of political parties of the left, have shown to me the HORROUR of POLITICS” or he would be attached to this opinion until his death – and his derived he *Hommage to Catalonia*, *Animal Farm* and *1984* from this view.)⁶⁵

Political realities, communicate also with social facts in *Hommage to Catalonia*. The fighters are the genuine patriots. They sacrificed their leisure time, their existence and lives for the single cause of freedom, democracy and happiness, but all the leaders don’t share the same view. Most of the soldiers are poor or they come from lower and middle classes. They are shown in very harsh conditions of poverty, hunger, thirst and starvation at war. Unfortunately, instead of being rewarded after the war, they are persecuted, spied and killed.

⁶⁵ Ibid., PPP. 35-36-37.

Homage to Catalonia is George Orwell's social and political reportage about Spanish Civil War. It is even an international war which is anticipation to the Second World War. It is actually more than a simple struggle between democracy and fascism:

The war therefore was more than a simple struggle between Democracy and Fascism, it was a triangular conflict between those who wished to restore the status quo, those who wished Franco to succeed, and those who were determined that the revolution should be maintained and intensified. Once Orwell grasped the situation he threw himself wholeheartedly on the side of the revolutionaries. His book, then, is an act of homage both to the people of Catalonia and to the experiment in socialism he had briefly witnessed there. The six months he spent in the region were an interlude which he looked back upon for the remainder of his life with affection and nostalgia. This period,' he wrote, 'which then seemed so futile and eventless is now of great importance to me. It is so different from the rest of my life that already it has taken on the magic quality which as a rule, belongs only to memories that are years old.'⁶⁶

The content of this book justify the fact that Orwell's book is a pure documentary reportage:

The book is cast in the form of a series of documentary essays relating in chronological order his experiences as they befell him: Chapter I describes his enlistment in the Lenin Barracks in Barcelona, Chapter 2-4 and 6-8 describe his adventures as a soldier on the Aragon front, Chapters 9-10 contain a detailed and vivid account of the street fighting he witnessed whilst on leave in Barcelona, Chapter 12 describes his return to the front and his nearly fatal throat wound, and 13-14 narrate his return to Barcelona, the nightmare events surrounding the suppression of the POUM, and his eventual return to England. There are two sections of analysis interspersed with the narrative: Chapter 5, which is a summary of the internal political situation at the commencement of the war, and Chapter 11, a résumé of the larger issues behind the street fighting and an attempt to disentangle the truth from the widespread distortions circulating at the time in the Spanish and English press.⁶⁷

In *Down and Out in Paris and London*, history is related to Orwell's harsh life and existence in Paris and London after his resignation from his position of policeman in Burma. He witnessed and lived the conditions of petty jobs doers, of jobless young people, and those

⁶⁶ Hammond, Op.Cit. 132-133.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.133.

of street dwellers. He lived first in Paris, and then in London before embarking for Spain for the Spanish Civil War. The social realities shown in this essay are about the very difficult conditions of jobless or of part-time workers. At this step, Orwell depicts and illustrates how street young people suffer. He becomes one of them. They work in restaurants, in inn services and hotels, and they are not well paid. They sometimes lose their job and it is difficult to find another one. Sometimes, they are not paid on time and they should undergo hunger and ill-treatment at work. In those conditions, Orwell realised that, there is social injustice in these political systems. For, people who work really to make the system function are not well rewarded and those who work less are well satisfied of their life.

Orwell makes understand that the poor are still poor and the rich are still rich in those political systems influenced by socialist and capitalist ideologies. There exists a kind of complicity between the political leaders and economic actors in Paris and London. The laws in the field are made weak before the flagrant exploitation of capitalists and socialists under the reign of socialism in which the aim of law is directed to the leaders' and business people's social and economic interests. According to George Orwell, political forces give up their responsibility of making decisions to check and control commercial, economic, social and work agreements, laws and regulations. Things happen in the United Kingdom and France as if the workers have no rights and duties before their employers; or as if the Bourgeoisie is still authorised to exploit the proletariat endlessly in the core of socialism.

2.2. Animal Farm and Nineteen-Eighten-Four as Allegories

The writing of *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty Four* is the direct consequence of George Orwell's disappointment about politics and its horrors realised by Orwell after his

participation to the Spanish Civil War. After the Spanish Civil War, Orwell understood that the politics as it was done during his time was not favourable to security, social justice, freedom, truth, peace, and sustainable development. Throughout the war, and after he had witnessed and realised that political affairs as they were handled were based on cheating, betrayals, lies, exploitations and crimes; which rose his bitter anger and disappointment. Very shocked by the horrors of politics, he decided to become a full political writer, to tell the home truths about politics. His first novels after *Homage to Catalonia* are *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

2.2.1. *Animal Farm*

Animal Farm is a social and political novel. It is an allegory about Russian totalitarian regime headed first, by Tsar Nicholas, and then by the dictator created by George Orwell. In this fable, the writer has used animals as characters to make the point about human behaviours: "Animal Farm takes events and ideas which might be thought abstract and theoretical and make them concrete, readily understandable and entertaining. It may be a simple tale of rebellion on a farm in a complex story with a powerful message"⁶⁸. *Animal Farm* is a tale about a rebellion against a totalitarian regime organised by a group of powerful animals against the others. This protest is organised in a form of revolution.

In fact, this story is about Russian Revolution of 1917. It is about political ideals and what political practices and malpractices can make of them. It is about Russian political leaders and common citizens. This tale shows how Tsar Nicholas and Stalin used to show power abuse about Russian common citizens' rights and duties. Unfortunately to Tsar, the Russian Revolution of 1917 overthrew his regime. And the Russian Empire was replaced by a state run by communist principles called the Soviet Union. In the newly made system, the

⁶⁸*Animal Farm*, Ibid.,p.6.

workers and peasants (the proletariat) had to get power and rule their system themselves. It was the first form of democracy in the country⁶⁹. That was the ideal. But, this revolution was not shared by everybody. That new Russian political reality gave birth to two political sides. The Reds and the Whites. The whites are the supporters of Tsar's ideologies whereas the reds are the supporters of communist principles. The surrounding countries feared the spreading of this Revolution. This is the reason why Britain joined the alliance of the Whites to fight against the revolutionaries. Russian Revolution was then followed up with a civil war between the new government (the Reds) and the supporters of Tsar (the Whites). Foreign governments, including Britain sent troops to Russia on the side of the whites to fight against the Reds. The whites and their supporters were beaten by the Reds led by Trotsky, also helped by Lenin, another leader of the Reds. Once the victory gained, the Soviet Union tried to modernise and industrialise its system. In the vein of these social, political and economic reforms, the new regime put an end to the reign of landowners by collectivisation. This simply means that the country's lands are collected together into a vast farm run by the state. Economic exploitation of that farm generated advantages that were equally shared among leaders and citizens. However, with the death of Lenin, one of the philosophers and thinkers of the group, disagreements occurred among the leaders about how to rule the system well. Later on, Stalin emerged as the strong leader of the regime. Trotsky, who differed from Stalin on many issues, was exiled from the Soviet Union. In these conditions, nobody else was able to contradict Stalin who started breaking one by one the major principles of the system until he turned the democratically built system into a totalitarian one. The way was then widely open to social injustice, betrayal, tyranny, exploitation of men by men.

In those conditions, many ordinary soviet citizens suffered a lot from harsh working conditions and food shortage. Stalin accepted no opposition. People who disagreed with him

⁶⁹ Ibid., P. 7.

were sent into exile or made suffer in Siberia camps, or they were killed. He then became paranoid and suspected almost everyone. What was implemented did not help Western countries that period, because the socialist system set up by Stalin and his followers have betrayed the original ideology of the founders. It is even the purpose of the writing of *Animal Farm*:

Many people saw Socialism – from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs... - as the answer. The Soviet Union was seen therefore as an example. People who believed in Socialism wanted to believe that what happened in the Soviet Union was good. People who did not like the ideas of Socialism wanted to believe that everything that happened there was bad. Orwell was a Socialist but he was also aware of this, and to shake them out of their rigid ideas. So he wrote *Animal Farm* to show that the ideals of the original founders of the Revolution had been betrayed and that the workers and peasants were being as cruelly treated by the Communist government as they had been by the Tsar. In some ways it was worse, because the Communist government was more efficient and its power reached every aspect of life.⁷⁰

Nevertheless, Orwell does not totally reject socialism. He believes in socialism which should be based on freedom, social justice and common decency. This is clearly shown in the novel:

Orwell was always interested in politics, though his independent attitude prevented him from joining any particular party. He believed in a Socialism which should be built on the triple foundations of liberty, justice and common decency. Many people who did not know Orwell or who read the book in a shallow way thought that Orwell was against Socialism and against revolution. He was certainly not against Socialism – nor even necessarily against revolution. But he did have reservations about the successful outcome of any revolution. He remained uncertain about whether revolutions were bound to end the same way that the one in *Animal Farm* had done – betrayed by its leaders.⁷¹

It is this Russian political history he wrote with a fabulous genre. To recreate this history, George Orwell has selected a certain number of animals that he has put on the stage to play the role of people. He then gives people's qualities and capacities to animals which he made act and interact in the novel:

⁷⁰ *Animal Farm*, Ibid.,p.xi

⁷¹ Ibid.,p.xiv.

At one end of the big barn, on a sort of raised platform, Major was already ensconced on his bed of straw, under a lantern which hung from a beam. He was twelve years old and had lately grown rather stout, but he was still a majestic looking pig, with a wise and benevolent appearance in spite of the fact that his tusches had never been cut. Before long the other animals began to arrive and make themselves comfortable after their different fashions. First came the three dogs, Bluebell, Jessie, and Pitcher, and then the pigs who settled down in the straw immediately in front of the platform. The hens perched themselves on the window-sills, the pigeons fluttered up to the rafters the sheep and cows lay down behind the pigs and began to chew the cud. The two horses had just lain down when a brood of ducklings, which had lost their mother, filed into the barn, cheeping feebly and wandering from side to side to find some place where they would not be trodden on. Clover made a sort of wall round them with her great foreleg, and the ducklings nestled down inside it, and promptly fell asleep. At the last moment Mollie, the foolish, pretty white mare who drew Mr. Jones's trap, came mincing daintily in, chewing at a lump of sugar. She took a place near the front and began flirting her white mane, hoping to draw attention to the red ribbons it was plaited with. All the animals were now present except Moses, the tame raven, who slept on a perch behind the back door.⁷²

Through the first paragraph of the novel, the writer is showing the general immoral and unserious social atmosphere in the novel. The whole country is allegorically shown as a farm. This is called the Manor Farm which is also shown locked. It simply means that Mr. Jones is metaphorically shown as the powerful leader of the kingdom which he locked and controlled at will. No freedom can come from him for animals which symbolises Russian people. He is, in one word, shown as a dictator or a tyrant. The sentence, 'But he was too drunk to remember to shut the pop-holes.', shows his degree of immorality and negligence. Through the phrase 'draw him a last glass of beer from the barrel in the scullery, demonstrates that Mr and Mrs Jones who are holding the political power are at the centre of privilege and pleasure. The immoral accent is reinforced with the phrase '.... Where Mrs. Jones was already snoring'. All those phrases and sentences are drawn from the very first paragraph of chapter one of the novel as mentioned below:

⁷² Ibid., PPP. 1,2,3.

Mr Jones of the Manor Farm had locked the hen-house for the night, but was too drunk to remember to shut the pop-holes. With the ring of light from his lantern dancing from side to side, he lurched across the yard, kicking off his boots at the back door, drew himself a last glass of beer from the barrel in the scullery, and made his way up to be where Mrs. Jones was already Snoring.⁷³

George Orwell has massively used personification to convey his fictional message. There is, for example, Mr. Jones who symbolises Tsar Nicholas, the former Russian Tyrant. There is Old Major, the philosopher and carrier of revolution dream. He is symbolised by Karl Marx and Lenin. Unfortunately for Old Major, after revealing his dream, he died. The revolution has been made successful by all the animals led by Snowball with the support of Old Major's camp. Snowball is symbolised by Leo Trotsky. Stalin is symbolised by Napoleon who emerged as a leader after Lenin's death. Animals symbolise Russian citizens. The Manor Farm is transformed into *Animal Farm*. *Animal Farm* is the new republic created after the revolution. It is a democratic republic. However, after Mr. Jones's failure, another dictator emerged. It is Napoleon who has proceeded in breaking the seven commandments. Those rules are the tenets of the system's constitutional law. He has also betrayed the philosophy of animalism which is the basic philosophy of this democratic system. This democratic governance has been changed into dictatorship or tyranny, followed up with the eradication of opposition parties, political killings, breach of state laws, people's betrayal and political demagogy⁷⁴.

By presenting these pictures in his political and social satires, George Orwell is criticising communist and socialist governance of which he has exhaustively shown the limits. By criticising Russian socialist governance, he is also warning British and international political leaders against the threats and the contaminating aspects of that governance for the world's political system. In fact, George Orwell has rejected totally socialist governance. He

⁷³ Ibid., P. 1 .

⁷⁴ Ibid., PP. 30 – 40.

is only pleading for a democratic socialism actually rooted in social justice, freedom, common decency for peace and development. This system supposes the respect of laws, social justice, freedom of thoughts and actions as well as morality or ethics in politics.

Unfortunately, socialist system in which Orwell strongly believes has failed and it has been replaced by capitalist system which is thought to be the ideal framework of power to people. This is the true meaning of democracy for peace, security and development. This capitalist governance has also shown its limits, because in spite of its implementation, the situations of social injustice, absence of freedom, insecurity and poverty are still omnipresent in the international politics. That is why, only ethics in politics for good governance is necessary to social justice, freedom, common decency, security, peace and sustainable development. Therefore, in spite of the relevance of George Orwell's views on this reality, his flaws lie in the fact that he associates those evils with a rigid political system, instead of binding them to people's minds, thoughts, behaviours, actions and activities.

In *Animal Farm*, Mr. Jones and his wife have been shown as the leading team which is the symbolism of Tsar Nicholas, used by Orwell in *Animal Farm*. Another leading group, in the novel, is Napoleon and his government. Napoleon symbolises here, Stalin who has emerged as the leader of the system after Lenin's death. Lenin is symbolised by Old Major in the novel. Old Major is the philosopher, the ideologue of the system. He is the forerunner and the initiator of the revolution. Both Mr Jones and Napoleon are seen as dictators or tyrants. Tsar has been the emperor of Russian old empire. He has ruled autocratically the empire, safeguarding his interests and those of his family against the interests of other social classes. He has been shown, in the same way, in *Animal Farm* through the symbol of Mr. Jones.

Orwell has shown the issue of State's security as a priority for the tyrants. The use of guns and other weapons is suitable to silent dissenters and political opponents. This passage from the novel illustrates it well:

Unfortunately, the uproar awoke Mr. Jones, who sprang out of bed, making sure that there was a fox in the yard. He seized the gun which always stood in a corner of his bedroom, and let fly a charge of number 6 shot into the darkness. The pellets buried themselves in the wall of the barn and the meeting broke up hurriedly. Everyone fled to his own sleeping place. The birds jumped on to their perches, the animals settled down in the straw, and the whole farm was asleep in a moment.⁷⁵

This passage shows that totalitarianism is still in force in the system. Mr Jones is the only leader against all. He rules his world in an autocratic way. He needs no contribution from other people. He trusts the weapon he can use to silent everybody. His gun is his only guarantee for security in the system. With his gun, he can silent any opposition and make his power reign forever. This image is that of Tsar Nicholas in his tyrannical reign against all the Russian common citizens in quest for social justice and democracy. Another dictator mentioned in the novel is Napoleon who symbolises Joseph Stalin. Stalin has been the leader of *Animal Farm*, this farm being the symbolism of the Soviet Union, the newly formed State, after the Russian revolution. Napoleon has used weapons to torture and kill political opponents and any other people against his ideology. Another group of leaders and people are sent into exile.

The group of political challengers, presented in *Animal Farm* is, first, all the animals opposed to Mr. Jones's system of government. This political system has been shown as that of one party against the others. Fortunately, with the revolution, Mr. Jones's system has been overthrown. However, People's sufferings haven't reached their end yet. After the animals' political victory, Napoleon emerged as the ideal leader; but he has earlier fallen into dictatorship and tyranny. His first political malpractice is the successive breach of principles of the seven commandments. These commandments is the symbolism of Russian constitution, emerged from animalism, which is also the symbolism of Russian ideology. Napoleon has first broken the principle, 'All animals are equal', by inserting discriminations in the system;

⁷⁵ Orwell, *Ibid.*, P. 8.

which makes realise that 'All animals are equal but some are more equal than others'. Later on, he has broken the principle of 'No animal shall kill any other animal'.

From one breach of law to another, Napoleon has succeeded in changing the democratic system into a dictatorial regime. No opposition group is tolerated by Napoleon's system. By doing so, the basic rules of democracy have been jeopardized. No freedoms of thought, no freedom of action are accepted. Social justice making has become a vain word; hence the first limits of Orwell's choice for democratic socialism, rooted in freedom, social justice and common decency. At this specific point, good political governance is not only a matter of a nice and well built ideology and good law. The respect of law and the implementation of an ideology start from people's minds and behaviours. It is then necessary to instil in people and political leaders, political culture, political philosophy and ethics in politics. This will aim at shaping citizens' behaviours in the direction of good political minds, practices and laws for good governance. It should be a reflex for any leader to respect constitutional and other laws of their system and that of international politics, if they acquire this political culture.

This political culture will also boost political tolerance, because it has been shown in *Animal Farm*, a general context of political intolerance through which no opposition party is accepted in the political system. The ones have been tortured and killed and the others sent into exile for no crime but only for their political position. There is, for example, the case of Snowball, the symbol of Leo Trotsky in the novel. Trotsky has never shared the same political views with Napoleon. For that reason, he has been sent into exile by the latter and has been made kill. It is the same with Tsar who has accepted no opposition and who has ruled his system autocratically until he has been overthrown by the revolution⁷⁶. Since those periods, opposition parties have never been accepted neither their ideas nor their contribution to social,

⁷⁶ <http://www.George Orwell.> "A Critical view on *Animal Farm*". January 10th, 2003. 6am.

political and economic development of their society. By suggesting his socialist democracy as a boosting ideology for British and the world's political governance, George Orwell has put a focus on socialism, rooted in social justice, freedom and common decency. By thinking in this way, he has also pleaded for the contribution of the opposition parties.

However, he personally suggests no strategies, no ways and no institutional framework of associating the opposition parties to the political governance. This is, for example, part of the flaws of his social and highly political satire. In the same vein, the absence of the opposition or contradictory parties has led the official leaders to power abuse, dictatorship and other political evils. These are, for example, the breach of law, the use of demagoguery, corruption, political betrayals, exploitation of people etc.. All those evils, bound to a single-party system have been noticed in *Animal Farm*. Napoleon has been shown as the great breaker of laws, as a tyrant, as an exploiter of his citizens, as a demagogue and as a corrupt leader. And for that purpose, Squealer has massively been used as a great communicator, as a great manipulator and a demagogue. Boxer, on the other hand, has become the symbol of the victims of the system. He has been the greatest hard worker but he has got no reward than ingratitude, sickness and death. These are the characteristic features of the political governance, established by Napoleon and his followers. George Orwell has had the merit of presenting and criticising them. But, the flaws of his criticism lie in the fact that his novel has been a utopia, because it contains ideas too good to be practicable. Some of his ideas are also too bad to be believable. This is also the dystopian character of *Animal Farm*.

His analysis needs practicable strategies for social justice and practicable examples of freedom, rights and common decency. The characters involved in the governance of the novel are: Karl Marx (Old Major), Vladimir Lenin (Old Major), Leo Trotsky (Snowball), Joseph Stalin (Napoleon), Adolph Hitler (Frederick), the Allies (Pilkington), the peasants (Boxer), the elite (Mollie), and the Church (Moses). There is, for example, Snowball's and Napoleon's

struggle for power, which is the direct allegory of Trotsky's and Stalin's running for power. Frederick's trade agreement with Napoleon, and his subsequent breaking of the agreement, represents the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact that preceded World War II. The following Battle of the Windmill represents World War II itself. Those characters and events relate and reinforce the topic of political governance under study. Internal political practices and agreements show the scope of British and international political governance through *Animal Farm*⁷⁷.

Bilateral and multilateral agreements are shown. Political relations are also shown among countries. The United Kingdom, Russia, Italy, Germany, France and the USA have been shown through *Animal Farm*. The themes largely explained, discussed and illustrated in the novel are Stalinism, the Soviet Union, authoritarianism or totalitarianism, intelligence, education, tools of oppression, propaganda, duplicity, violence, terror, exploitation, need for human rights, apathy, acceptance, constitution, democracy, need for political morality or ethics, political crimes. Those concepts are key words in political science and political governance. Unfortunately, Orwell's plea for human rights, duties and democracy hasn't met any success in the novel. Napoleon's totalitarianism has succeeded in destroying Russian democratic system. This has raised, the utopian and dystopian character of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* of which the striking elements and ideas have been reinforced in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

2.2.2. *Nineteen Eight-Four*

Nineteen Eighty-Four is the second highly political novel by George Orwell. It is also an allegory inspired by the Russian Revolution against Stalin's totalitarian rule. Many aspects of *Nineteen Eighty Four* show great similarities with Russian social and political realities under Stalin. Big Brother, in *Nineteen Eighty Four*, for example is the metaphorical

⁷⁷ <http://www. George Orwell. Loc. Cit..>

recreation of Stalin. Even technologies used in the systems for psychological and physical pressures, and described by George Orwell in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* are inspired by Russian social and political governance under Stalin. George Orwell caricatures some of those facts in *Animal Farm*, and he reinforces or further explains this in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*:

By the time *Animal Farm* was written the World knew about techniques of brainwashing whereby people were put under psychological pressure to alter their views until they were in line with what the government wanted. This is dealt with in detail by Orwell in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and by Arthur Koestler in his book *Darkness at Noon*.⁷⁸

Nineteen Eighty-Four is George Orwell's social and political satire. In *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, class discrimination is radical and the tendency is even crushing. Big Brother is the only boss and he wants to be the only powerful and respected leader of the system. All the other citizens should be converted to his ideology or they die. His first great and open opponent is Winston Smith whom he has fought against and has finally succeeded in converting to his dictatorial system. No opposition can face the crushing tendency of Big Brother's system. The first group is that of Winston Smith and Julia. Winston, the novel's protagonist is against the Party. He finds indirect methods to rebel, or at least, he believes them to go unnoticed. His main desire is to remain human under inhuman circumstances. Julia is Winston's love-interest and ally. Julia also works in the Ministry of Truth. She is against the Party's doctrine, but she merely wants to break the rules, not to change the society. Emmanuel Goldstein is the leader of the Brotherhood⁷⁹. Orwell leaves ambiguous whether the Brotherhood actually exists or is merely propaganda perpetuated by the Party.

Nevertheless, Goldstein, whether he exists or not, figures prominently as a foil to Big Brother. Big Brother is the symbolic and charismatic leader of the Party. Big Brother is a god-like figure, omnipresent, omnipotent, eternal, and intangible. O'Brien is the member of the

⁷⁸ Orwell. *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Ibid., P. 11.

⁷⁹ Ibid., PP. 12 - 16.

Inner Party. A mysterious figure, O'Brien is Winston's enemy and his ally also; and he is the reason for Winston's ultimate indoctrination to the Party. O'Brien is a personification of the Party, and much of the Party's doctrine is revealed through him. Mr. Charrington is the owner of the shop where Winston rents the room and a member of the Thought Police. Parsons is Winston's neighbor, who ends up in the Ministry of Love with Winston, turned in by his own children. Syme is a Newspeak expert who works with Winston in the Ministry of Truth and he is vaporized. Ampleforth is a poet-of-sorts who works with Winston in the Ministry of Truth and also winds up in the Ministry of Love. All those characters are directly or indirectly involved in political governance either on Big Brother's side or on the opposition side⁸⁰.

The major theme, in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, is totalitarianism on the one hand and social democracy on the other hand. Big Brother's totalitarian regime is the crushing element of any revolutionary or opposition force. To back that totalitarian rule, psychological manipulation is massively used through the novel. When any opposition occurs openly and persistently, physical control is used to reduce those opposing forces into silence. An emphasis is also put on the control of information and history. The major theme illustrating and showing political governance through 1984 is totalitarianism. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is a political novel which is a satire written with the purpose of warning readers in the West of the dangers and threats of totalitarian government. Having witnessed the horrors of totalitarian governments in Spain and Russia, Orwell designed *Nineteen Eighty-Four* to sound the alarm in Western nations still unsure about how to approach the rise of communism. In 1949, the Cold War had not yet escalated, many American intellectuals supporting communism, and the state of diplomacy between democratic and communist nations was highly ambiguous. Moreover, in the American press, the Soviet Union was often portrayed as a great moral experiment. Orwell, however, was deeply disturbed by the widespread cruelties and

⁸⁰ Ibid., PP. 18 – 22.

oppressions he observed in communist countries. He seems to have been particularly concerned by the role of technology in enabling oppressive governments to monitor and control their citizens⁸¹.

In *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Orwell portrays the perfect totalitarian society, the most extreme achievement of a modern-day government with absolute power. The title of the novel was meant to indicate to its readers, in 1949, that the story represented a real possibility for the near future. If totalitarianism were not opposed, the title suggested, some variation of the world described in the novel could become a reality in only thirty-five years. Orwell portrays a state in which government monitors and controls every aspect of human life to the extent that even having a disloyal thought is against the law. The major techniques used by the party to control its people are psychological and physical manipulations⁸².

The Party barrages its subjects with psychological stimuli designed to overwhelm the mind's capacity for independent thought. The giant telescreen in every citizen's room blasts a constant stream of propaganda designed to make the failures and shortcomings of the Party appear to be triumphant successes. The telescreens also monitor behavior-everywhere they go, citizens are continuously reminded, especially by means of the omnipresent signs reading "BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU.":

The halfway smelt of boiled cabbage and old rag mats. At one end of it, a coloured poster, too large for indoor display, had been racked to the wall. It depicted simply an enormous face, more than a metre wide: the face of a man of about forty-five, with a heavy black moustache and ruggedly handsome features [...]. It was one of those pictures which are so contrived that the eyes follow you about when you move. BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU, the caption beneath it ran.⁸³

This means that the authorities are scrutinizing them. The Party undermines family structure by inducting children into an organization, called the Junior Spies, which

⁸¹ <http://www.Amazon.com>. "Russian Revolution". 15 /08/2012. 8 am.

⁸² Loc. Cit.

⁸³ Orwell. *Nineteen Eighty- Four*. Ibid., P. 5.

brainwashes and encourages them to spy on their parents and report any instance of disloyalty to the Party. The Party also forces individuals to suppress their sexual desires, treating sex as merely a procreative duty whose end is the creation of new Party members. The Party then channels people's pent-up frustration and emotion into intense, ferocious displays of hatred against the Party's political enemies. Many of these enemies have been invented by the Party expressly for this purpose.

In addition to the manipulation of minds, the Party also controls the bodies of its subjects. The Party constantly watches for any sign of disloyalty, to the point that, as Winston observes, even a tiny facial twitch could lead to an arrest. A person's own nervous system becomes his greatest enemy. The Party forces its members to undergo mass morning exercises called the Physical Jerks, and then to work long, grueling days at government agencies, keeping people in a general state of exhaustion. Anyone who does manage to defy the Party is punished and "reeducated" through systematic and brutal torture. After being subjected to weeks of this intense treatment, Winston himself comes to the conclusion that nothing is more powerful than physical pain, no emotional, loyalty or moral conviction can overcome it. By conditioning the minds of their victims with physical torture, the Party is able to control reality, convincing its subjects that $2 + 2 = 5$.⁸⁴

Doublethink and Newspeak have been other realities in the book as far as history and information treatments are concerned. The Party controls every source of information, managing and rewriting the content of all newspapers and histories for its own ends. The Party does not allow individuals to keep records of their past, such as photographs or documents. As a result, memories become fuzzy and unreliable, and citizens become perfectly willing to believe whatever the Party tells them. By controlling the present, the Party is able to manipulate the past. And in controlling the past, the Party can justify all of its actions in the

⁸⁴ Ibid., P. 262.

present. By means of telescreen and hidden microphones across the city, the Party is able to monitor its members almost all of the time. The Party employs also complicated mechanisms to exert large-scale control on economic production and sources of information, and fearsome machinery to inflict torture upon those it deems enemies⁸⁵. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* reveals that technology, which is generally perceived as working toward moral good, can also facilitate the most diabolical evil. The psycholinguistic scope of 1984 lies in the systematized use of Newspeak through which people's language is modified and shaped in the direction of the party's ideology, philosophy and mind⁸⁶.

The idea of "doublethink"⁸⁷ emerges as an important consequence of the Party's massive campaign of large-scale psychological manipulations. It is the ability to hold two contradictory ideas in one's mind at the same time. As the Party's mind-control techniques break down an individual's capacity for independent thought, it becomes possible for that individual to believe anything that the Party tells them, even while possessing information that runs counter to what they are being told. At the Hate Week rally, for instance, the Party shifts its diplomatic allegiance, so the nation it has been at war with suddenly becomes its ally, and its former ally becomes its new enemy. The room 101⁸⁸ is another symbol of tortures cell and hell in the novel. In this room, the party enemies are tortured and brainwashed till they are converted to the system. It is where Winston and Julia are tortured and brainwashed too.

The omnipresent telescreens are the book's most visible symbol of the Party's constant monitoring of its subjects. In their dual capability to blare constant propaganda and observe citizens, the telescreens also symbolize how totalitarian government abuses technology for its own ends instead of exploiting its knowledge to improve civilization. The Red-Armed Prole

⁸⁵ Ibid., PP. 190 - 191.

⁸⁶ Ibid., PP. 192 – 195.

⁸⁷ Ibid., PP. 192 – 193.

⁸⁸ Ibid., P. 214.

Woman is the symbol through which Winston is making account of this dreams of the Proles whose children will sooner or later challenge this totalitarian system and turn things against Big Brother's system for democracy and people's rights or welfare. The plot presentation of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is related to the description and the social evolution of Winston and Julia. In fact, Winston Smith is the protagonist of the novel and a member of the Outer Party. He is one of the freedom fighters of the book. He doesn't share the Inner Party's ideology. He is challenging Big Brother's political system in the nation of Oceania. Everywhere Winston goes, even his own home, Big Brother's Party watches him through telescreen. Everywhere, he looks; he sees the face of the Party's seemingly omniscient leader, a figure known only as Big Brother. The Party controls everything in Oceania, even the people's history and language. The Party is forcing the implementation of an invented language called Newspeak. This language attempts to prevent political rebellion by eliminating all words related to it. Even thinking rebellious thoughts is illegal. Such thought crime is the worst of all crimes. Apart from the prohibition of free thought, sex and any expression of individuality are also forbidden.

Winston has illegally purchased a diary in which to write his criminal thoughts. He has also become fixated on a powerful Party member, named O'Brien, whom Winston believes is a secret member of the Brotherhood, the mysterious, legendary group that works to overthrow the Party. Winston works in the Ministry of Truth, where he alters historical records to fit the needs of the Party. There, he has acquaintances with Julia, one of his co-workers. Julia is a beautiful dark-haired girl. He worries that she is an informant who will turn him in for his thought crime. He is troubled by the Party's control of history: the Party claims that Oceania has always been allied with Eastasia in a war against Eurasia. But, Winston seems to recall a time when this was not true. The Party also claims that Emmanuel Goldstein, the alleged leader of the Brotherhood, is the most dangerous man alive, but this does not seem plausible

to Winston. Winston spends his evenings wandering through the poorest neighbourhoods in London, where the proletarians, or proles, live squalid lives, relatively free of Party monitoring.⁸⁹

One day, Winston receives a note from Julia in which he reads “I love you.” She tells him her name, Julia, and they begin a covert affair, always on the lookout for signs of Party monitoring. Finally, they rent a room above the secondhand store in the prole district where Winston bought the diary. This relationship lasts for some time. Winston is sure that they will be caught and punished sooner or later while Julia is more pragmatic and optimistic. As Winston’s love affair with Julia progresses, his hatred for the Party grows more and more intense. At last, he receives the message that he has been waiting for. O’Brien wants to see him. Winston and Julia travel to O’Brien’s luxurious apartment. As a member of the powerful Inner Party, O’Brien leads a life of luxury that Winston can only imagine. O’Brien confirms to Winston and Julia that, like them, he hates the Party, and says that he works against it as a member of the Brotherhood. He indoctrinates Winston and Julia into the Brotherhood, and gives Winston a copy of Emmanuel Goldstein’s book, the manifesto of the Brotherhood. Winston reads the book, an amalgam of several forms of class-based twentieth-century social theory to Julia in the room above the store. Suddenly, soldiers barge in and seize them. Mr. Charrington, the proprietor of the store, is revealed as having been a member of the Thought Police all along.

Torn away from Julia and taken to a place called the Ministry of Love, Winston finds that O’Brien, too, is a Party spy who simply pretended to be a member of the Brotherhood in order to trap Winston into committing an open act of rebellion against the Party. O’Brien spends months torturing and brainwashing Winston, who struggles to resist. At last, O’Brien sends him to the dreaded Room 101, the final destination for anyone who opposes the Party.

⁸⁹ Ibid., PP. 240 – 241.

Here, O'Brien tells Winston that he will be forced to confront his worst fear. Throughout the novel, Winston has had recurring nightmares about rats. O'Brien now straps a cage full of rats onto Winston's head and prepares to allow the rats to eat his face. Winston snaps, pleading with O'Brien to do it to Julia, not to him. Giving up Julia is what O'Brien wanted from Winston all along. His spirit has broken; Winston is released to the outside world. He meets Julia but no longer feels anything for her. He has accepted the Party entirely and has learned to love Big Brother. This change of position and side shows the total failure of Winston's rebellion, revolution, fight as well as that of his ideology, of social justice for democracy and development. This also reinforces the weaknesses and the utopian character of Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

2.3. Orwell's Perception of the English society.

George Orwell realises that the English society is a highly aristocratic society. He thinks that English people feel themselves as the best in the world. They consider themselves as strong and wealthy and they tend to despise other populations. Social discriminations he witnessed at St Cyprian School is an evidence. The behaviours of the colonial leaders of the European Club in Burma is another example. The respect people have for the British in the world made George Orwell benefit from consideration and respect in Spain during the Spanish Civil War. As he presented himself as a British man, everybody respected him, and he was even charged to give military training to the other soldiers of the troop. His perception of the English society is related to his personal view about social discriminations and economic exploitation of the rich by the poor in *Down and Out in Paris and London*.

In other words, in *Down and Out in Paris and London*, George Orwell has succeeded in making the parallel between the rich and the poor. Poor people are shown in their misery, their sufferings, their despair and homeless situation:

The lodgers were a floating population, largely foreigners, who used to turn up without engage, stay a week and then disappear again. They were of every trade – cobblers, bricklayers, stonemasons, navies, students, prostitutes, rag-pickers. Some of them were fantastically poor⁹⁰.

Most of the victims are young and jobless people. They undergo harsh job insecurity and instability. They can gain a job today and lose it tomorrow. Most of those jobs are petty jobs such as dishwashing, restaurant, inn and hotel services. No legal guarantee is given to those jobs. By depicting the situations of those workers, Orwell is raising the question of work agreement to offer best conditions to workers. Orwell is explaining also that the worker has done his job of giving required quality of work; the employer should play his part and give the guarantee of permanent salary and security at work. Orwell is also drawing the workers' attention onto their rights at work before the employer. In *Down and Out in Paris and London*, the major character is the narrator, George Orwell himself. Paddy, Charlie, Furex and Bozo are the other characters of the books who have suffered the same situation as Orwell. Most of those characters, as George Orwell, have witnessed poverty and hard working conditions before the wealthy and great entrepreneurs or employers⁹¹.

The system is responsible for those exploitations and injustice is English socialist system. English socialism, supported by other Western socialist governments is not making social justice or security peace and development. He rather thinks that the way English socialism is implemented should be changed. His view for English socialism is that English socialism should be rooted in liberty, social justice and common decency. It is what he largely discussed in *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty Four*. He denounces also the same thing by

⁹⁰ Orwell. *Down and Out in Paris and London*. Ibid. PP. 6-7.

⁹¹ Ibid., PP. 14 - 19.

criticising British participation to the Spanish Civil War. So, for George Orwell, British people should go beyond their classical stratification of upper, middle and lower classes to make social justice for freedom and common decency. This is the single and best guarantee to security, peace and sustainable development.

Part Two:
George Orwell's Fiction
and Non-Fiction as
Essence of Revolution
and Change

Chapter Three: Orwell's Recreation of the English Society

3.1. Fiction and Reality in Orwell's Works

3.1.1. Definition of Realism

According to *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary* "Realism is a style in art or literature that shows things and people as they are in real life".⁹² Realism then puts a focus on things and people as they truly are in society. It is a literary trend according to which literary works describe, show, analyse and interpret things as well as people's behaviours and actions as they truly happen in time and space. Realism deals with reality as the basis of description and analysis in literature. Realism is also a theory. Realism theory is the belief that many or most cognitive biases are not "errors" but instead logical and practical reasoning methods of dealing with the "real world".⁹³ Realism theory is both a literary and a political theory:

Realism, also known as political realism, is a view of international politics that stresses its competitive and confliction side. It is usually contrasted with idealism or liberalism, which tends to emphasize cooperation. Realists consider the principal actors in the international arena to be states, which are concerned with their own security, act in the pursuit of their own national interests, and struggle for power.⁹⁴

It is clear that discussions about the state, its powers, functions and legal framework are the major concerns of political realism. For, political realism is a view of politics which puts an emphasis on its competitive and realism confliction side. So, in political competition for power, interests and security is a reality. In addition, the negative side of the realists' emphasis on power and self-interest is their scepticism regarding the relevance of ethical norms to relations among states. In the same vein, national politics is the realm of authority and law, whereas international politics is a sphere without justice, characterised by active or

⁹² Horby, Op. Cit., p.1258.

⁹³ <http://www.RealismTheory.wikipedia>. July, .17th, 2010.5:00am.

⁹⁴ Loc. Cit., July, 2010.

potential conflict among states. However, some political realists agree on the presence of ethical norms to relations among states.⁹⁵

The types of political realism are classical realism and radical or extreme realism. Classical realism is founded and developed by twentieth-century theorists as Reinhold Niebuhr and Hans Morgenthau whereas radical and extreme political realism is founded by Nicolo Machiavelli. The classical realism emphasises the concept of national interest. The classical realists do not reject the possibility of moral judgment in international politics. They are critical moralists. As for radical realists, they think as the Machiavellian doctrine that anything is justified by reason of state. This view involves the glorification of war or conflict. Thucydides, Machiavelli and Hobbes are the founding fathers of political realism.⁹⁶

On the basic of the above mentioned literatures about realism and political realism, I will show and examine realism or political realism in the fiction and non fiction works in general and George Orwell's writings in particular.

3.1.2. Realism as the Making of Creativity

Reading and interpreting literary works, I realised that realism influences and helps to shape creative works. In fact, the strong will of reinventing realities boosts the writing inspiration and spirit of creativity. No creative work is conceived, built, structured and shaped a nihilo. Social, political, scientific and cultural realities always impact the novelist as well as his novel. Indeed, the setting in space and time is the rooting element of the reality based-fiction. In addition, all the social, political and economic realities are the guiding elements of the writer's literary realism. Literary realism inspired the novelist ability to recreate the truth in a fictional form. Sometimes, fiction is totally or partly inspired by reality which is also reinvented by the writer. George Orwell's *Burmese Days*, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty Four* can be mentioned as examples.

⁹⁵ Loc. Cit. July, 2010.

⁹⁶ Loc. Cit., July, 2010.

3.1.3. Realism as a Recall of Human Experiences

George Orwell's is seen as a pure novelist because he wrote novels strictly respecting the rules related to the content– based and form of a creative work . But, he is also viewed as a novelist of a particular genre. His particular genre writings are concerned with some of writings which are partly his biography, and partly the arrangement of facts to reconstitute the truth about social, political and economic events. These books deals with his own life events that he tries to recreate to tell the truth about the facts that he witnessed. This category of books by George contains his essays and literary reportages in which the writer has been shown as an actor and a participant to those social and political actions. Examples of books here are *Down and Out in Paris and London* and *Homage to Catalonia* under study. George Orwell has been described as playing the role of a dishwasher, street workers and Sweepers in Paris and London.

3.1.4. Realism through Orwell's Novels

Realism through Georges Orwell's fiction has triple meanings. The first meaning is literary realism above defined as a style in art or literature that shows things and people as they are in real life. At this level, Orwell has applied all the literary rules and devices required to make see and understand reality in his writings. The second meaning of realism is its meaning of political realism. This political theory inspires Orwell's thinking, analysis and interpretation about real political actions, events, rules and behaviours. The third meaning is merely psychological. It is indeed, Orwell's mental and psychological ability to reconstitute the truth about political institutions, rules, practices and behaviours.

In *Animal Farm*, political and literary realism theories have offered required matters to Orwell to show his realism in recreating the Soviet Union political governance under Stalin and his supporters. As a matter of fact, in *Animal Farm*, Orwell has recreated, in the form of a fabulous fiction, the history of the Russian political and social systems under the reign of Tsar

Nicholas and that of Stalin totalitarian governance. Opposed to that totalitarian regime, there was the manifestation of The Russian Revolution, conceived by Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin. This revolution was led by Trotsky. The revolution succeeded in overthrowing the Russian traditional totalitarianism which was replaced by a democratic regime headed by Joseph Stalin. This democratic regime is rooted in communism backed up with socialist influences neighbouring it or abroad. Very quickly, Stalin disagreed on Trotsky's political views and he treated the latter as a political adversary. He made Trotsky and his followers run for exile after arresting and killing some of Trotsky's supporters and sympathisers. He then became a dictator, a despot and a tyrant. He also broke democratic rules step by step until he turned the newly built democracy into a tyranny Similar with the one exercised by Tsar Nicolas, and which had been previously destroyed by the revolution.

George Orwell having read and heard about those political situations has been inspired and has written a tale about them in the form of allegory, entitled *Animal Farm*. Therefore, the reality content of *Animal Farm* is related to those Russian political and social events. George Orwell's realism here is to recreate in the form of fiction those Russian political and social facts about the Russian reign of totalitarianism, the Russian Revolution to overthrow Tsar's totalitarian reign, the Russian democracy building by Karl Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and other revolutionary and democracy, as well as the destruction of that democracy by the dictator Stalin and his followers, who unfortunately re-established totalitarianism. Aware of that totalitarian threat against democracy in a sphere where the United Kingdom and other countries shared the same international political framework as Russia, George Orwell wrote his *Animal Farm* as a warning to British socialist leaders who should be watchful, and practise socialism rooted in freedom, social justice and common decency to avoid injustice, insecurity, wars and any other social and human catastrophes. This warning has been reinforced and further illustrated in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is another reality-based novel. Realism in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is related to the fact that Orwell has used the inspiration he got from the reality content of the Russian Yevgeny Zamyatin's *We* to write about Russian social and political realities, including totalitarian political regime set up and ruled by tyrants who have power to control everything in the system. This has also been reinforced by Well's *Brave New World* in which the writer has proceeded on an imaginary description of London in the years 2100 under a high influence of technologies. Another realistic element is related to the view Orwell has on the Cold War and the ruling of the world after the Second World War. All the fictional events, characters, time and place setting of *Nineteen-Eighty-Four* have been inspired by those previously known or read realistic contexts. George Orwell's *Burmese Days* is not an exception, to this rule. Real events of Orwell's life, time and experiences have highly impacted the writing of *Burmese Days* by George Orwell. Reality in *Burmese Days* is so high that the novel seems a fictional account of Orwell's Stay in Burma. The title *Burmese Days* of the novel is also eloquent and illustrative. It simply means the point of the Days Orwell spent in Burma. And the content of the novel is not the opposite of this reality. In his writer's career, George Orwell made an exception to the writing of pure novels to create another particular genre, partly realistic and autobiographical, and partly creative. These writings are George Orwell's essays or documentary reportages as *Homage to Catalonia*, *Road to Wigan Pier*, and *Down and Out in Paris and London*.

3.1.5. Realism through Orwell's Documentary Reportages

George Orwell's selected essays are *Down and Out in Paris and London* and *Homage to Catalonia*. *Down and Out in Paris and London* is the account of Orwell's difficult and harsh life in Paris and London. In fact, after his returning back from Burma, Orwell decided to side with poor, weak and suffering people to fight against totalitarianism, social injustice, exploitation of men by men, and any form of dictatorship. He preferred seeking petty poles in

Paris and London to earn his living. It is also an opportunity for him to become an eye-witness of poor and suffering people in their bad conditions under the reign of rich and totalitarian dictators. That time socialism, backed up with communist values was in full swing in the United Kingdom and France. In spite of that political ideology under which social justice, people's rights and duties should be promoted, there were many young people suffering and dying in British and French business centres and streets.

George Orwell willingly took an active part in petty jobs in order to live and witness the real life of those weak and suffering young people. His experiences and stay in Paris and London have been recounted in *Down and Out in Paris and London*. The writer has described the true image of his life in London and Paris as a dishwasher, a hotel or Inn services servant, a radio reporter, and a teacher. The specificity of this reportage is the rearrangement of events in the way that they should reconstitute the truth about the reality of his own life, that of his fellow young people, and that of all the weak and poor people. Therefore, *Down and Out in Paris and London* is the rearranged organisation of political and social events during George Orwell's time. Another book by Orwell of the same genre is *Homage to Catalonia*.

Homage to Catalonia is also a reportage by George Orwell. To show his political commitment to socialism, he thinks that the best solution to succeed in eradicating totalitarianism is his contribution to the Spanish Civil War to help the democratic Republican government fight against General Franco's militia. George Orwell then went to Spain to defend democracy against totalitarianism. He took an active part in the Spanish Civil War. Unfortunately, his camp lost the fight against fascism and Nazism. He was even wounded by fascist sniper's bullet. He had to be sent back to London. He succeeded in escaping the fascists' persecution after a difficult, suffering and troublesome travel. Once in London, propaganda was made about the Spanish Civil War; which made a false image and a false interpretation of that war. Bitterly shocked, he decided to write his *Homage to Catalonia* to

make the account of the war in his book, as well as the true reasons of the war. All these things are explained and illustrated in *Homage to Catalonia* in the form of a documentary reportage. *Homage to Catalonia* is then about Orwell's share of truth about the Spanish Civil War. Here Orwell dealt also with a true history, except the fact that these historical, political and social events have been well rearranged to reconstitute logically, coherently realities. Those utopian and dystopian views make his writings utopian or dystopian.

3.2. Concepts of Utopian and Dystopian Writings

The adjective utopian and dystopian is made out of the words utopia and dystopia. Utopia is an imaginary place or state in which everything is perfect whereas dystopia is an imaginary place or state in which everything is extremely bad or unpleasant.⁹⁷ Utopia then refers to too optimistic ideas or views. That too optimism even leads to the unrealistic and unimplementable character of the suggested views and ideas. On the other hand, dystopia refers to too pessimistic ideas and views about an issue. That highly pessimistic tone makes the suggested views unbelievable, unrealistic and implementable. Thus, an imaginary society or system can become utopian or dystopian. It is the same with a writing which can become utopian or dystopian. It simply means that the writings under discussion are describing, interpreting or raising ideas and issues too optimistically or pessimistically shown to be realistic or achievable. Utopia is also related to the idea of an earthy paradise, or an earthy perfection which is not possible. Any literary work discussing also the concepts of justice, happiness, truth, virtues and development are utopian or dystopian writings. Plato, Aristotle,

⁹⁷Horby. Op. Cit. , pp. 479, 1690.

Thomas More and other pre and post Socratic writers have built utopian or dystopian literatures and societies, and they have then become utopian writers and theorists. Some basic referential books in the context are Plato's *The Republic* and Thomas More *Utopia*. This is further explained in the text below:

The word dystopia represents a counter part of utopia, a term originally coined by Thomas More in his book of which the title is completed in 1516. The first known use of dystopian, as recorded by the Oxford English Dictionary, is a speech given before the British House of Commons by John Stuart Mill in 1868, in which Mill denounced the government's Irish policy: "It is, perhaps, too complementary to call them utopias, they ought rather to be called dystopian, or cacotopians. What is commonly called utopian is something too good to be practicable, but what they appear to favour is too bad to be practicable. Many dystopias, found in fictional and artistic works present a utopian society with at least one fatal flaw, whereas a utopian society is founded on the good life, a dystopian society's dreams of improvement are overshadowed by stimulating fears of the ugly consequences of present-days behaviour. People are alienated and individualism is restricted by the government. An early example of a dystopian novel is *Rasselas* (1759), by Samuel Johnson, set in Ethiopia.⁹⁸

The evolution of the classical and primitive version of utopia has led to utopian socialism. Utopian socialist is a term to define the first tendencies of modern socialist thought. The fathers and supporters of socialist influence are Karl Marx, Robert Owen, Ruskin, William Morris, John Stuart Mill, F .D. Maurice, Carlyle, Dickens, Oscar Wilde, Jeremy Bentham, Rudyard Kipling...

British socialism was not, in its original forms, Marxist, nor has it ever been inspired entirely by Marx. It began with the industrial experiments of Robert Owen after 1815 but these failed, largely because his assistants and deputies could never carry out his ideas, which became increasingly vague and unpractical. In the second half of the 19th century, a new socialist inspiration arose indirectly from the writings of Ruskin, who saw the mass production of the new capitalism as degrading to man, whether he worked in factories or brought their standardized products. From Ruskin, the Pre-Raphaelite and the later aesthetic movements grew up; they made a cult of beauty and its power to redeem the mind from industrial vulgarity and though this did, not necessarily give them sympathies with socialism their

⁹⁸ [http://Jeremy .Bentham.com](http://Jeremy.Bentham.com)., Ibid., retrieved in June 11th, 2011.3:00.a m.

opposition to the commercial world easily became opposition to capitalism.⁹⁹

Discussing social justice, the necessity for freedom and common decency, writers deal with both utopian and dystopian issues. Most of socialist engaged writers and theorists are both utopian and dystopian, or they are either utopian or dystopian:

Thus late-19th century British socialism was produced by the convergence of widely different streams of thought and feelings but the most effective of them all was Utilitarianism: Beatrice Webb and her associates built up a body of knowledge based on the investigation of social facts and developed critical methods for the scrutiny of institutions, which they derived ultimately from Bentham. The period between 1880 and 1914 was one of vigorous public discussions in which social issues were central in literature, marked by strong polemical tendencies [...] socialism and rationalism were opposed by the catholic writers Chesterton and Hillarie Bellow who used witty and ebullient styles to demonstrate that Catholicism could be as reasonable and socially relevant as socialism, and far more emotionally appealing. Their chief antagonists were the novelist H. G. Wells (1899 – 1946) and the dramatist George Bernard Shaw (1856 – 1950). These were by far the most popular writers of their time. Wells and Shaw were socialists and members of Fabian Society. [...] Both Wells and Shaw brought the optimistic and materialistic aspects of Victorian thinking to their logical conclusion. The First World War destroyed such optimism for ever.

The above mentioned text shows and further explains the basic roots of utopian and dystopian ideas, issues, socialism, writings, societies and writers. Either the writers' optimism is disappointed, and this led them to a harsh pessimism or they think and imagine things which are too idealistic or perfect to be implementable. George Orwell has been highly affected by that phenomenon. He moved from pessimism to optimism. In some writings, he described world or realities too pessimistic to be realistic and implementable and in others, he described and suggested social, political and economic, facts too perfect to be achievable. Some examples of these utopian and dystopian writings by George Orwell are: *Burmese Days*, *A Clergyman's Daughter*, *Keep the Aspidistra Flying*, *coming Up for Air*, *The Road to*

⁹⁹ Gillie, Op. Cit., pp.176, 177..

Wigan Pier, Homage to Catalonia, Down and Out in Paris and London, Animal Farm and Nineteen Eighty Four.

George Orwell has been inspired with a series of writings on social justice, virtues, happiness and development. The suggestions derived from the criticism and analyses of those writers have neither been concluding nor practicable. In spite of their relevance and validity, they have shown flaws and imperfection. Nevertheless, the issues of those writings and the light they cast on human and social behaviours should have enlightened social and political governance that might have inspired Orwell's writings. Truly speaking, social and political governance shown and suggested by those writings have demonstrated great flaws. They seem too good to be practicable or too bad to be practicable. Thus, the respective meaning of utopia and that of dystopia is established. But, is utopian and dystopian literature definitively useless to humanity and society? I will explain and show the different meanings of utopian and dystopian literatures as well as their contexts and dimensions. Then, I will show the strengths and weaknesses of works by Orwell.

These works are both fictional and non-fictional. Orwell has written novels as well as general books. Some of his general books are autobiographical. Most of those books are the account of the writer's life, as a policeman, a journalist, a teacher, a dishwasher, a socialist militant and a soldier at war in Spain. It is the point of these sufferings and misery the writer has made through books. Through these writings, he has shown his sorrows and nightmares. That is the reason why these writings are called dystopian works. Through them, he has shown, directly or indirectly, his dreams for a better future; which makes the writings utopian. In fact, George Orwell's idealistic views are too good to be practicable. It is also the same with his exaggerated satirisation of social and political practices; which makes the writer fall into dystopianism.

The major target of utopian and dystopian writers is to denounce and criticise social and political systems or superstructures which tend to break social justice, harmony, or to break true socialist rules. Most of those writers show their anger and resentment against imperialism, totalitarianism and any form of dictatorship. In their pessimistic attitude, they suggest worlds too good to be practicable. Even their harsh description of totalitarian systems and regimes is so dark or pessimistic that it could never exist on the earth. In addition, the best means suggested by such writers is revolution or change for democracy and human rights promotion. This Orwell's view is also shared by British or International social and political movements.

Major European writers and theorists of science fiction have shown, through their writings, humanism and philosophy of sciences, their satirical views on states, empires and any other political institution organisation. More's concept, utopia would be borrowed by many later science fiction writers and the utopia motif is a common one in science fiction. It is notable that More and Francis Bacon, a leading humanist and philosopher of science, wrote works of proto-science fiction. There is the example of Bacon's fantasy, *The New Atlantis*, published in (1627). Scientific developments have led to the Age of Reason, influenced by speculative writers and theories such as: Johannes Kepler's *Somnium (The Dream)*, (1634), Francis Goodwin's *The Man in the Moon*, (1638), Cyrano de Bergerac's *Comical History of the States and Empires of the Moon* (1656), Voltaire's *Micromegas* (1752), Victor Hugo's *The Legend of the Centuries* (1859), Jean-Baptist Cousin de Granville's *Le Dernier Homme* (1805). Hugo's and Granville's writings are trying to predict what is to come in the twentieth and next centuries. Historian, Felix Bodin is added to the list with his work *Le Roman de l'Avenir* (1834) as well as Emile Souvestre's *Le Monde Tel Qu'il Sera* (1846); the theorists whose novels try to predict what the next century will be like. Jane C. London's *The Mummy: A Tale of the Twenty-Second Century* (1836) can be added to the list. In this work, *Cheops* is

revived by scientific means into a world in political crisis, where technology has advanced to gas flame jewellery and houses that migrate on rails. Louis Gregory's *Napoleon et la Conquête du Monde* (1836) has shown an alternate history of world, conquered by Napoleon.

The above mentioned elements of science fiction have also been the issues of priority in Jules Verne's and George Orwell's social and political satires. The European brand of science fiction proper began later in the 19th century with the scientific romances of Jules Verne and the science-oriented novels of social criticism of H. G. Wells. Verne's adventure stories such as , *A Journey to the Center of the Earth* (1864), *From the Earth to the Moon* (1865), and *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea* (1869) mixed daring romantic adventure with technology that was either up to the minute or logically extrapolated into the future. L. Sprague de Camp calls Verne "the world's first full-time science fiction novelist." Well's stories, likewise, use science fiction devices to make didactic points about his society. In *The Time Machine* (1895), for example, the technical details of the machine are glossed over quickly so that the Time Traveler can tell a story that criticizes the stratification of English society. The story also uses Darwinian evolution as it would be expected in a former student of Darwin's champion, Huxley's writings, and it also shows an awareness, and criticism, of Marxism. In *The War of the Worlds* (1898), the Martians' technology is not explained as it would have been in a Verne story, and the story is resolved by a *deus ex machina*.

It is then clear that the differences between Verne and Wells highlight a tension that would exist in science fiction throughout its history. The question of whether to present realistic technology or to focus on characters and ideas has been ever-present, as has been the question of whether to tell an exciting story or make the didactic point of literary works evident or ostensible. As Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* has been the boosting element to ideologies supporting the movements for American independence and democracy, the British

movement of The Angry Young Men, going in the same direction as The New Wave, have denounced social and political malpractices to plead for social justice, freedom and development. The famous writers and theorists in the field are: British novelist, Kingsley Amis who has published *New Maps of Hell* which is a literary history and examination of the field of science fiction. Another writer is Frank Herbert, with his *Dune*, published in 1965. This is a dense, complex and detailed work of fiction, featuring political intrigue in a future galaxy, strange and mystical religious beliefs and the eco-system of the desert planet, *Arrakis*.

In addition, British The New Wave movement, in general, has been of a great influence on British people, society and on the whole world. In Britain, the 1960s generation of writers, dubbed "The New Wave", were experimented with different forms of science fiction, stretching the genre towards surrealism, psychological drama and mainstream currents. The 60s The New Wave was centered around the writing in the magazine *New Worlds* after Michael Moorcock assumed editorial control in 1963. William Burrough influenced the period. The writers of The New Wave also believed themselves to be building on the legacy of The French New Wave artistic movement and French revolution. Though The New Wave was largely a British movement, there were parallel developments taking place in American science fiction at the same time. The relation of the British The New Wave to American science fiction was made clear by Harlan Ellison's original anthology *Dangerous Visions*, which presented science fiction writers, both American and British, writing stories that pushed the boundaries of what was acceptable in a science fiction magazine. And Isaac Asimov, writing an introduction to the anthology, labeled this in the *Second Revolution*, after the first revolution that produced the Golden Age.

With all those information, utopian and dystopian literatures have almost the same directions, philosophies, goals, techniques, fields of research and convergent future views. But, how have they dealt with political governance? And what is George Orwell's specific

way and style? George Orwell, in his books, mainly in *Burmese Days*, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eight Four*, has dealt with science fiction, because through his writings and analysis, he has discussed the impact of technologies and scientific research on societies, people's lives and activities. Thus, the description of the Spanish War is a reality. And war means use of weapons, made owing to scientific and technological researches. It is the same in *Animal Farm* in which Mr Jones has used gun to threaten the first attempt of animals' revolution. It is identical in *Nineteen Eighth-Four* where he has shown an abundant use of technologies by Big Brother to restrict people's freedom, lives, activities and movements. There are the examples of telescreen, torture equipment and the weapons used to make wars among Oceania, Arasia and Eastasia.

Once more, George Orwell, following the steps of his predecessors, has become a great utopian, dystopian, anti-utopian and science fiction writer. 'Utopian or dystopian writers dealing largely with technologies and their impact on societies are Hargaret Atwood (1985), William Gibson (1984), Jack London (1908); Richard Backman (1982), John Whyndham (1955), H.G. Wells (1895), Aldous Huxley (1932), George Orwell (1949), Ray Bradbury 1953), P.D. James (1992), etc.. Other aspects and elements, discussed by those categories of writers are political science, political ideologies, economic ideologies, individual and social thoughts, minds, Many other British writers have greatly influenced the U.K.'s and the world's political governance and institutions organising and shaping. Among them, Orwell is the striking one because he has not only been a great writer but also a great socialist militant and politician. This justifies his massive use of political ideologies, philosophies and government systems in both his novels and general books. He has written his productions with the influence of numerous other literary productions. Among those writers, there is the English playwright and poet, William Shakespeare who is widely regarded as the greatest dramatist of all time.

Chapter Four: Politics and Power in Orwell's Fiction and Non-Fiction

4.1. Chaos and Injustice in the Selected Books

Chaos in George Orwell's selected works means any obstacle, any difficult situation, any threat or danger to human rights and duties, human and social development, any situation destroying order, peace and security. As for social injustice in George Orwell's writings, it is related to the fact that those who deserve reward for the personal and collective effort in society are neglected whereas those who deserve nothing and who should even be blamed are encouraged in their social malpractices against the laws. Those practices reinforce imperialism, dictatorship and tyranny in social and political governance.

In *Animal Farm*, for example, chaos is related to the fact that Mr. Jones established a reign of tyranny without accountability nor claim from the governed. In fact, the Manor Farm is the symbol of Russian country. It is also the symbol of the United Kingdom, and even that of Germany, Spain, Italy and any other country in the context of international politics that time; because George Orwell's criticism and warning are not only about British country but also other countries of international politics where imperialism, dictatorship and tyranny of any kind were in full swing. The striking image of this force and domination is this sentence: "Mr Jones of the Manor Farm, had locked the hen-houses for the night,..."¹⁰⁰. When a system is locked, there is no freedom of movement and thought for the people who are inside the system; only the person who locked the system and had its key in hands is in force to impose his or her will to the remaining people inside the system. Here, the holder of the key and the tyrant Mr Jones, is a symbol to represent Tsar Nicholas, the former Russian Tyrant as well as any other dictator in the international politics that time. In addition, the chaotic and

¹⁰⁰ Orwell. *Animal Farm*. Ibid., P. 1

unjust situations created by the tyrant in the system are metaphorically expressed and described in these sentences:

Now comrades, what is the nature of this life of ours? Let us face it: our lives are, miserable, laborious and short. We are born, we are given just so much food as will keep the breath in our bodies, and those of us who are capable of it are forced to work to the last atom of our strength; and the very instant that our usefulness has come to an end we are slaughtered with hideous cruelty. No animal in England knows the meaning of happiness or leisure after he is a year old. No animal in England is free. The life of an animal is misery and slavery: that is the plain truth. But is this simply part of the order of nature? It is because this land of ours is so poor that it cannot afford a decent life to those who dwell upon it? No comrades, a thousand times no. The soil of England is fertile, its climate is good, it is capable of affording food in abundance to an enormously greater number of animals than now inhabit it [...] why then do we continue in this miserable condition? Because nearly the whole of the produce of our labour is stolen from us by human beings. And even the miserable lives we lead are not allowed to reach their natural span. Is it not crystal clear, then comrades, that all the evils of the life of ours Spring from the tyranny of human beings? Human beings in the context of the novel, is the fabulous meaning of the tyrant leader, Tsar Nicholas who is against the interests of most of his fellow citizens.¹⁰¹

So chaos, disorder and injustice are also related to the fact that the natural heritage offered to people is stolen from them and is monopolised by only one tyrant leader. Another situation of chaos and injustice in *Animal Farm* is about power abuse by Napoleon, after the revolution. Indeed, after the animals succeeded in performing their revolution to overthrow Mr. Jones's tyrannical regime, and in establishing a successful democracy, the leader they elected, Napoleon started breaking the basic principles the set up until he turned the system into a tyranny under which he committed social and political crimes as well as a massive breach of political laws and agreements. A striking injustice image is that of Boxer who is a well known hard worker. Owing to his sacrifices and work, all the animals had their food on time and their happiness was not endangered because no economic crisis was on the agenda either. But unfortunately, Boxer was not rewarded for his sacrifices, even when he became ill, the tyrant leaders were unable to provide him medical cares. They rather killed him and used

¹⁰¹ Orwell, Op. Cit., PP. 3,4.

his meat for a celebration. This is for example, the peak of a situation of injustice and ungratefulness of the tyrants. Their leitmotiv is cheatings, betrayal, corruption political killings, sending political adversary into exile. Napoleon is indeed the symbol of Stalin in power after the revolution.

The same happened in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* with Big Brother and his tyrannical regime. Big Brother is also the symbol of Stalin in Russia and that of any other tyrant or dictator in the internal politics. It is the caricature of any fascist and nazist leaders or sympathisers. Big Brother also set up a system in which he is the only one to hold political and social power against the interests of the great masses of his country. He controlled everything in the system, even the individual and private life of people such as general family life and sexual life of them. He made everybody adhere his political program and actions. He accepted no opposition to his system of governance. Revolutionary citizens and leaders as Winston Smith and Julia have been brainwashed and tortured until they abandoned their revolutionary commitment to accept and praise Big Brother's System. Big Brother then ruled his one-man political system autocratically. In this system, social injustice is highly implemented by Big Brother, because those who worked a lot to build the system were not rewarded, and they suffered a lot before very lazy, idle and incompetent people in power. In the same direction, the members of the inner party, the party in power, are well treated whereas those of the outer party are not well treated.

In *Burmese Days*, the chaos and injustice are related to the fact that British imperial government dwelt in Burma, and paradoxically perpetrated racism, apartheid, exploitation, cheatings, corruption, betrayal and different forms of discriminations on the home land of most of those Burmese people, victim of colonialism, imperialism and hidden tyranny. In that unjust context, British people exploited Burmese natural resources and used or sold them for

their own benefit before the suffering and misery of the natives whom they even discriminated and regarded as inferior to them.

In *Homage to Catalonia*, the reign of communist malpractices and that of fascist and nazist influences are the real sign of chaos. The Spanish Civil War in *Homage to Catalonia* has been created by communists and socialists. The true fighters and defenders of that war are George Orwell and other poor people of some Western countries. They took an active part in that war, thinking that they were defending socialist democracy against fascist and nazist totalitarianism but unfortunately, they were betrayed and lost the war in favour of totalitarian camp. The peak of their disappointment is that most of those fighters were arrested, persecuted or sent into exile; and more bitterly, the true reason of the war was falsely interpreted against them. They were shocked by the failure of true and legitimate democracy before the success of criminal and corrupt fascist communist. That confusing communication, influenced by lies about the Spanish Civil War, even led George Orwell to the writing of his *Homage to Catalonia* to restore the truth about the Spanish Civil War.

In *Down and Out in Paris and London*, the chaotic and unjust situation is expressed through the fact that rich people are depicted as the holders of the system and they exploited the weak and poor people for their business without a just reward. Those who worked hard and sacrificed their time and life were less paid whereas those who rested all the days were well fed and treated. What is more striking here is job instability through which young people gained jobs and worked for years; but quicklier they lost again their job and lived in sufferings and poverty without a guarantee; yet in a system under the control of agreements and laws related to workers and employers' rights and duties.

4.2. Essence of socio-political revolution in selected works by George Orwell

When chaos and injustice are established in a system, the natural reaction of any human being is to find out ways for change or revolution. Most of revolutionary movements got their roots from frustrations, harsh despair, disappointments and total failure of the systems. When a system is broken, the only solution is to move that system aside to establish a new one to continue the process and save the system. This shows also the deterministic tendency of social and political governance. Mr. Jones' tyranny in *Animal Farm* is the cause of animals' revolution, shown through their rebellion for change: "That is my message to you, comrades: Rebellion! I do not know when that rebellion will come, it might be in a week in a hundred years, but I know, as surely as I see this straw beneath my feet, that sooner or later justice will be done."¹⁰²

On the other hand, snowball's opposition to Napoleon's tyranny is another movement for revolution and change. As a matter of fact, snowball one of the fighters against Mr Jones for change and democracy noticed that Napoleon started breaking the basic principles of their socialist democracy. So, he openly opposed to Napoleon's governance with some of his followers to make the tyrant revisit his tyrannical rule. But he was forced to move for exile and some of his followers were killed by Napoleon. The same tendency was noticed in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* where Big Brother's tyranny has lead to Winston Smith and Julia's revolutionary movements.

In *Burmese Days* injustice and tyranny created by the British imperialist team has raised contest and opposition for the defence of Burmese people's cultures, values, dignity, rights and duties. This anti-racial and anti-imperialist movement has been led by John Flory, the protagonist of the novel and his supporters against Dr. Veraswami and other Europeans

¹⁰² Ibid., P. 5.

values lovers. In *Homage to Catalonia*, totalitarianism and tyranny have lead George Orwell to engage in the Spanish Civil War. For, his engagement for the Spanish Civil War is determined by his will and intention to defend and protect democracy against totalitarianism and any other form of fascism and Nazism. His resentment and hatred for social injustice and lies have even led him to *Homage to Catalonia* to reeate and restituate his share of truth about the real reasons and contexts of the Spanish Civil War declaration, and about what happened really in Spain during the war.

In *Down and Out in Paris and London*. George Orwell, while describing young people's sufferings, despair, misery, job uncertainty and joblessness, wants to raise that there is flagrant injustice in the system between business people in complicity with social or political leaders against the weak, poor, suffering and young people. But, will that anti-social and anti-human situation last forever? He wants to implicitly say that some day will come and those exploited young people will become aware and realise that rebellion or revolution is the best means to oust the tyrannical and unjust system of governance for democracy, equity and justice.

4.3. Strengths and Weaknesses of Orwell's Socio-political Perception of the English Society

George Orwell's perception about the English society's socio-political realities is essentially pessimistic or dark. Even his optimistic views shown through his future dreams for British and international political governance are very minor in the lot of his abundant unhappy and dreadful images raised about British and international political and social systems. When George depicts and criticises British social and political systems, he enlarges his reflections and arguments to the international contexts because he is conscious of the fact that British social and political systems was a reference to many social and political systems

of his time. Thus, the national and international scope of British views on politics. According to George Orwell, British society is a caste society. It is highly structured with very harsh discriminations. It is divided into the upper, middle, lower and working classes. The bourgeoisie of the system thinks that, it is her natural rights to exploit the proletariat, and to impose her will to other classes. In politics, in business, in the field of education and that of general social relations, privileged people think that they have nothing to deal with the other classes; but rather it is the duty of the latter to serve them correctly without contest.

George Orwell has noticed this since his childhood at St. Saint Cyprian School where the school officials themselves created discriminations in their treatment toward the rich and the poor students. Rich students are well treated and cherished whereas the poor students are ill-treated. George Orwell thinks also that British people are great imperialists. They were not afraid to impose their will to other people on the native land of the latter. In Burma, British imperialist leaders created discriminations, racism, apartheid and imposed their will and system to the native Burmese people are regarded as people of a great origin; they are powerful, well trained and competent. And because of that, they are well respected in the world and everybody trusts them. An allusion is that in Spain, George Orwell was well welcome and respected because he is British. He was even charged to give military training to his fellow fighters on the battlefield. He then became the leader of his group. However, because of this respect for them, British people are tended to think that they are the only greatest people in the world, and for that reason everybody should consciously or unconsciously do their will. By nature, the British hardly accept easily other people and consider them. The only conditions on which they may consider a bit other people are fortune, blood and talent. Business people are accepted for the promotion of British products. Companions in war who help them to win their fight also are accepted as well as those who are intelligent and, who are able to contribute to the evolution of their science. George

Orwell's views have the merit to point out what is common to the English society. The English society is a caste Society. The English people's attitudes are rooted in the medieval feudalism and English traditional snobbism. The English society is highly stratified into the upper, middle and lower or working classes. Both in the past and in the present, the English society is still structured in the same way. Many other writers share that point of view. There are for example, Charles Dickens who showed the same structure in his *Great Expectations* and *Oliver Twist*.

English people are really great throughout time and in the world. They had shown great success and efficiency in the world's history in many fields; especially in war, general science, technologies and business domains. This is due to their pragmatism in many activities and operations. They had been the first in the world to have developed good strategies of business. George Orwell has raised those qualities of English people only indirectly, implicitly and ironically. This happened mainly when he describes in *Homage to Catalonia*, the importance and respect that other soldiers accorded to him at war in Spanish because he is an English man. He was even charged to give military instruction to his fellow soldiers because the leaders certainly realised that he was very competent; and he even succeeded in showing this. The same remark can be made with his description about the English society in *Animal Farm*, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* when he strongly argued that the English society is highly divided into the upper, middle and lower classes, with an emphasis on the Proles as people composing the lower class and belonging to the bottom of the social organisation. But George Orwell's positive view about the English society has been less dominant than his negative view. According to George Orwell, English people are highly influenced by class stratification. They are strictly bound to their traditional image of upper, middle and lower classes. They make strict distinction between the aristocracy, the landlords, business people and the proletariat and poor people. He thinks that, because of the traditional

stratification of the English society, British people feel that they are superior to those peoples. It raises their feelings of social discriminations; their attitudes of racists and imperialists. Indeed, those attitudes have raised George Orwell intention to resign from his position of policeman in Burma, when very shocked by British imperialist and racist practices in Burma he has decided to abandon his career and share the situations of those oppressed peoples. This has determined his engagement in the Spanish Civil War to fight against the tendency of imperialism and totalitarianism. The pessimistic view he showed throughout his writings is determined by his anger and resentment for imperialist and discriminatory British attitudes. Most of his writings have even been a warning against those malpractices which are sources of injustice, frustrations, conflicts, insecurity and poverty. However, throughout Orwell's writings, the writer's view about English people's behaviours is so dark that it is not realistic. George Orwell has so exaggerated in his writings that, the world he is depicting may never exist. His view is a pure dystopia. And in the same way and logic what he suggested as the ideal world can neither exist anywhere. It is a mere utopia. He has been more pessimistic and unrealistic than realist in his contribution to eradicate imperialism, totalitarianism and domination of any kind. The political governance he has suggested is so perfect that it can never exist.

Political governance is a process through which political power is got and organised in a system. This system is composed of political institutions and parties. Within those parties, political actors work. Unfortunately, at a certain time of international political history, political parties have been banned from the system of government. It is the advent of one-man or one-party system when authoritarianism, reinforced with totalitarianism has been in full wing. That totalitarianism has mainly been developed in Russia, in the United Kingdom, Spain and Germany and in their allied countries of Asia and Africa. That system of

government has provoked the creation and emergence of social classes with different practices of racial, ethnic and other social discriminations.

No democratic principle or philosophy can emerge in that context of political persecution, physical and psychological manipulations. Winston Smith and Julia have been some examples in *1984* whereas Snowball has been shown in *Animal Farm* as well as Old Major who hasn't lived any longer. In that totalitarian context, no social justice is possible. Those who work more and harder are ill-fed or bad rewarded whereas those who work less and who are lazy live well and are also well-fed. Boxer in *Animal Farm* is a hard worker; nevertheless he hasn't been treated well and he has even been neglected towards the end of his life. At the same time, pigs and squealer who don't work really, rest well and are well-fed or well rewarded. This problem of people's and workers' rights has been well shown in George Orwell's *Animal Farm*. Another evil favoured by that totalitarian context is exploitation of men by men; a system in which the rich employers exploit the poor workers and even let them in very bad conditions and misery. *Down and out in Paris and London* is the striking example of that sad situation. Imperialism, colonialism, racism, apartheid and social discrimination have, likewise, found their place with George Orwell in this general context of totalitarian governance. *Burmese Days* is the book in which he has shown those social phenomena.

Through those autobiographical novels and non-fiction writings, George Orwell have well illustrated, explained, criticised and denounced authoritarianism and totalitarianism that he has shown as an anti-human political regime. He has shown also the importance of democracy. He has praised democratic socialism and social democracy as the best to assure social justice, freedom, human rights and development because he is a socialist himself. Unfortunately, socialist democracy has shown its limits and has been replaced by capitalist democracy and its variants. In the United Kingdom, for example, capitalism and socialism

have alternated in power with, respectively the conservative party and the labour party. Thatcherism derives from conservatism with its capitalist reforms whereas Blairism from socialism with its socialist reforms even though Blairism has been accused of marrying some capitalist principles with the socialist ones. In international politics, the challenge is always between capitalist and socialist trends. Through his analysis, Orwell hasn't openly discussed the concepts of good governance and political ethics. Yet, those concepts are basic to successful political governance. The new versions of democracy have massively used them. George Orwell has failed in offering a successful political governance by replacing totalitarianism. However, his writings might have helped many British and international political leaders become aware of democratic demands. For example, the concepts of parliament, political ideology, of constitution, political party, electoral system, official government, opposition party; rights and duties of workers, freedom of speech, freedom of actions, etc., are the words or phrases massively used by George Orwell.

Today, parliamentary regime is a reality in the United Kingdom, in other European, Asian and African areas, highly dominated by authoritarianism and totalitarianism in the past. Some of Orwell's views have been too apocalyptic, mainly those expressed in *1984*. Democracies today are better organised than it could ever exist. The special remark is that authoritarianism can never be banned from the political governance because a system of government should show authority to make discipline and order and to avoid anarchy. A democratic system without authority will lead to anarchy and troubles. It is an answer to the logics of law that should be reinforced to be operational and efficient. No power is operational without force. Political power itself is forceful. Power is strength. No power can be deprived of force. What is wished is that the force of political power operates according to the law, taking into account people's rights, development and happiness.

Nonetheless, the problem of true power to people is still resistant. The only way of expression of power by people is through elections. Electoral system is there to make efficient the process. For that reason, people should be let to cast their real wishes and desires. Right now, some democratic elections still have problems with the use of corruption, cheating, betrayal and demagoguery. But, is the current vote system efficient in the context? This is the reason why the proportional election system, rooted in political ethics is the best mode. Added to the money power, there are the phenomena of ethnicization of the system. Elections in democracy are highly influenced by ethnic discriminations. Ethnic groups appear to compete in the context of democratic elections. It also means that the composition of political parties is highly affected by ethnic groupings. And ethnic conflicts can, likewise, occur in the context of democracy. The principles of unicity of the state should be reinforced to put an end to that ethnic influence in democratic rule. Bad governance and corruption are also affecting current democratic practices.

Measures should be taken to fight against those evils and promote good governance for development. Democracy should be understood as a system in which people are holding and ruling power. As such, the unicity of the system should be safeguarded against any division. The former German dictator, A. Hitler once said that the person was not mature enough to get and rule political power. He added that the people needed a group of powerful or divine leaders to rule them autocratically for the achievement of his development, happiness and destiny. This argument is not convincing because it doesn't satisfy the interest of the whole population. It is only a way for those totalitarian rulers to justify their totalitarianism. This conception of political governance has been profitable neither to those rulers nor to their people because that system of government has led to social troubles, wars, crises and calamities.

The World War I, the World War II, the Spanish civil war and the economic crisis of 1929. So, consensual political governance among social classes is necessary for success in power rule and democratic system establishment. Effort maximum should be made at maximum to make all the social classes take part in the political rule of their system in the proportion of their skills. By this, frustrations and troubles will be prevented. Each social class will take the political governance as its concern and work consciously for it. Political governance is not possible without a close attention to genuine and permanent preoccupations of social classes. Political governance should also take social classes movements and actions as key indicators and factors for the success of political governance. This is even the reason why anarchic political rule is a fatality. This form of governance is a classless system.

In Homage to Catalonia, George Orwell has shown its slippering aspects; which result in a total failure of political governance, ended up in harsh conflicts and troubles. It simply means that whatever the form of democracy to be implemented, socialist or capitalist, it should organise its major and basic decisions and rules according to the status and interests of social classes. Many experiences of classless society haven't been concluding. It has only led to anarchy, disorders, social injustice and other troubles. There is the example of Spain described by George Orwell in *Homage to Catalonia* in the context of Spanish civil war. Spanish anarchist experiences have been very bitter and disappointing to George Orwell. That is why I personally think that taking into account the classes in all the dimensions of their social, political and economic existence, is the starting point of any political governance success because, he, who deals with social classes, deals with society as a whole and no political governance is without society.

Philosophers and political thinkers define politics as rule of society. Society rule is seen as social, political, economic and cultural affairs management. For that reason, my suggestion of proportional organisation and rule of political power, rooted in ethics and

consensual governance by the social classes will be very important to British and international political governance today. It will help create true peaceful, democratic and sustainable political governance for a real sustainable development. It will favour a democratic context in which racism, ethnocentrism, nepotism, kleptocracy and corruption will disappear for true good governance, favourable to sustainable development and happiness. So, well managed social classes facilitate political power belonging to the people for peaceful and successful political governance.

Therefore, true political power, in the hands of real people, gives the true meaning of democracy. But, the distance between democracy and totalitarianism is so slight that little misconduct in political governance can easily move from a succeeded democracy to totalitarianism, anarchy, social troubles, diseases, poverty and underdevelopment. Definitive democratic success is possible only with a sustainable social and political education. So education should be the cornerstone and the basic roots of political governance, mainly the democratic one. It is then further explained that political governance is neither a matter of a rigid political ideology nor that of a strict economic theory. Political governance should move in the direction of political realism. This should show authority for discipline and orders. It should apply laws with rigor and flexibility when it is needed. The leaders should keep in mind, while applying governance principle, all that will be successful in a context of international political governance, with the help of international political realism principles.

Some theories in the field give us further information on the concept as in this passage from the article, '*Political realism in international relations*':

International politics, like all politics, is for Morgenthau a struggle for power because of the basic human lust for power. But regarding every individual as being engaged in a perpetual quest for power—the view that he shares with Hobbes—is a questionable premise. Human nature is unobservable. It cannot be proved by any empirical research, but only imposed on us as a matter of belief and inculcated by education.

Morgenthau himself reinforces this belief by introducing a normative aspect of his theory, which is rationality. A rational foreign policy is considered “to be a good foreign policy”. But he defines rationality as a process of calculating the costs and benefits of all alternative policies in order to determine their relative utility, i.e. their ability to maximize power. Statesmen “think and act in terms of interest defined as power” (5). Only intellectual weakness of policy makers can result in foreign policies that deviate from a rational course aimed at minimizing risks and maximizing benefits. Rather than presenting an actual portrait of human affairs, Morgenthau emphasizes the pursuit of power and sets it up as a norm.¹⁰³

The state is considered as a key factor of both national and international political governance. And the question here is who can embody the state. Is it a divine person or a semi god as in the context of despotic and any other totalitarian political regime? The answer is, each component of society should build the state as the “Res Publica”. International organisations should play a great role in shaping and making successful the basic principles of political realism and governance. Human nature is the major preoccupation of politics and political realism. All political laws and acts are rooted into human development. And human development is vital to social and economic development.

This has been the same through times, spaces and the specific context of international politics. Human nature, in which the laws of politics have their roots, has not changed since the classical philosophies of China, India, and Greece endeavoured to discover these laws. The fact that a theory of politics was developed hundreds or even thousands of years ago was the theory of the balance of power-does not create a presumption that it must be outmoded and obsolete. A theory of politics must be subjected to the dual test of reason and experience. To dismiss such a theory because it had its flowering in centuries past is to present not a rational argument but a modernistic prejudice that takes for granted the superiority of the present over the past.

¹⁰³ [http://www. Google.analytic.com](http://www.Google.analytic.com): “Political Realism in International Relations” March 12th 2012. 5:30am.

Moral principles are fully part of political realism and international governance. This also sends us to ethics in politics. Political ethics should recall the cardinal principles of good governance, objectivity and patriotism: which is not possible without justice. It is the major reason of this statement, in the context of political realism: "Fiat justitia, pereat mundus" (Let justice be done, even if the world perishes).

So, political decisions and actions should be judged by universal moral principles.

These principles:

- Sense of justice;
- Implementation of good governance;
- Objectivity;
- Patriotism;
- Respect of Human Rights and Duties;
- Respect of people's differences in opinion and actions,
- Respect political and social rules;
- National and international union or solidarity¹⁰⁴.

Therefore, political governance should not be virgin of morality as it is sometimes, unfortunately noticed in certain political systems. The text below is further explaining these realities:

Political realism is aware of the moral significance of political action. It is also aware of the ineluctable tension between the moral command and the requirements of successful political action. And it is unwilling to gloss over and obliterate that tension and thus to obfuscate both the moral and the political issue by making it appear as though the stark facts of politics were morally more satisfying than they actually are, and the moral law less exacting than it actually is. Both individual and state must judge political action by universal moral principles, such as that of liberty. Yet while the individual has a moral right to sacrifice himself in defence of such a moral principle, the state has no right to let its moral disapprobation of the infringement of liberty get in the way of successful political action, itself inspired by the moral principle of national survival. The political realist is not unaware of the existence and relevance of standards of thought other than political ones. As political realist, he cannot but subordinate these other standards to those of politics. And he parts company with other schools when they impose standards of thought appropriate to other spheres upon the political sphere. It is here that political realism takes

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.> "Political Realism".... Loc. Cit.

issue with the "legalistic-moralistic approach" to international politics. That issue is not, as has been contended, a mere figment of the imagination, but goes to the very core of the controversy, can be shown from many historical examples. Three will suffice to make the point.¹⁰⁵

All those principles can give inspirations and pave the way to the international community in its policy of democratisation process and that of giving truly political power to people. However, those peoples should also be educated and made mature to get and rule political power without falling, once again, into totalitarianism and other world catastrophes. Political education, training, sensitizing and culture should then go side by side with political decisions and actions in the framework of national and international political governance for human, economic or material sustainable development. Political governance, as described by George Orwell, shows many weaknesses, but the writer's suggested that socialist democracy is not the only for a successful political governance. Even experiences of capitalist democracy have not shown this governance virgin of authoritarian and totalitarian threats. Day and night, education and sensitisation are organised on political rules favourable to the success of political governance for sustainable and happiness.

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.google.analytic.com>. Loc.Cit.

Part Three:
Social and Political
Governance in Selected
Works by George
Orwell

Chapter Five: Political
Theories and the Reading of
George Orwell

5.1. George Orwell and some Political Practices

The first and major weakness of George Orwell's writings is his general feeling and psychology of failure. Indeed, most of the protagonists of his writings have so suffered that they can never achieve their dreams; or the obstacles on their ways are so huge that they resign or change side against their will and philosophy. In *Animal Farm*, Old Major died earlier. Even if his dream of revolution has been perpetuated and made successful, his wish of having the political power in the hands of people through a democracy, rooted in social justice, freedom and common decency has sooner been cheated and betrayed by Napoleon who has changed this democratic system into totalitarianism. That totalitarian regime has endangered and jeopardised people's rights and duties as well as the whole society's sustainable development. Another element, in *Animal Farm*, is the expelling and killing of Snowball, one of the initiators and actors of the revolution and the symbol of the opposition side of the system. It means that the forces of good ideas and actions have totally failed in George Orwell's *Animal Farm*. Winston Smith, Julia and other members of the Outer Party have suffered, been brainwashed and converted to Big Brother's system, in spite of the good aspects of their democratic philosophy.

The opposition side of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* has totally failed without any possibility of hope for future generations. The writer himself has suffered at war in *Homage to Catalonia* and the camp was supporting, has failed as well. He was shocked, disappointed and he failed in *Burmese Days*. He has also suffered and failed in *Down and Out in Paris and London*. This hyperbolic way of expressing failures through his writings, shows that George Orwell has highly been inspired with his past traumatic and troublesome life experiences. And, his warning is guided by those experiences. This shows Orwell's ability in using flashback and

foreshadowing through the organisation of his novels and books. Another category of flaws related to Orwell's writings is concerned with the powerless state of his characters before the powerful political regimes that he has created. There are the examples of Napoleon's, Big Brother's and Franco's political regimes as well as British Empire and the systems of rich people.

George Orwell has also failed in showing, the powers, rights and duties of opposition parties inside a democracy. He has failed in explaining exhaustively the electoral system required to avoid political betrayal, cheating, demagoguery and failure. He hasn't given further information on major democratic institutions, favourable to people's power reinforcement to avoid power abuse and totalitarianism. Orwell's form of socialist democracy is not really the panacea to the evils of political governance. He should know that the success of political governance, favourable to people's rights and duties is not a matter of well established political laws and ideologies only, but also that of political cultures, mind, practices and behaviours shaping and orienting political governance.

5.2. George Orwell and some Political Ideologies or Theories

In his books, George Orwell has revisited the main political ideologies, competing and challenging themselves after the World War I and before the World War II. There are, for example, Hitler's fascism and Nazism, Mussolini's fascism, Churchill's pro-fascism and the American imperialism. And this is well illustrated in *Homage to Catalonia* with the context of the Spanish Civil War. In the framework of the Spanish Civil War, George Orwell has shown different groups at war. He has mentioned the group of pro-democratic allies. There, we have the Spanish elected government supported by Americans, British people and their allies. It is the group of democrats. Their aim is to give power to the people with a democratic system.

Their basic ideological doctrine is democratic socialism, rooted in communism. That is British communism promoting democratic socialism. Their main target is to maintain democratic system and principles against military forces in power and totalitarianism. This camp is composed of American, British and their allies' soldiers and democrats, supporting the Spanish elected government in difficulties with Franco's military group. These forces can be called the forces of good. Franco's group is supported by feudalist forces as the Roman Catholic Church, the Spanish aristocracy and the Russian government. George Orwell has then shown an open ideological and profit seeking war gathering almost all of the forces present at the first and second world wars.

The Spanish War is a kind of semi-world war with all the international antagonist forces present. Orwell has described the Spanish War with inspirations and elements from the First World War and the threats of the Second World War. Since *Homage to Catalonia* has been written and published before 1939, the year of the Second World War, George Orwell's analysis in *Homage to Catalonia* is anticipation to the World War II, based on his worries inspired with his experiences as a participant to the Spanish Civil War. This ideological fight between international blocks will degenerate and lead to the Second World War of 1939. Fascist, nazist and communist fight for the control of political power have led the Western and Eastern forces to the disasters of 1939. George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* has been a warning to the World War II. Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* is a vivid illustration of international political governance. The fight here is between democratic camps and totalitarian regimes in a common framework of socialism and communism. Capitalism and liberal democracy hasn't any more been openly shown that time. The Second World War has clearly shown the limits of democratic socialism and communism. After the Second World War, the fight will happen between capitalist and socialist blocks. Capitalists will accuse

socialists of conducting the world to disasters with their inefficient socialist and communist ideologies.

Then, they will suggest a new capitalist governance that they will try to impose; hence the cold war. Political governance will be characterised either by capitalist democracy or socialist one. Most of the countries are either socialist or capitalist. Even inside some political systems, there are socialist parties and the capitalist ones. They exist in the USA, France, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom. In, the United Kingdom, for example, Margaret Thatcher has been a capitalist Prime Minister whereas Tony Blair has been a socialist Prime Minister. This political governance has also been shown in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in diversified forms. English socialism has been shown in full wing with Big Brother's political governance and in theory; but in practice, Big Brother has been shown ruling the political power with capitalist practices and mind. It is explained through governance based on profit seeking, a minority group's interests defending and promoting; the whole political power in the hands of the bourgeoisie and aristocracy against the interests of people composed of the Proles and other social groups. In *Animal Farm*, George Orwell has shown also feudalist and pro-capitalist political governance in a context of socialist governance. Imperialism and colonialism, shown in *Burmese Days* are characteristic tools of capitalist governance. Capitalist reign has, likewise, been shown in *Down and Out in Paris and London* by the fact that the rich have been shown exploiting the poor in their restaurants, hotels and inn services. It is obviously demonstrated that the major economic doctrines that George Orwell has mentioned in his books are capitalism and socialism.

It is the case in *Homage to Catalonia*, *Animal Farm*, *Burmese Days* and *Down and Out in Paris and London* with the mention of liberal economic activities for profit seeking. George Orwell, in *Animal Farm* has shown Moses the Raven as the symbol of the Church in its behaviours of idleness, hypocrisy, cheating, begging and demagoguery. The concept of war

has massively been discussed by George Orwell in *Homage to Catalonia*, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and this is also connected with the use of technology. The use of spy services has largely been discussed in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as measures of security by Big Brother. Corruption, bribery and cheating have been used in *Burmese Days*, *Homage to Catalonia*, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. However, the way George Orwell has discussed those issues has many limits and weaknesses. I will show those weaknesses on the light of other theories and with my own theory of political governance. The major framework of my analysis will be democratic system versus authoritarian or totalitarian system, all this rooted in ethics in politics.

5.3. George Orwell Making the Bridge Between Fiction and Reality

George Orwell is a good biographer, a good prophet, a good philosopher, a good politician. He has succeeded in making perfect account of his life experiences. He has drawn also elements from his experiences to build fictional, non-fictional and general writings in order to sensitise, to inform and to educate people about the dangers of power abuse and totalitarianism. His large pessimistic accent may be related to different moments of sufferings and unhappiness that he has undergone in his life; as if life were joyless and meaningless for him. He has been shocked in Burma. He has suffered poverty, misery houselessness, loneliness and joblessness or job instability in Paris and London. He has suffered hunger and poverty in the Spanish War in which he has also been wounded. Added to this, there are the sad experiences of his childhood in an autocratic education system.

The major conclusions to draw on George Orwell's writings are summed up into the fact that George Orwell has dealt more with prose writing than poetry writing. He is a great and well talented narrator. He has great skills in organising fiction in which reality is rightly

reflected. He is also a great writer of allegories, fables, metaphorical texts, symbolism and any other form of personification. He is fond of social and political satires. He is a good philosopher, because he expresses rightly, easily and convincingly certain philosophical and moral values. He is highly a political writer, because as a political actor, he knows and masters very well, political ideologies that he has explained and described in his books with ease. He is a prophet because through the analysis of his lifetime realities, he has cast predictions on the future, which exactly happens some decades later.

There is the example of *Nineteen Eight-Four* in which he has rightly described what will happen in *Nineteen Eight Four*; yet he has written about them in 1948. He is very useful to his society and the whole world because he has discussed relevant and everlasting political issues of political revolution or change, political transition, democratic rules, authoritarian rules, totalitarian rules, dictatorship, power abuse, one-party system, multiparty system, political demagogy, tortures and killings in politics, civil wars, ideological conflicts, psychological manipulations in political life, social class influence in politics, laws and force of laws in politics. Those concepts and issues are recurrent preoccupations in politics. Even, after Orwell's time, from 1950 up to now, we are living them either in the same ways or in modified ones.

While reading George Orwell's works, everybody should be aware of the dimensions of political systems, ideologies, theories and tendencies. For, consciously or unconsciously, George Orwell has raised and discussed the influence of these political realities. It is the reason why I suggest this lexical part to make understand the deepest meaning of the area George Orwell is exploring. A certain number of concepts is to be defined in this passage:

Fascism is an ideology developing and promoting an extreme right-wing political system or attitude which is in favour of a central government and which does not allow any opposition. There are, for example, German fascism and Adolf Hitler's totalitarian regime; Italian fascism under Mussolini's totalitarian regime and Russian fascism under Stalin's totalitarian regime. Centrism is the political philosophy according to which a person or a political organisation is said to belong neither to the Right-wing nor to the Left-wing. He or it does not share the ideology of the extreme political side nor that of the moderate one. Leninism is the political ideologies that develops and promote the political and economic policies of Lenin, the first ruler of the Soviet Union. The defenders of this ideology are Leninists. Stalinism is the political ideology which defends and develops that the policies and beliefs of Stalin, especially that the Communist party should be the only party and that the central government should control the whole political and economic system.

The defenders of this ideology are Stalinists. Trotskyism is the political ideology which develops and supports the political ideas of Leon Trotsky, especially that socialism should be introduced all over the world by means of revolution. The defenders of that ideology are Trotskyites. Conservatism is the political ideology which develops and defends that society should change as little as possible. It is usually opposed to liberalism. Imperialism is a philosophical system according to which one country controls other countries, often after defeating them in a war. It is also the practice or process through which a powerful country increases its influence over other countries through business, culture, etc.. Colonialism is the process or practice by which a powerful country controls another country or other countries. Populism is the trend according to which a type of politics claims to represent the opinions and wishes of ordinary people. Ethnocentrism is the tendency according to which the ideas and beliefs of one particular culture worth more than those of the others. This leads to ethnic discriminations.

Ethics in politics is the system of principles that should influence political practices and institutions as well as political leaders' moral behaviours. Racism is the belief that one race is superior or is better than the others. Bad governance is the process of unfair organisation and ruling of political institutions and affairs. Good governance is the process of correct and fair organisation and ruling of political institutions and affairs. Despotism is the absolute and cruel rule of political power. Tyranny is the unfair, cruel and inhumane way of ruling political power. Bourgeoisie is the upper social class, composed of rich people who use their wealth and power to oppress working and lower classes' people. Those rich people are always pro-capitalists and they are also bound to traditional values. Proletariat is the social class, composed of people who earn their life with their work. They own no property as the bourgeoisie. Social justice is referred to as justness, equity and morality in social and political relations whereas social injustice is inequity and immorality in social and political relations. Demagoguery is the fact or the process of using false promises to win peoples' support in politics.

Sociolinguistics is the study of the way language is affected by the behaviours of social classes. Socio-criticism is the literary theory by which judgment or discussion is made about the qualities of societies or the social thoughts, feelings and behaviours of individuals. Plutocracy is the political system in which the government system is ruled by the richest people. Oligarchy is a form of government in which a small group of people hold and rule the political power. Aristocracy is the form of government in which the political power is held and ruled by aristocrats. It may also be referred to as people belonging to the highest class of a society. Diarchy is the form of government in which power is held and ruled by two supreme rulers or two governing rulers or two governing bodies; it is also written dyarchy. Technocracy is a political system in which the political power is held and ruled by scientists,

engineers and other technicians. A fascist state is a political system in which the form of government is based on fascism.

Ethnocracy is a political system in which the political power is held and ruled by an ethnic group. A federation is a global political unit formed by smaller countries or other political units. Feudalism is the legal and social system that existed in medieval Europe, in which vassals held land from lords and exchange for military services. It is also the attitude of the elders to impose their will and practices to the younger people. Gerontocracy is the system of government in which the political power is held and ruled by the elders. Hierarchy is the categorization of members of a group according to their importance. It is also the top leading group of a system. Hierocracy is the political system in which the political power and the system of government are ruled and controlled by the clergy. Timocracy is the form of government in which the possession of property is a qualification to hold an office. In this form of government, honor is the guiding principle. Plantocracy is the political system in which the government system is ruled by the class of owners and managers of large plantations. Interregnum in a system is referred to as a period of time during which there is no government control and neither authority.

Mobocracy is the political system in which the power and system of government is held and controlled by the mobs. Monocracy is a form of government in which one person rules alone. Slavocracy is the form of government in which the owners of slaves hold and rule the political power. Matriachy is a form of social order where women have power. They are in charge and are organised as the heads of families, with power, lineage, and inheritance passing from mothers to daughters. Meritocracy is a social or political system in which opportunities and advantages are given to people on the basis of their ability rather than, their wealth or seniority. It is the leadership of an elite group of people who are selected on the basis of their abilities and achievements. Monarchism is a political system in which the

political power is held and ruled by a Monarch. A nation state is an independent country in which people share the same language, culture and nationality. Ochlocracy is the same as monocracy. Parliamentary state is a form of government in which the political power is held and ruled by the parliament.

Patriarchy is a political and social system in which men are regarded as the authority within the family and society, and in which power and possessions are passed on from fathers to sons. Presidential state is a system of government in which the political power is ruled and controlled by the president. Republic is a political system in which people elect representatives to exercise power for them. Socialist state is a system of government in which socialism doctrine is implemented. Capitalist state is a form of government in which capitalist doctrine is implemented. Thalassocracy is a political or social system in which the government has supremacy overseas or oceans. Theocracy is a system of government ruled by a god or priests. Tribe is a social or political division of people whose members have ancestry, customs, beliefs, and leadership in common. Technology is the study, development and application of devices, machines, and techniques for manufacturing and productive processes. Realism is the theory that things such as universal moral facts, and theoretical scientific entities exist independently of people's thoughts and perceptions.

Fanatism is the philosophical doctrine according to which all events are fated to happen, so that human beings cannot change their destinies. Dogmatism is the tendency to express held opinions in a way that suggests they should be accepted without question. Obscurantism is the philosophy that supports opposition or hindering of the spread of new ideas and new social or political developments. Brainwash is the strategy or technique used to impose a set of usually political or religious beliefs on people by the use of various coercive methods of indoctrination, including the destruction of the victim's beliefs. Emancipation is the act or process of freeing somebody from slavery and other restrictions. Political science is

the study of political organizations and institutions, especially governments. Political governance is the process or gathering strategies by which political and social institutions are governed

Chapter Six: Reading George Orwell and Understanding his Contribution to Contemporary Social and Political Governance

6.1. Political Ideologies Theories and Practices Today

6.1.1. Ideologies and Theories

Communism, socialism and capitalism are the major political ideologies which have influenced George Orwell's time. These ideologies have highly shaped social political and economic views, behaviours and actions of different political systems. Communism is a political movement that believes in an economic system in which the state controls the means of producing everything on behalf of the people. It aims to create a society in which everyone is treated equally. Communist state is a framework of centralisation and strict control of political and social governance. The perfect example of a communist state is the Soviet Union that George Orwell has even depicted in *Animal Farm*. It is a one-man social and political system. No private property ownership is accepted. The powerful leader of the state is the only one to control and manage everything in the system, even some aspects of private life. Communist system existed during Orwell's time. It still exists today in the international politics. Communism likely shares the same view as socialism. Socialism is a set of political and economic theories based on the belief that everyone has an equal right to the share of a country's wealth and that the government should own and control the main industries.¹⁰⁶

This ideology favours also the ownership, management and control of public affairs, by the state. Private property is not accepted here. However, the little difference of socialism with communism is that the leader of a communist system is a god-like person, and as such, he should control every aspect of people's life and activities, whereas a leader of a socialist system is considered as a common citizen selected to head the government whose member

¹⁰⁶ Hornby, Op. Cit., P.304.

should help him to lead the system, promote and rule industries which belong to the state. The role of this government is to make sure that social advantages are equally shared among the citizens. This political tendency has also been suggested, defended and pleaded for by George Orwell. But, George Orwell prefers socialism rooted in social justice, freedom and common decency. George Orwell thinks that his suggested system is better and humanist than communism and capitalism. Capitalism contrary to socialism is an economic system in which a country's business and industry are controlled and run for profit by private owners rather than by the government. Capitalism is then a private ownership system. In this system of government, the government lets the management and control of business and industries to private companies. Economic liberalism is then authorised. In capitalist system, the government just has the role of a general control and regulation of business and industrial activities.

George Orwell's option is for socialist democracy rooted in justice, freedom and common decency. Today, socialist democracy and capitalist democracy are in full wing with the promotion of people's rights and duties for sustainable development. Today, British system is democratic which is influenced by three main political doctrines. These doctrines are implemented by the major political parties of the UK: capitalism by the Conservative Party, socialism by the Labour Party, and liberal democracy by the Liberal Democratic Party. These parties alternate in power in the UK. And each Prime Minister derived from each party. It is the same in the USA, Germany, Spain, Italy, France, Japan today. And both socialist and capitalist or some communist principles are used to build liberal democracy. Liberal democracy implies the concept of freedom. Liberalism has as a core substance, freedom. In the mind of Englishmen, Frenchmen and Americans 'would call' liberty' today: freedom

from arbitrary arrest, freedom of expression, freedom to choose a profession and to dispose of property, freedom of conscience, and so.’’¹⁰⁷

These philosophical dimensions are the bedrock to socialist and capitalist democracies yesterday and today. They even lead to the guiding idea of democratic institution building. Putting an end to arbitrary power and totalitarianism is the major philosophical foundation of democracy:

The desire of being free from any arbitrary power had existed before democracy came. And democracy is seen as the latest guarantee to the acquired freedom. Liberalism then existed before democracy, even in Western Societies... Democracy in its modern form, came after liberalism [...] Before democracy came in the Western World there came the society and the politics of choice, the society and politics of competition, the society and politics of the market...¹⁰⁸

Unfortunately, even in the core of democracy can exist power abuse and arbitrary, whether it is capitalist democracy or socialist democracy. It is, the reason why, democracy should be understood in its theoretical dimensions. Democratic rule is based on the majority rule divided into two broad types:

- proceduralist conceptions which are related to the outcomes of democracy as legitimate because they issue from a process which meets certain criteria such as equality and fairness..
- outcome- based conceptions of democracy which advance the claim that democratic processes are legitimate because they have desirable consequences...¹⁰⁹

On the basis of these conceptions, democracy can be threatened by the majority rule. The majority group can vote and win to impose their will to the minority groups. Totalitarianism and arbitrary power hated under the reign of communism can reappear. It is the reason why the sense of fairness and equality in elections and governance system should be promoted and reinforced to avoid social injustice and political immorality which can lead to power abuse, crisis, conflict, poverty and underdevelopment. This can't be done without legitimacy of

¹⁰⁷Richard Vernon. *Political Morality: A Theory of Liberal Democracy*. London/New York: Continuum.2001.p.1.

¹⁰⁸ Loc.Cit.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.,pp.13, 53.

power in democracy. For, whatever the political regime, communist, socialist and capitalist democracy, if it is not rooted in political morality through social justice, freedom and common decency, it will surely lead to a neo-totalitarianism or any capitalistic form of totalitarianism. Therefore, the power of a leading class, to be really democratic should be based on ethics in politics, and it should be accepted by the people, within a framework of cooperation with the minorities. As a matter of fact, political morality is still a problem today, in the core of great democracies in international politics. Crises and other forms of power abuse are still endangering capitalist and socialist post-Orwell's democracy today; which exactly shows that the success of political governance is not a matter of a well established or a newly built system, but rather that of ethics in politics with a high sense of legitimacy, fairness and equality in politics.

In the same direction, Jean Jacque Rousseau, in his *Social Contract*¹¹⁰ explains that in political governance, the rule of power should be based on a legal framework which should be seen as an agreement between the leaders and the governed people. In this contract, rights and duties of the leader should be shown and explained as well as those of the governed people... In addition, institutions should be created for the separation of power; the branches of power to be separated are considered to be: The Executive, The Legislative and The Judiciary, which will be helped by the Fourth Power, The Press. If these guarantees are not taken, a true democracy can easily and quickly become a totalitarian democracy, backed up with corruption, social injustice and unfair use of money. Liberalism as the driving force in democracies today should be reasonable; either it is a pure liberalism or neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism has been of great influence on post-Orwellian political systems. What is Neoliberalism? What are its philosophy and principles? The passage below from the article "*Neoliberalism*" gives further information on them:

¹¹⁰ Ibid.,Vernon citing *Social Contract* in his *Political Morality*,p.37.

Neoliberalism is a market-driven approach to economic and social policy based on neoclassical theories of economics that stresses the efficiency of private enterprise, liberalized trade and relatively open markets, and therefore seeks to maximize the role of the private sector in determining the political and economic priorities of the country.

Neoliberalism seeks to transfer control of the economy from public to the private sector, under the belief that it will produce a more efficient government and improve the economic health of the nation. The definitive statement of the concrete policies advocated by neoliberalism is often taken to be John Williamson's¹ "Washington Consensus", a list of policy proposals that appeared to have gained consensus approval among the Washington-based international economic organizations (like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank). Williamson's list included ten points.¹¹¹

The concrete policies advocated by Neoliberalism are taken to be John Williamson's.

The list of these policies is:

Fiscal policy : Governments should not run large deficits that have to be paid back by future citizens, and such deficits can only have a short term effect on the level of employment in the economy. Constant Deficits: will lead to higher inflation and lower productivity, and should be avoided. Deficits should only be used for occasional stabilization purposes¹¹².

The above mentioned policies are determinant to political ideologies and governance; either they are national, regional or international. By criticising Russian communism, Italian fascism and German Nazism, and by accusing them of leading to the major national and international catastrophes in the world, Orwell has suggested socialist democracy or social democracy as the best system of government favourable to people's development and the countries sustainable development. Unfortunately, his democratic cure has failed as well, because the leaders who have been elected by the people to promote and protect the interests of everybody have fallen into power abuse. And socialism democracy has been changed into capitalist, plutocratic, oligarchic, aristocratic, monarchic and feudalistic democracy. Those forms of democracy are justified with the fact that the political power in people's hands is manipulated, corrupted, cheated and betrayed by a king, a group of rich people, a group of

¹¹¹ <http://www.amazon.com.> "Neoliberalism" January 21st 2012. 3.00 am.

¹¹² <http://www.amazone.com.> Loc. Cit.

aristocrats, a group of business people or some capitalists. Socialist democracy is more likely to serve people than capitalist democracy, because through its principles and basic philosophy, it is closer to the people than capitalist democracy; but it has failed in reaching the peak of sustainable development achieving.

So, it is not capitalist democracy that puts an emphasis on profit seeking and private property development which will be profitable to people's interests. In capitalist democracy, people will be cheated, betrayed and corrupted more as far as political power rule is concerned. This article,' 'Welcome to Democracy and Socialism'' by Albert Einstein is a relevant analysis in the field:

Democracy means the rule of the people. Hence the rule of the people is not established until they get equal political, social and economic rights.

In the west, what is publicized as democracy is not more than a limited social and political democracy with different phases from country to country. In these countries more money can buy more "democracy"¹¹³.

Anyone who can pay for the expensive elections propaganda costs, can be candidate herself or himself for different levels of the governing bodies. Once they have succeeded, they will enjoy the benefits of these "democracies. The same conditions are true for the pro-capital parties and organizations. Those who receive more money from corporations and rich people, are able to advertise vastly, play tricks and become victorious. It is obvious that these organizations have to serve for the benefits of those companies and not the people. Another example is that of those who can afford to spend more money, can hire better lawyers, bring justice to their side and enjoy the social aspects of these "democracies. Better services of healthcare, education, and housing ... are available only with more money. These differences which are rapidly and constantly widening during imperialism era are more apparent in the United States of America, the paradise of capitalists.

¹¹³ <http://www.amazone.com>. Loc. Cit.

The pride of these “democracies” is the right to vote, which not only is continuously rigged, but due to the increasing indifference of people and the inaccessibility to many of them, does not reflect the will of the majority. The lessons drawn from those experiences are that: socialism is not achievable anywhere in the absence of political democracy. And democracy is not established without the implementation of the full political, social and economic democracies. As this equation shows: “Political+Social+ Economic democracies \Leftrightarrow socialism”¹¹⁴. Socialism gives priority to education, healthcare, housing strategies, good working conditions. Democratic rule also gives priority to people’s rights, duties and happiness; hence the intrinsic links between socialism and democracy. The achievement of those strategies needs money or financial means. Therefore, economic system is vital to any political ideology and any social policy. Thus, the equation: **Political + Social + Economic Democracies \Leftrightarrow Socialism.**

In the above mentioned article, money is evoked as central for any social, political and economic actions achievement. Money or wealth is the true and major building tool of a political regime. This is related to the common saying, “for a specific mission, a required means”. It is the reason why, the author of the article put an emphasis on the importance of money in capitalist democracies. He has explained that in the West, what is publicised as democracy is not more than a limited , social and political democracy with different phases from country to country, that in these countries more money can buy more “democracy”. It clearly means that the original meaning of democracy does not exist or at least, it is cheated, betrayed and corrupted. The author adds that the same conditions are true for the pro-capital parties and organisations; that those who receive more money from corporations and rich people, are able to advertise vastly, play tricks and become victorious. And, to finish he says

¹¹⁴ <http://www.amazone.com> “Welcome to Democracy and Socialism” January 15th 5:30 am.

that it is obvious these organisations have to serve for the benefits of those companies and not the people.

Another aspect raised by the article is that in capitalist society, everything is a matter of money or means. Only rich people have means for so many expenses in the field of healthcare, education, housing, etc.. It simply means that, whatever the political ideology, the political principles, if the philosophy of money and wealth distribution in a system does not change, the political governance will always remain plutocratic. Rich people will always hold and rule political power directly or indirectly. This shows the great limits of George Orwell's suggested socialist democracy as the best solution to people's political preoccupations. This poses the problem of total power to people, since democracy means the rule of people. In socialist democracy, the people haven't succeeded in getting total control of political power. Only a group of aristocratic or wealthy people have succeeded in doing so for their personal interests, giving impression that they are there to serve people's cause. Real and total power to people in a democracy is still a utopia.

But, I will check and find out which system values and protects people's rights to political power, social and economic advantages. Many views of democratic socialism and social democracy, compared to capitalism, further explain and reinforce the various links, interferences and divergences that exist between those political and economic doctrines and systems:

Democratic socialism is a description used by various socialist movements and organizations to emphasize the democratic character of their political orientation. Democratic socialism is contrasted with political movements that resort to authoritarian means to achieve a transition to socialism, instead of advocating for the immediate creation of decentralized economic democracy from the grassroots level, undertaken by and for the working class itself. Specifically, it is a term used to distinguish between socialists who favor a grassroots-level, spontaneous revolution or gradualism over Leninism –

organized revolution instigated and directed by an overarching Vanguard party that operates on the basis of democratic centralism.¹¹⁵

The failure of Stalinism, Marxism democratic socialism and social democracy has shown that real power to people is still a utopia, because the true people is composed of those working and thinking at different levels to build the society. And the great mass of social actors, workers, thinkers is mainly composed of middle class, working class and lower class people. Those categories of people hardly hold and rule political power before the crushing tendency of the minor group of the leading class members from the upper class. Therefore, political power should be proportionally shared and controlled among social classes. The rule of power should be rotative with the contribution and control of all the other classes. The opposition party of a system should have the same rights as other parties. Proportional representation should be a reality in this system where each social class should see the political power as a common wealth to develop, promote, control and rule. Great efforts have been made in some democracies when opposition parties have their status even if this status should be reinforced. Civil society is also a reality in some democracies even though, sometimes, their rights are not totally respected.

George Orwell's democratic socialism has existed but other forms of democratic regimes are also contemporary. There are, for example, British monarchical democracy, the USA's presidential democracy, France's semi-presidential democracy and many other African and Asian presidential, monarchical and semi-presidential democracies, rooted in the old forms or modern forms of socialism and capitalism. Those current forms of democratic or semi democratic forms of political governance have been built after a series of authoritarian and totalitarian regimes of the 1970s to 1980s and 1990s. Even today, in the core of the current international democratic context, civil, dictatorial or military dictatorial regimes are

¹¹⁵<http://www.wikipedia.org>, "Democratic socialism" January 23rd 2012 5:00 am.

still observed in reign, in spite of the great pressure, here and there, for the internationalization of democratic system.

Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East have been common areas for military dictatorships. One of the reasons for this, is the fact that the military forces often have more cohesion and institutional structure than most of the civilian institutions of society. The typical military dictatorship in Latin America was ruled by a *junta* or a committee, composed of several officers, often from the military's most senior leadership, but in other cases less senior, as evidenced by the term *colonels' regime*, where the military leaders remained loyal to the previous regime. Other military dictatorships are entirely in the hands of a single officer, sometimes called a *caudillo*, usually the senior army commander. In either case, the chairman of the junta or the single commander may often personally assume office as state. In the Middle East and Africa, military governments more often came to be led by a single powerful person, and were autocracies in addition to military dictatorships. Leaders like Idi Amin, Sani Abacha, Muammar al-Gaddafi, and Gamal Abdul Nasser worked to develop a personality cult and became the face of the nation inside and outside their countries. There are also the very recent examples of Bissau Guinea and that of Mali in Africa.

The coups d'état have always been said to be the way out for dictatorship. They are welcome to deliver people from exploitation. It is the reason why, some military coups are organized to seize the political power from the tyrants' hands. Then, it can be returned to civilian political regimes for the restoration of democracy and political power to peoples. So, the limits are very flat between shifting from democracy to totalitarianism, vice versa. Therefore, the rule of political power is constantly threatened with the risk of going quickly into democracy and moving rapidly from it to fall into totalitarianism.

Most military dictatorships are formed after a *coup d'état* has overthrown the previous government. One very different pattern was the one followed by Saddam Hussein's regime in

Iraq and Kim Il-sung's regime in North Korea, both of which began as one-party states, but over the course of their existence turned into military dictatorships. However, since the 1990s, military dictatorships have become less common. Reasons for this include the fact that military dictatorships no longer have much international legitimacy, as well as the fact that many militaries having unsuccessfully ruled many nations are now inclined not to become involved in political disputes. Some Asian regions have also been affected by the phenomenon. In fact, as the Cold War began to wind down, in the Middle East, regimes such as those of Syria and Egypt that were once clearly military dictatorships have switched to other forms of despotism.

In African countries, demagoguery, cheating and betrayal are also noticed in political governance, derived from military, civilian dictatorial regimes or a false democracy. This is evidence from *A Man of the People* by Chinua Achebe:

As I stood in one corner of that vast tumult waiting for the arrival of the Minister, I felt intense bitterness welling up in my mouth. Here were silly, ignorant villagers dancing themselves lame and waiting to blow off their gunpowder in honour of one of those who had started the country off down the slopes of inflation. I wished for a miracle, for a voice of thunder, to hush this ridiculous festival and tell the poor contemptible people one or two truths. But of course it would be quite useless. They were not only ignorant but cynical. Tell them that this happened in the Party and I was completely disillusioned. At that time Mr Nanga was an unknown back-bencher in the governing P.O.P. A general election was imminent. The P.O.P. was riding high in the country and there was no fear of its not being returned. Its opponent, the Progressive Alliance Party, was weak and disorganized.¹¹⁶

The contemporary political governance has also been characterised by political cheatings, betrayals, demagoguery, bad governance and other malpractices. The evils criticised in George Orwell's works are still present in international political governance. Chief Nanga and his political career is the focus of the passage above. In fact, this text is showing a critical analysis on the quality of Nigerian and African politicians. It is also an overview of how

¹¹⁶ Achebe, Loc. Cit.

political career is engaged in Africa; and in African political governance which is also part and parcel of international political governance. Chief Nanga, In Chinua Achebe's *A Man of the People* is the striking image and the prototype of African political leaders failing in the governance of their countries. Wole Soyinka and Ayi Kwei Armah have largely criticised also corruption, cheating, betrayal and bad governance. With all that I have learnt from those political regimes.

6.1.2. Democratic Regimes and Practices inside the Commonwealth and Across Borders

As a socialist militant, George Orwell has cherished socialist economy as a context in which people's power can be exercised for welfare. He has insisted on socialist democracy, rooted in social justice, freedom and common decency as the best framework of exercise of people's power for success in political governance. However, socialist democracies, whatever their form, have shown their limits with failures and power abuse during Orwell's lifetime and later on, in the years 1980's; mainly with the failure of USSR block. This failure has let capitalist democracies emerge.

Capitalist democracy is rooted in capitalism as economic doctrine. Capitalism is shown to go side by side with democracy. This passage from the article, "Capitalism" on, is an illustration:

Capitalism is an economic system that became dominant in the Western world following the demise of feudalism. There is no consensus on the precise definition nor on how the term should be used as a historical category. There is general agreement that elements of capitalism include private ownership of the means of production, creation of goods or services for profit or income, the accumulation of capital, competitive markets, voluntary exchange and wage labor. The designation is applied to a variety of historical cases, varying in time, geography, politics and culture. A number of political ideologies have emerged in support of various types of capitalism, the most prominent being economic liberalism. Capitalism gradually spread throughout

Europe, and in the 19th and 20th centuries, it provided the main means of industrialization throughout much of the world.¹¹⁷

Capitalist system is said to be the boosting context of industrialisation and development initiatives. British democracy has experienced capitalist democracy after Orwell's time. An example is the UK under Margaret Thatcher's reign. Thatcher's governance is capitalist oriented governance. And British theorists or economists have highly influenced this reality. These are, for example, a new group of economic theorists, led by David Hume and Adam Smith, in the mid 18th century who challenged fundamental mercantilist doctrines as the belief that the amount of the world's wealth remained constant and that a state could only increase its wealth at the expense of another state.

The influence of literatures on those theorists has made Britain abandon its protectionist policy, as embraced by mercantilism. It is the same, in the 19th century when Richard Cobden and John Bright, who based their beliefs on the Manchester School, initiated a movement to lower tariffs. Then, in the 1840s, Britain adopted a less protectionist policy, with the repeal of the Corn Laws and the Navigation Acts. Britain reduced tariffs and quotas, in line with Adam Smith and David Ricardo's advocacy for trade. Karl Polanyi argued that capitalism did not emerge until the progressive commoditization of land, money, and labour culminating in the establishment of a generalized labour market in Britain in the 1830s. For Polanyi, the extension of the market to the elements of industry – land, labour and money – was the inevitable consequence of the introduction of the factory system in a commercial society, set in a context of political system, government or state. It has a great role to play for the success of capitalist economy. Close relations have existed and still exist between the state and capitalist doctrine in the framework of political governance. Indeed, the relationship between the state, its formal mechanisms, and capitalist societies has been debated in many

¹¹⁷ <http://www.amazone.com>, ‘‘Capitalism’’ January 26th 2012 4:30 am.

fields of social and political theory, with active discussions since the 19th century. Hernando de Soto is a contemporary economist who has argued that an important characteristic of capitalism is the functioning state protection of property rights in a formal property system where ownership and transactions are clearly recorded.

In fact, according to De Soto, this is the process by which physical assets are transformed into capital, which in turn, may be used in many more ways and much more efficiently in the market economy. A number of Marxist economists have argued that the Enclosure Acts in England, and similar legislations elsewhere, were an integral part of capitalist primitive accumulation and that specific legal frameworks of private land ownership have been integral to the development of capitalism. With the advent of private ownership in the context of industrial capitalism, human rights and duties have become realities. So, the relations between democracy and capitalism have been reinforced too. The relationship between democracy and capitalism is a contentious area in theory and popular political movements. This has favoured the extension of universal adult male suffrage in 19th century. Britain occurred along with the development of industrial capitalism, and democracy became widespread at the same time as capitalism, leading many theorists to posit a causal relationship between them, or that each affects the other. However, some authors of 20th century argued that capitalism also accompanied a variety of political formations quite distinct from liberal democracies, including fascist regimes, absolute monarchies, and single-party states; whereas other thinkers argue that capitalist development is more or less inevitable and it eventually leads to the emergence of democracy. Research on the democratic peace theory indicates that capitalist democracies rarely make war with one another and have little internal violence and that economic growth under capitalism has reinforced economic prosperity and democratization process. Examples of this reality are shown in the text below:

Some commentators argue that though economic growth under capitalism has led to democratization in the past, it may not do so in

the future, as authoritarian regimes have been able to manage economic growth without making concessions to greater political freedom. States that have highly capitalistic economic systems have thrived under authoritarian or oppressive political systems. Singapore, which maintains a highly open market economy and attracts lots of foreign investment, does not protect civil liberties such as freedom of speech and expression. The private (capitalist) sector in the People's Republic of China has grown exponentially and thrived since its inception, despite having an authoritarian government. Augusto Pinochet's rule in Chile led to economic growth by using authoritarian means to create a safe environment for investment and capitalism.¹¹⁸

Capitalist democracies have largely replaced most of socialist democracies. However, they haven't perfectly succeeded where socialist democracies have failed, by falling into totalitarianism. So, even if political governance alternates between the influence of socialism and capitalism, none of them have succeeded yet in establishing the ideal political governance favourable to social justice, absolute equality, freedom, common decency and development, because capitalist democracies have also fallen into exploitation of the poor by the rich and the unequal share of social wealth. Capitalist system is not the panacea of political governance. It has also shown its weaknesses and flaws. Therefore, the success of political governance is not only a matter of a well organized political system, it is also and mainly a matter of respect of norms and ethics in politics. Many criticisms of capitalism justify this by associating capitalism with social inequality and unfair distribution of wealth and power, a tendency toward market monopoly or oligopoly, imperialism, counter-revolutionary wars and various forms of economic and cultural exploitation, repression of workers and trade unionists, social alienation. Many aspects of capitalism have also been attacked by the anti-globalization movement, which is primarily opposed to corporate capitalism.

The same realities and practices are omnipresent in the current democracies where the power is said to belong to the people, but in practice, that people is corrupted, cheated and betrayed by small groups of aristocrats, business people and capitalists, especially with

¹¹⁸ <http://www.amazone.com>, Loc. Cit. "*Capitalism*" January 26th 2012 4:30 am.

cheated electoral systems, favourable to a social class or a small group of rich people instead of being useful to the whole society. Therefore, the political power in the hands of the people both in socialist and capitalist regimes is still a problem. It is the reason why the political power rules should be framed, taking into account the major ideals of the fundamental law. The confusion of political power and economic power in the single leader's hands is the starting point of power abuse. And the practice is that in the world's political governance, the economic system determines the political system which will fail, if it is not rooted in ethics, in respect of norms and political or economic agreement. This shows the limitations of Orwell's socialist democracy that the writer is suggesting as a model to political governance. Capitalist democracy has been shown after Orwell as an ideal regime for political governance success and for socio-political or economic development. Other theories have also shown strengths and weaknesses of capitalism. It is then obvious that whatever the political system, realism in governance, political culture, and ethics should be well organized and established to make political governance successful for sustainable development and happiness.

Political ethics is the boosting element for political success. No sustainable development is possible without the strict respect of social and political rules, philosophies, minds and practices favourable to successful political governance. Most of wars and any other conflict in which, the United Nations' institutions intervene as peace keeping or peacemaking partners are caused by the absence or the cheating of ethics in politics. Ethics in politics will be a reality in the countries, if it is inserted in political culture. This political culture and ethics will be determined with education strategies. This simply means that education systems should be organised in countries with a specific emphasis on lessons about political ethics, morality in politics and good governance. In other words, from the lowest level to the highest level, in different countries, people should be taught how to respect state laws, social rules,

customs and how to cultivate the sense of transparency, justice and solidarity in social and political practices. For this purpose, the lessons of governance, rooted in responsibility, social justice, and transparency should be taught to the nursery school learners through songs, games and entertainments. The curricula of different countries should contain a systematised subject on ethics in politics and good governance. Nursery and primary school learners should be educated with the issues of morality, ethics in politics and good governance as well as those in secondary and higher schools.

Education, training and sensitisation should be organised or systematised inside political parties for their members on ethics, politics, discipline and good governance to make them involved in good political practices for security, peace and sustainable development. Schools and universities for political science teaching and learning may also be created. Education on good political culture and ethics is required for success in political governance. Political leaders, social leaders and common citizens should be indoctrinated and educated in the direction of good political culture for ethics in politics and good governance. The success of an education system is due to the success of its education policies.

6.2. Orwell's Direct or Indirect Contribution to the Social and Political Governance in the Commonwealth Member Countries, and Across Borders

6.2.1. Some Conclusions and Results

George Orwell's literary writings have largely been influenced by the European and the world political history, from the peak of absolutism through revolutionary movements and

wars to the era of democracies and freedom. As this common saying, “Nihil novi sub sole” (There is nothing new in the sun). Nothing is new in human history. All that is happening today is the repetition of the past in its strict or modified forms. Absolutism, with its corollaries of despotism, totalitarianism, authoritarianism and dictatorship had perfectly existed in the past. There is the example of Louis XIV, the Sun King who had ruled France from 1643 to 1715. In many ways, Louis was the embodiment of the modern age for the whole of Europe. Many countries and monarchs turned to him as a model for the new, modern government, while some countries, such as England, reacted against this model. Historians consider the reign of Louis XIV as the beginning of the modern state. Most of Modern political practices of the modern state were more or less instituted in the France of Louis XIV. There, for example, centralized government, a centralized civil bureaucracy, national legislation, a national judiciary that controlled most judicial activity, a large, standing military under the direct, rather than indirect, control of national authorities, and a national tax collection mechanism in which taxes went straight to the national government rather than passing through the hands of regional nobility.

Absolute power is said to be divine. Emperor’s power, king’s power or any monarch’s power is said to be divine. This is the real source of totalitarian rule. Medieval political theory justified kingship by arguing that the king ruled by the will of God .And Jacques-Benigne Bossuet (1627-1704) adapted the medieval concept of kingship in his theory of the Divine Right of Kings, which argued that the king ruled absolutely by will of God, and that to oppose the king, in fact, constituted rebellion against God. Although the people should be excluded from power, God's purpose in instituting absolute monarchy was to protect and guide society. Then, Bossuet spelled out his arguments in the treatise *Politics, Drawn from the Very Words of Scripture* in 1709. In this work, Bossuet argues that God institutes monarchy for the welfare of the people. For that reason, absolute rule is not arbitrary rule. The monarch cannot

do as he pleases, but must rather consistently act in the best interests of society. As a political theorist attached to Louis XIV, he helped Louis establish the first and fullest absolute monarchy in Europe.¹¹⁹

The presence of law is also a priority in any political governance. Will, thoughts and actions are organized, monitored, controlled and authorized by laws; hence the importance of laws even in the despotic regimes as that of the Sun King. Louis's despotism had, likewise, greatly affected the parliament status and functions of his time. In the matter of legislative assemblies, Louis had no patience whatever. The parliaments of France were largely regional in nature rather than national. Not only did these parliaments represent a diffusion of power from the king to the populace, they also represented a diffusion of power from the king to separate regions. Louis solved the problem of the parliaments directly and simply. If any parliament vetoed monarchical legislation, all the members of that parliament would be exiled from France. Louis had never called the national legislative assembly. He had never called the Estates General into session; until 1789 at the heart of the crisis that precipitated the French Revolution. It is obvious that despotism, absolutism, power abuse, totalitarianism, authoritarianism and dictatorship had existed before George Orwell's period. And it had even been written and illustrated in books.

The concept of revolution had, likewise, been massively used before his time; the same with the concepts of riots, war; civil war. Orwell's biography has shown that he has been a good reader of books and other writings. He might have read a lot about absolutism, despotism, authoritarianism and totalitarianism. His reading has been reinforced by the world's catastrophes of his time. I can mention the World War I, the economic crisis of 1929, the World War II, the Spanish civil war, the cold war and the competition between the socialist and capitalist blocks. During this period which is also his social, professional and political lifetime, he has worked as a journalist, as a teacher, as a policeman, as a political

¹¹⁹ <http://www.Loc.Cit>.

actor, as a dishwasher. As such, he has been an eye-witness of many social discriminations, exploitation, injustice, betrayal, political manipulations, and armed conflicts.

This background supplies Orwell with relevant materials and information for his fictional and non-fictional books. However, the ways he has discussed those issues have not been satisfactory and the suggestions he has made haven't been successful. George Orwell's nightmares are right because of his traumatised past experiences, effected with poverty, misery, hunger, racism, loneliness, homelessness, sufferings, wars other physical and psychological manipulations. As a good-hearted man, he has offered warnings for a better future. He goes beyond to suggest democratic regimes for the future. Unfortunately, his suggestions bear also so many flaws. In a democratic regime, power really belongs to the people; but from his time onward, the true meaning of democracy has been cheated. Socialist democracy has shown its limits. Newly created rich leaders have betrayed their people whom they represent, they have kept and ruled political power for the own. They have cheated the proletariat and the workers for their own sake. Socialist regimes, rooted in communist ideology have been flourishing in the 1970s and 1980s against the capitalist block.

Some European countries have implemented those regimes which have been imported into Asia and Africa. This period has been the era of dictatorial regimes. Iron discipline and orders have backed those ideological principles to reinforce authoritarianism. Thus, the true meaning of democracy has been betrayed. The person who is said to hold political power is openly deprived of this power and is restricted or controlled; hence democracy has become totalitarian. That totalitarianism is favourable to the group of leaders against their population. Then, democratic socialism and social democracy have betrayed the real meaning of democracy. Because of that failure, peoples have started trusting the miracle of capitalist democracy.

Most of the countries of international community have changed their socialist version of democracy in favour of capitalist democracy, hoping that capitalism will help them create wealth for development. Is Hitler right to say that a people is not mature enough to hold and rule political power? Can capitalists succeed better than socialists? The 1990s, 2000s have witnessed a vast campaign of democratisation process in the world. European, Asian and African countries are concerned. In most of African countries, the political transition has been bloody. There are the examples of Rwanda, Congo Kinshasa, Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Liberia, etc.. The characteristic features of capitalist democracy are included in the promotion of private property, of an electoral system in a multi-party framework. People should have their rights and duties in a context of freedom of speech, of thought and actions. Social justice and equality are the basic social, political and moral values. Capitalist and socialist groups are the two major blocks of international politics. In the USA, in the United Kingdom, in Spain, in France, in some Asian countries, in African countries, the tendencies are capitalism versus socialism. The economic system supporting new democracies today is capitalist system.

Most of African countries have been democratised as: Benin Republic, Togo, Ghana, Mali, Senegal, Congo Brazzaville and Kinshasa, Burkina Faso, etc., as well as most of the Commonwealth and the Francophone countries. In the context of democracy, there is also the problem of alternation in power among social groups or political parties. This process is difficult for democratic countries. Electoral principles are elaborated for justice, transparency and to really make people choose freely its leaders. Unfortunately, corruption, cheatings and betrayals are noticed sometimes against the interests of the people. Some democratic elections are unfair and manipulated by a small group of leaders who have money or military powers. In this situation, real political power to people is still problematic. Elections are the modes of leaders' selection in current democracies. Members of parliament are elected through general

elections. Presidents of Republic are also selected with elections. The leaders of political institutions are, likewise, chosen through elections or votes.

Electoral process is then one of the characteristic features of democratic regimes. But, how are elections organised in current democracies. It is demonstrated that they are not always fair. This text from the article ‘*The politics of money*’ by Flora N’Joku in the *Daily Times*’ is an illustration:

Text: Money and politics.

Political historians usually associate certain periods in a country’s political history with a certain brand of politics and no African country is an exception to this. At present, it is the politics of money that dominates African countries’ politics.

What exactly is the politics of money?

It is that kind of politics whereby members of a political party offer money and other things in order to win support from certain individuals or communities during an election campaign. In the last election campaign, it was not uncommon to hear of instances where people were given money, stockfish and rice. In return the recipients would cast their votes for a specified political party. It is time the electorate was educated on a free and fair election process. The public should be well instructed on the conduct of elections. In the precedent elections, some people were not fully informed on voting procedures. As a result, many votes were lost through invalidation. The thumb impressions were not properly made on the ballot papers. The masses ought to know the importance of a democratic election. They ought to know that an election provides, simultaneously the opportunity to choose a party that will form the next government and the opportunity to oust the party in office whose records have been bad. The people should be told how their votes can be instrumental in bringing about a change of government for the betterment of the country.¹²⁰

In a democratic context, the right to vote is a duty. And in this direction, people should know the power of their votes. For that reason, they should be aware of the quality and responsibility of the candidates for whom they are voting. The public ought to know that their votes are powerful weapons in making the party in office identify their socio-economic

¹²⁰ Flora N’JOKU. ‘*The politics of money*’ in the ‘*Daily Times*’, February 9, 1983.

goals or aims. They should know that their votes are not to be bought with money or gifts. Rather, the votes should be used to choose the right persons to represent them. That is what political democracy is all about. The politics of money is against the interests of political democracy. The politics of money is associated with unfair elections. Rigging elections, voting in another name, casting more than one ballot, miscounting ballots or losing entire ballot boxes in rival political quarters are malpractices characteristics of the politics of money. Once a political party comes to power through foul means, the politicians holding office desperately try to recover electoral expenses through malpractices such as corruption and squandering of public funds.

This is not beneficial to the country. This shows that elections in capitalist modern democracies are not also always fair and successful. And opposition parties often claim their stolen victory but vainly. This poses also the problem of the legitimacy of leaders and governments chosen in this context. This results sometimes in civil wars, strikes and riots even inside the said democratic regimes. In those conditions, people should always realise that his power is always stolen. He will think at a certain time that it is useless to vote because his votes will never operate truly. It does happen in some democracies, even in the United Kingdom, some people no more vote because they think that the reality of their votes will never be revealed. Therefore, the legitimacy of the people is betrayed. It is worse in Africa where the greatest part of populations is illiterate, passive and psychologically manipulated. With those practices, the capitalist version of democracy is also paving the way to corruption, cheating betrayal, hidden authoritarianism and a hidden and moderate dictatorship or totalitarianism. In this game, we will still attend the reign of plutocratic, aristocratic, oligarchic, authoritarian and totalitarian democracies. We sometimes witness the dictatorship of the majority as it is the case in the United Kingdom today.

The striking question now is to know if elections are the best means to make the people exercise his political power and truly elect his leaders. If yes, how should those elections be organised to make the process successful before the power of money today? Money power is a great threat to modern democracies. This passage from the article, *“welcome To Democracy and socialism”*:

Democracy means the rule of the people. Hence the rule of the people is not established until they get equal political, social and economic rights. In the west, what is publicized as democracy is not more than a limited social and political democracy with different phases from country to country. In these countries more money can buy more “democracy». Anyone who can pay for the expensive election’s propaganda costs, can be candidate herself or himself for different levels of the governing bodies. Once they have succeeded, they will enjoy the benefits of these “democracies». The same conditions are true for the pro-capital parties and organizations. Those which receive more money from corporations and rich people, are able to advertise vastly, play tricks and become victorious. It is obvious that these organizations have to serve for the benefits of those companies and not the people. In another example, those who can afford to spend more money, can hire better lawyers, bring justice to their side and enjoy the social aspects of these “democracies». Better services of healthcare, education, and housing ... are available only with more money. These differences which are rapidly and constantly widening during imperialism’s era are more apparent in the United States of America, the paradise of capitalists.¹²¹

In this context, I understand that democracy can never be achieved unless people’s minds and behaviours operate it first. And how can this democracy become operational, since it is established that neither socialist nor capitalist democracy is satisfactory as far as power to people is concerned or is real power to people a utopia? How can social classes alternate in power to make political power truly belong to the whole people whatever social class is holding and ruling it? In spite of the traditional social classes influencing political power in a system, there are also today the phenomena of racism, clan discrimination, and ethnocentrism, apartheid which are threatening and endangering some modern democracies. How can a

¹²¹ <http://www.Welcome To Democracy and socialism.com>. “Welcome to Democracy and socialism”. January 28th 2012 3:45 am

system overcome all those obstacles to create a true democracy inside which power will really belong to the people? It should be understood that a people is not reduced to a social class, to a clan, to an ethny, to a race nor to a workers' organisation. A people is composed of diverse categories of peoples sharing the same cultural, social, political and economic heritage that each social class or group should promote, protect defend and develop. But, how can democracy be really exercised by the people in spite of those social stratifications and diversities; or is the original meaning of democracy a utopia nowadays? Which strategies and measures should be implemented to make a true democratic rule a reality?

Democratic rule, mainly, Western democracies go together with capitalist theory. This text from the same article gives further information on the aspect. Capitalism is among the first theories that have raised the concept of globalisation. This concept has first been economic and then institutional or political. Here are some information about globalisation theories from the article. '*Globalization*':

Although international trade has been associated with the development of capitalism for over five hundred years, some thinkers argue that a number of trends associated with globalization have acted to increase the mobility of people and capital since the last quarter of the 20th century, combining to circumscribe the room to maneuver of states in choosing non-capitalist models of development. Today, these trends have bolstered the argument that capitalism should now be viewed as a truly world system.^[32] However, other thinkers argue that globalization, even in its quantitative degree, is no greater now than during earlier periods of capitalist trade.¹²²

The late 18th and 19th centuries have been a great turning point in the development of capitalism in political governance for the reinforcement of industrial revolution in the context of the world systems. The late 18th and early 19th centuries marked a great turning point in the development of capitalism in that capitalists achieved state-societal power in the key states which furthered the industrial revolution marking the rise of capitalism. World-systems

¹²² <http://www.amazon.com> '*Globalization*' February 3rd 2012 4:00 am.

analysis contends that capitalism as a historical system formed earlier, that countries do not "develop" in stages, but rather the system does, and these events have a different meaning as a phase in the development of historical capitalism; namely the emergence of the three ideologies of the national developmental mythology, conservatism, liberalism, and radicalism. But, is capitalism and its globalising tendency profitable to population? Does it create the system in which the poor will get poorer and the rich richer without any social justice?

Indeed, political and economic tendencies today are to reinforce globalisation in the framework of capitalist economic system through democratisation. What is disappointing is that in some democracies, the population is cheated and never has political power as it is her right. She is cheated and betrayed by a group of leaders who serve only their interests against those of the people who have mandated them. There are the examples of Koomson and his followers in *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*; the one of corrupt leaders in *The Interpreters* and that of corrupt people and demagogues in *A Man of the People* and that of political leaders, traitors of their populations in *Weep not, Child*. Even institutional globalisation hasn't succeeded in solving the problems of social justice and those of true success of democracies.

The United Nations Organisation (U.N.O.), the African Unity (A.U), the Economic Community of West African States (E.C.O.W.A.S) are still unable to say that they have succeeded, through capitalist ideologies in operating true democracies inside the member countries; true democracies in which political power will truly derived from the real will of populations through cast votes. This is not yet achieved because electoral systems, in those countries, are still in difficulties with corruption, cheating, betrayal, bad governance and psychological manipulations. How can those problems be overcome to succeed in giving true political power to people for social justice? How can true democracy be achieved for real

social justice where socialism and capitalism haven't operated the miracle yet? As in the United Kingdom, the status of opposition parties should be promoted and defended inside national and international institutions as it is well structured in the United Kingdom.

In the United Kingdom, the opposition parties highly contribute to the political governance of their country. In their position of shadow officials of British system, those leaders help their system with ideas, rules and actions favourable to success and development. So, this is one of the flaws of Orwell's writings that British political system is trying to correct through practices. In Orwell's writings, opposition parties have definitely failed in their political actions. Socialist democracy has been shown as a political system through which power can really be given to people. But, through theories, I have learnt that capitalist democracy also favours people rights to freedom, to vote, to political, social and economic actions. It is even shown that capitalism and socialism are helpful to democracy if they are implemented through political ethics and good governance; otherwise the system can fall into despotism and totalitarianism.

So, it means that the success of political governance is not only bound to the quality of the political governance that is rooted in socialist or capitalist doctrine. George Orwell's position that socialism, rooted in social justice, freedom and common decency is necessary to the success of political governance is not efficient. Inside capitalist system, social justice, freedom and common decency can also be made possible, if people have their rights and duties. George Orwell hasn't succeeded in describing exhaustively the apolitical institutions of the system he has suggested. He has neither explained the electoral system adapted to the version of his political regime. Socialist democratic institutions should have been further discussed and illustrated by George Orwell. Then, it would have been easier for the reader to get them and the flaws of each of them.

Apart from Orwell's criticism on socialist democracy for the one rooted in social justice, freedom and common decency, Orwell hasn't given specific suggestions to different obstacles to political governance. Most of Orwell's writings have shown opposition parties dead forever. Fortunately, later on, opposition parties have been empowered in the United Kingdom .The United Kingdom's Shadow members of official government, shadows members of parliament and shadow members of other services are eloquent examples. Further examples comprise this list of the members of official opposition cabinet:

List of British official shadow cabinet:

Leader of the Opposition: Ed. Miliband.

Deputy Leader and Shadow International Development Secretary:
Harriet Harman.

Shadow Chancellor: Alan Johnson.

Shadow Home Secretary: Ed Balls.

Chief Whip: Rosie Winterton.

Shadow Education Secretary: Andy Burnham.

Shadow Justice Secretary: Sadia Khan.

Shadow Work and Pensions Secretary: Douglas Alexander.

Shadow Business Secretary: John Denham.

Shadow Health Secretary: John Haealey.

Shadow Communities Secretary: Carline Flint.

Shadow Defence Secretary: Jim Murphy.

Shadow Energy and Climate Change Secretary: Meg Hitler.

Shadow Leader of the Commons: Hilary Benn.

Shadow Transport Secretary: Maria Eagle.

Shadow environment Secretary: Maria Creagh

Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury: Angela Eagle

Shadow Northern Ireland Secretary: Shaun Woodward

Shadow Scottish Secretary: Ann Mekechin

Shadow Welsh Secretary: Peter Hain

Shadow Culture Secretary: Ivan Lewis

Shadow Leader of the Lords: Baroness Royal of Blaisdon

Shadow Olympics Minister: Tessa Jowell

Shadow Minister for the Cabinet Office: Liam Byrne

Lords Chief Whip: Lords Bassam of Brighton

Shadow Attorney-General: Baroness Scotland.¹²³

Globalisation, in the context of the United Nations, should set up a system of proportional share of political power among social classes. Rights and duties of different classes and parties should be turned into principles, respected by each part to permit a just

¹²³Sarah Pickard. *Civilisation Britannique*. Paris: PUF.2003. p.36.

alternation in power. The advent of democracy has raised the major and relevant issue of the state. And the principal question is who the state is? The answer is, all of us form the state. All the social classes together form the state and how can this state be operational when it is composed of old, young, ignorant, rich, poor people and workers. How can this people in his diversity, get and rule political power to mean democracy?

6.2.2. Ethics in Politics as a Sustainable Guarantee to Successful Social and Political Governance

A good organisation of elections is the final solution to democratic problems. In this direction, I suggest that democratic elections contain some aspects of proportionality to avoid the advent of a crushing majority versus a minority always despised, marginalised and put aside from the democratic process. To balance the process and avoid crisis, I suggest that each social class, each social group elect among themselves candidates to be proposed for different seats in the parliament and to various posts in the government or other political institutions. Those positions occupation may be rotative; to really make all the social components take part in the ruling of the power without cheating, corruption, betrayal and frustrations. It simply means that elections will be held only inside each social class and the elected people will be proportionally and rotatively organised in political institutions. Then, everybody will be called to check the governance of each political team. If the governance of a team is not satisfactory according to the law, to local and international opinion, each category will vote and make the team give up. This mode of proportionality in democratic election, will avoid the dictatorship of the majority, cheating, corruption and conflicts during elections. If the people have power to vote and truly select their leaders, this can efficiently make the people exercise their right of election of their leaders. If the mode of election is suitable, the characteristic features of the leaders should also fit democratic principles and philosophy. The leader should be a philosopher, wise, intelligent, flexible and authoritative.

And respect of constitution and authority should become a reality to make people exercise their right to get and govern the power. It is the reason why, the representatives who should be elected by that people should be wise, cautious, flexible and authoritative. Nothing is successful in disorder. For that reason, the constitution should contain rules related to people's will, demands and wishes. This fundamental law should also check and regulate directly and indirectly all the acts related to the fields of education, commerce, healthcare and any other domain of the state's governance. A democracy should be an authoritative regime to keep order and discipline. But, this authoritative character shouldn't fall into totalitarianism. Beyond George Orwell's view, social democracy is not the political system suitable to give real power to the people. Whether a democracy is socialist or capitalist, it should implement what I am suggesting to give real power to people and to avoid power abuse for freedom and sustainable development. And the basic element should be good governance.

According to Professor Philippe T. Noudjenoume, on one of his conference papers in the framework of conference works (1999), the concepts of governance and good governance are defined as follows:

The term governance, in French "gouvernance" came into use during the early 1980s (World Bank, 1980) According to the definition of the World Bank, governance is "the exercise of political power with a view to managing a country's affairs" Good governance is "the transparent and accountable management of human, natural, economic and financial resources for the purposes of equitable and sustainable development (ACP-UE Convention).¹²⁴

In his article "Good Governance, Feather Projects" the Nigerian Professor Attahiru Jega's views on democracy, good governance and development are given in these terms:

All notions of democracy being rule of the people by the people for the people, seems very ambiguous and only relative, if not metaphorical." With our experiences in the last (s) election that were monumentally flawed despite INEC insistence that we believe otherwise. As seen by the many courts rulings that have sacked or declared a re-election for offices that were hitherto claimed by their

¹²⁴ Professor Philippe NOUDJENOUME's conference in the framework of conference works ACP UE. Benin Republic: Cotonou.1999.

occupants to have been elected by the people. The author went ahead to redefine "...western liberal democracy as, at best, a system of elected representation in which the representatives are supposed to be responsible and accountable to the people who elected them to represent them. That is elected representatives, delegates, with mandates, whose mandates can be given or withdrawn during elections; representatives or delegates, so mandated, chosen through periodic election, which are supposed to be free and fair; and elections based on affiliations of political parties on whose platform candidates canvass for support for election into public office.¹²⁵

So, good governance should become a reality in democracy for development and political ethics. It should back democracy to make the leaders avoid, demagoguery, corruption, cheating and betrayal. To fit this political ethics, political circles and institutions shouldn't be the places of businesses. The state should be understood as the representative organ of the whole society. It is not a profit seeking area. Political business transactions should be avoided in political institutions. The influence of money and any other means should be avoided in politics. The state should regulate and check the use of money by political leaders. Money use should be proportional during elections. Since the state is unique and each social class form it, all the citizens should consider themselves as part and parcel of this system without racial, ethnic and other social discriminations, because today, ethnocentrism, racism and other social discriminations are great threats to the democratisation process. They raise riots, strikes, violence, civil wars.... There are the examples of the last and recurrent wars in Arab areas or countries causing some thousands of deaths.

However, the true success of democracy depends on people's mind education to the philosophy, principles and practices of democracy whether it is a socialist democracy or a capitalist one. By this, people will be taught how the political power is theirs inside a democracy and how they can get and rule it through their representatives for the sustainable development of their countries. Most of Orwell's writings are called utopian and dystopian

¹²⁵ <http://www.amazon.com. Feather Projects>'' . February 27th 2012. 5:30

books because all that he has suggested are too good or too bad to be practicable. Nevertheless, Orwell's analyses could have been great sources of inspiration to post-Orwell's British and international political leaders.

For, later on, democratic regimes have become the model of political systems in the years 1960s, 1990s, 2000s. But, the great weaknesses of Orwell's analysis are summed up into the fact that his social democratic regime has become inefficient and has given place to many forms of democracy. These are, for example, capitalist democracy, liberal democracy and neoliberal democracy according to the basic economic option of the system. Above all, those minds and behaviours should give the true meaning of democratic governance and people should be educated for that. This will instil political ethics, consciousness and good governance for sustainable development. The best places of social justice and political realism operation are international institutions. The U.N., the U.A. the E.COWAS, etc., are the best places where examples of power rule for social justice should be a reality. But unfortunately, it is not yet the case. Inequality between poor and rich countries is always obvious. And developed countries are still developed before the underdeveloped and the developing ones. Social justice should be operated through international institutions. Globalisation should be constructive to true democracy not destructive. Therefore, success of power to people without mind education and political culture, favourable to social justice is not possible.

My conclusion is that the achievement of true democracy for power to people and real social justice is not a matter of socialism and capitalism but rather that of a political will, mind and behaviours favourable, to the principles. Is there any example of just and true democracy where political power is truly held and ruled by people through the sincerity of their votes without contest and cheating? My view of proportional electoral system, reinforced with ethics in politics, will be rooted in flexibility and the spirit of law. The spirit of law means that no rule will sacrifice human rights and interests. This principle will be applied,

taking into account Montesquieu's philosophy of the spirit of law. The flexibility will imitate British system of constitutional usage. British political system is rooted in political and constitutional flexibility.

This realistic political governance has largely helped the United Kingdom avoid civil wars. And proportional electoral methods will be used in all the state's institutions where people should resort to vote to decide. With this system, the opposition side will take also an active and profitable part in the building of the country. If British and international political system have used some Orwell's ideas to organise their systems, British people have innovated more than the limits of George Orwell's propositions with both capitalist camp and socialist group. It means that whatever is the political ideology, people's minds and behaviours should boost ideal political governance for development. And, this is the duty of education; both formal and informal educations are concerned:

As leaders of tomorrow, it is imperative that youth be provided with opportunities for greater participation in decision-making and leadership throughout the society. Equitable access to education and enhanced labour force participation are essential elements in the development of youth. Each country's future will depend, in large measure, on the preparation of its youth to become able, informed, and skilled citizens, equipped to participate in an increasingly competitive world that is technologically sophisticated, and politically and economically interdependent. The values that undergird democracy—i.e., freedom, justice, equality, tolerance, respect for differences, respect for the rights of minorities as well as the rights of the majority, inclusion and participation in decision-making process can be instrumental in the transition to a society that promotes equity and equality for women and youth. As we disarm the youth of the weapons of war, we can arm them with the skills and values that will pave the way for democracy, development and peace.¹²⁶

The success of a democratic rule should take into account the status, rights and conditions of social classes as well as the relations among them. For, political power can't be ruled without a social class. Social classes build and rebuild political governance. The major

¹²⁶ Niara SUDARKASA. Lecture on "Democracy and development: meeting the challenges to the equitable participation and progress of women and youth", in the framework. Of the Conference works. Benin Republic: Cotonou. 1999.

concern is how political power can be got, held and shared simultaneously or alternatively by each social class without the abuse of one on the others. How can a people, composed of the upper, middle, working or lower classes share the political power democratically? To this preoccupation, I still suggest my theory of democratically proportional representation that consists in sharing through proportional electoral system, political institutions alternatively in a general context of concerted political governance, rooted in ethics in politics and based on the real general interests of the people. All the social classes of a society should be made concerned with the exercise of the power by promoting, defending and protecting the interests of each of them. This, to my mind, is the true meaning of democratic governance; the true meaning of power to people; the real people meaning each component of society, embodying the upper, the middle and working or lower classes. In the framework of my proportional theory, each social class should occupy each political position of a system alternatively without injustice.

The governance of each class should be helped and facilitated by other social classes. By doing so, the phenomena of ethnocentrism, racism and apartheid will disappear, because everybody will be concerned with the same ideology, philosophy and interests. In this context, three or four major political parties may be created in this democratic system. The party of the upper class people, that of the middle class, the one of the working class and that of the poor class. Each class will elaborate the philosophy of its party, taking into account the general interests of the whole community and those of its social class. In fact, all the wars, conflicts, riots and other social, political and economic troubles are generated by the unjust share or rule of social advantages. That is why the good management of social classes will be the starting point of a successful democratic rule where political power will truly belong to the people without despotism nor totalitarianism.

The closest links between political power and social classes are explained in this passage from the article, ‘‘Class structure: Britannica concise Encyclopaedia; social class’’:

The term was first widely used in the early 19th century, following the industrial and political revolutions of the late 18th century. The most influential early theory of class was that of Karl Marx, who focused on how one class controls and directs the process of production while other classes are the direct producers and the providers of services to the dominant class. The relations between the classes were thus seen as antagonistic. Max Weber emphasized the importance of political power and social status or prestige in maintaining class distinctions. Despite controversies over the theory of class, there is general agreement on the characteristics of the classes in modern capitalist societies. In many cases the upper class has been distinguished by the possession of largely inherited wealth, while the working class has consisted mostly of manual labourers and semiskilled or unskilled workers, often in service industries, who earn moderate or low wages and have little access to inherited wealth. The middle class includes the middle and upper levels of clerical workers, those engaged in technical and professional occupations, supervisors and managers, and such self-employed workers as small-scale shopkeepers, businesspeople, and farmers. There is also often an urban substratum of permanently jobless and underemployed workers termed the "underclass."¹²⁷

The success of political governance highly depends on its constitutional practices. I can even defend that the constitution of a system is the best and worst element of this system, because most of the leaders build, rebuild or destroy their political system by changing or modifying its constitutional framework. This fundamental law may be favourable to the group of leaders or the whole society. Totalitarian leaders shape the constitution of their system according to their personal interests whereas true democrats try to apply the constitution of their system according to the general interests of the people. George Orwell’s relevant example in the field is the meaning and use of constitution in *Animal Farm*. This meaning of constitution and those constitutional or political practices are still recurrent in British and international current political practices.

¹²⁷ <http://www.google-analytics.com>. ‘‘Class structure: Britannica Concise Encyclopaedia; social class’’. February 28th 2012. 6:15

6.3. Constitutional Law as a Cornerstone of any Social and Political Agreement for Success in Social and Political Governance

As a matter of fact, according to *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, “constitution is the system of laws and basic principles that a state, a country or an organization is governed by”¹²⁸. In other words, constitution is the fundamental law of a country or a state. This fundamental, law is an agreement between a people and its leaders. It contains the basic philosophies, ideals and principles of a society that help to organise people's thoughts, actions, feelings and activities. The constitution is then the order, discipline, social justice and peace making tool of a country. The constitutional framework of a country also determines the duties, rights and powers of political leaders as well as those of governed people. Being aware of that reality, the British socialist militant, journalist, novelist and writer, George Orwell has largely discussed this issue in his social and political allegory and satire, *Animal Farm*.

In this novel, he has metaphorically discussed, analysed and criticised the concept of constitution, its forces and weaknesses in both democratic and totalitarian regimes. He has raised that constitution is invented and built by people for order, discipline peace, development and happiness. Unfortunately, some political leaders in their thirst for power and in their greed break the principles of a constitution and modify them at will in the direction of their interests. This constitution may be entirely modified or destroyed or some of its tenets may be modified or cancelled. The eloquent example in *Animal Farm* is the betrayal of

¹²⁸ Horby,.p. 326.

animalism philosophy and the progressive breach of its principles, mainly the breach of the seven commandments. The seven commandments in *Animal Farm* constitute the fundamental law of the Republic of Animals which is nothing else than an allegorical reference to Russian political regime, led by Stalin after their revolution. The striking remark while reading this novel is that the fundamental principles of the system accepted by all have been broken by the elected leaders who have finally modified their constitutional law and have reoriented it towards their personal interests. There is the example of Napoleon and his government. Napoleon has successively broken the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh commandments for his interests against those of his population. He has made his comrades lose their freedom, dignity, rights and duties.

The guarantee of seven commandments has been cheated and spoiled when the leaders happen to safeguard their interests. The fundamental law has been broken. This practice is still omnipresent in the contemporary world. From Orwell's time till the present, the constitution is still undergoing the same treatment. Democratically or non democratically elected leading representatives try to cheat, to modify aspects or the whole constitutional rules of a state or a system. This, very often, leads to frustrations, riots, uprisings and conflicts. The logic and practice of constitutional change have likely the same features, interests and aims as what has happened in *Animal Farm*. This omnipresent political reality has been a sad and harmful political misconduct that has highly altered the intrinsic meaning of a constitution as well as its true implementation. Through a further conceptual meaning of the topic, I will give illustrations and evidence of constitutional frameworks in international politics. I will then move from George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, to explain the major contents of a constitution, that of British and other constitutional laws, the evolution of those constitutional frameworks, their strengths and weaknesses and my approach of solution.

The concept of constitution refers to a social code of conduct by which order, discipline and social justice are made. Moral norms, defended since the origin of the world, are the largest meaning of social rules. In politics, those rules are gathered under the heading of constitution. Some pre-Socratic theorists and Socrates himself have pleaded for morality and social justice. It is also the same with Plato who has shown political ethics, social justice and political rules as essential for a successful political governance and sustainable development. Montesquieu has shown that a constitutional law is the embodiment of people's philosophies, minds, aims, rights and duties. Social laws and constitution should be understood, interpreted and used taking into account the context in which it is elaborated and implemented as well as the aims, and realities of this people. With Jean Jacques Rousseau, the cornerstone of political governance is constitution. According to Rousseau, constitution is a social agreement between the leaders of a country and the governed people. This agreement gathers the rights and duties of both parties for justice, peace and development. George Orwell has explained and shown the same ideas in *Animal Farm*. Indeed, animalism is the symbol of Russian communism with its socialist dimensions. Old Major's teachings represent the communist manifesto.

The major philosophy of this manifesto is summed up into animalism that is the embodiment of communism. This ideology is expressed through the seven commandments as it is written in the novel:

The seven commandments

- 1-Whatever goes upon two legs is an enemy.
- 2-Whatever goes upon four legs, or has wings, is a friend.
- 3-No animal shall wear clothes.
- 4-No animal sleep in a bed.
- 5-No animal shall drink alcohol.
- 6-No animal shall kill any other animal.
- 7-All animals are equal¹²⁹.

¹²⁹ *Animal Farm*. Ibid. , P.15.

The above mentioned articles are the tenets of Russian constitution, metaphorised in *Animal Farm*. George Orwell is also showing allegorically the main philosophy, contents, aims and priorities of British constitution. These can be understood as rights to citizenships in commandments 1, 2, 3, 4; and the expression of moral codes in commandment 5 and 6. As for the last one, it is very important because it is a brake to power abuse. Through those allegorical commandments the writer is showing the importance of rights to citizenship, rights to vote, rights to social justice, freedom and equality; even if later on, Napoleon will break those principles one by one. Showing the threat, dangers and the negative effects of power abuse, has been the major preoccupation of George Orwell. Stricken by a series of dictatorial rules, George Orwell is making us be aware of the fact that power abuse and autocracy should be fought against by limiting the leaders' powers, the political leaders' will to dictatorship and tyranny. Many other theorists have followed the steps of George Orwell by offering and showing the ways of limiting the leaders' power abuse.

In its widest sense the scope of the constitution covers the various institutions that make up its core: the Crown, Parliament, the Government and Administration, and the Judiciary. Some Acts of Parliament are, however, considered to be landmarks of the constitution, for example, the Bill of Rights (1689); the Act of Settlement (1701); the Reform Act (1832) and the Parliament Act (1911). In addition, the law of the constitution is leavened by conventions which, in their own way, are as powerful as statutes. Such conventions have no real legal sanction and cannot be enforced by the courts but they are widely observed by the Crown, the government and politicians. There are numerous types of convention, for instance, it is a convention that the Crown will not withhold assent from a bill which has passed through the legal stages in both Houses of Parliament. Similarly, if a government is defeated in a vote of no confidence in the House of Commons, it should by convention resign from office.

In the first, the notion that “no man is punishable or can be lawfully made to suffer in body or goods except for a distinct breach of the law” connotes the absence of arbitrary power in the hands of the executive or similar use of discretionary power by the government. The rights of liberty, freedom of conscience and freedom of speech, although not formally guaranteed in any written document, are projected under this meaning. The second meaning was that “here every man, whatever be his rank or condition, is subject to the ordinary law of the realm and amenable to the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals”. This is best expressed in the term “equality before the law”. The third and final meaning was that “the general principles of the constitution are with us the result of judicial decisions determining the rights of private persons in particular cases brought before the courts”.¹³⁰ Other theorists have, likewise, given, so many information on the basic philosophies, ideologies minds and practices of British constitution. There are for example, Ryle M. Richards P., Madgewick P.J., Bagehot W., R. H.S. Crossman, Pannich D., Bogdanor V., Berlins M. and Dyer G., Cathcart B., Francis P., Maithland F. W., Rose D., Rozenberg J. etc..

These philosophies and aims are backed with these tenets of international and universal laws of human rights. Some of those tenets are: “Article premier :Tous les êtres humains naissent libres et égaux en dignité et en droits. Ils sont doués de raison et de conscience et doivent agir les uns envers les autres dans un esprit de fraternité...”¹³¹ (The first tenet: All human beings were born free and equal with the same dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and consciousness and they should behave or act in society with a mind of fraternity. (My translation).

In spite of those philosophical and ideological meanings, British and international constitutions undergo amendment, and reinforcement without destroying the core elements

¹³⁰Peter John and Pierre Lurbe. *Civilisation Britannique*. Paris : Hachette Livre. 2003. p. 15.

¹³¹ Butros. Butros Ghali : *Déclarations Universelles des Droits de l'Homme*. ONU/D.I. 1948.pp.7-8.

related to human freedom, rights and duties. The major dimensions of human life have been taken into account while elaborating British legal environment. These are human behaviours and activities. That is the reason why, British legal distinctions are summed up into civil and criminal laws:

In virtually all modern legal systems, a distinction is drawn between the civil and criminal laws. Usually a separate system of courts and procedures are built around this differentiation. The English system is no exception. The functional difference between the civil and the criminal laws is that in the latter, the state is concerned to enforce the law by ensuring that a legally binding code of conduct is observed throughout the country...¹³²

British constitution hasn't been static; it has undergone relevant modifications:

In the 19th century various pieces of legislation changed the system which, by then, had become overburdened and inefficient. Dickens's bitter satire on the workings of the Chancery in *Bleak House* was indicative of the frustration felt by many, with a system that had become "deadlocked". The Common Law Procedures Acts of 1852-54 and the Chancery (Amendment) Act of 1858 eased the position. However, the dual system continued until the Judicature Acts of 1873-75. These set up a Supreme Court of Judicature and the Royal Courts became divisions.¹³³

Other reforms have also been noticed in the 20th century and after. The key points of those reforms are:

The criminal courts abolished the old quarter sessions and assizes and replaced them with a circuit court which it was hoped would lead to prompt trial of indictable offences.- The civil courts were to be divided between High Court and an amended jurisdiction of the Queen's Bench and Chancery Division.-There is a basic division in English law between summary criminal offences and indictable offences. Summary offences are dealt with by the local Magistrates' Court and are associated with prosecutions brought by the police. For example, road traffic offences, petty larceny, assault. The magistrate can fine defendants up to £2,000 and send them to prison for 12 months. Indictable offences are dealt with in the crown Court. They are offences such as rape, homicide, perjury, major theft and fraud. Each separate case is called and various offences are classified. Each

¹³² Pickard. *Op. Cit.* p. 62.

¹³³ Pickard. *Ibid.* pp., 67-68.

classification means that a higher judge may be called. Rape and piracy, for instance, usually require a High Court judge to be present; for murder a High Court judge will always be present.¹³⁴

Other types of reforms have been operated on British constitution, mainly those related to its basic principles. Those principles are:

Magna Carta 1215; Bill of Rights 1689; Crown and parliament recognition act 1689. Act of settlement 1701.
Act of Union 1707.
Act of Union 1800.
The parliament acts 1911 and 1949.
Life peerage act 1988.
Emergency powers act 1964.
European communities act 1972.
House of Commons disqualification act 1975.
Ministerial and other salaries act 1975.
British nationality act 1981.
Supreme Court act 1981.
Representation of the people acts 1983.
Government of Wales act 1998.
Human rights act 1998.
Northern Ireland act 1998.
Scotland act 1998.
House of Lords act 1999.¹³⁵

The major reason of the constitutional reforms in the United Kingdom and the world is the limitation and eradication of power abuse and to discourage the will of some political leaders to stick to power for personal interests. Those reforms are operated due to elections, referenda, people's indignation expressed through strikes, riots, etc.. The current decade is still being affected by those realities. Political leaders reigning for 10, 20, 30, 40 years in power, have been disturbed or chased from power with the movements of their people who are tired of their governance. Some Asian, African, European and American countries are concerned. The slogan and malpractices of those leaders is the revision of constitution to eternally stay in power. Even if a constitution should be revised, it should be in the strict,

¹³⁴ Pickard, Loc. Cit

¹³⁵ John and Lurbe. Op.Cit, p. 15.

direction of people's general interests promoting and safeguarding, not for the private interests of the leaders against people's advantages.

As flexibility is a reality in British constitution implementation, amendments and changes are frequent in British constitution practices. Those changes are operated through the two major pillars of the United Kingdom's constitution. The pillars are the rule of law and parliamentary sovereignty. The aim of the rule of law is to restrict the powers of the Monarchy in order to preserve people's freedom, rights duties and social justice. The philosophy of the sovereignty of the parliament is to promote and develop powers to the parliament and a consensual rule of the political system. Political power should be held and run by the people through its elected members. The power will no more be got and ruled by a small group of rich and privileged people. It will be democratically governed.

Sarah Pickard gives further information on the sovereignty of parliament by meaning that parliament (consisting of elected representatives in the House of Commons, members of the House of Lords and the monarch via Royal Assent) is the supreme power of the state. It is not the monarchy alone, despite the fact that British people are subjects of the Crown. Parliament has legal supremacy to pass laws, statute law, which prevails over all other forms of law. The courts of justice enforce the laws passed by Parliament. These philosophies and aims also guide international political practices, international democracies and other political regimes. The controls and influences of the UN Make avoid power abuse owing to international political laws on human and people's laws. Many principles in the UN charter for people are relevant examples. However, another threat is the dictatorship of so reinforced majorities inside those democracies. In the United Kingdom, some practices of the dictatorship of the majority are noticed and other laws are taken to limit them. These are, for example, regional and international laws and conventions and internal change of the

constitution through parliamentary checks and balances. The text below from Sarah Pickard's book is illustrative:

However, the sovereignty of the British Parliament is now affected by the fact that the United Kingdom became a member of the European Union (EU) and by the enactment of devolution of power to Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland as well as London. The British political system of a constitutional monarchy has been a source of admiration over the years. It was considered to combine tradition, stability, authority, flexibility and adaptability. The very fact that it had lasted so long was proof for its defenders of the system's appropriateness and efficiency. Moreover, in more than 300 years, the United Kingdom has not experienced bloody revolution or civil war. However, in October 1976 Lord Hailsham declared that the United Kingdom has "moved towards a totalitarianism which [could] only be altered by a systematic and radical overhaul of our constitution". He went as far as to say that the British system of government was an "elective dictatorship" and called for change¹³⁶.

In the fields of checks and balances efforts have been made. Key points and strategies have been elaborated and implemented. Here are some examples:

Checks and balances

What checks and balances does the United Kingdom have to stop if there is any form of "an elective dictatorship"? The official Opposition: MPs in the Opposition can vote against a bill, but if the government has a large majority any Opposition (from within or outside the party in power) will be ineffective.

(- The media: journalists can point out problems and influence public opinion; although they cannot do much to stop a government which thinks it has the people's favour.

- Party discipline: party members can express approval or disapproval of a particular policy and this might have an influence.

- General elections allow the electorate to express their opinions.

- European law, the European Court of Justice, the Council of Europe and the European Court of Human Rights.).¹³⁷

However, there is no official constitutional check on parliament. Intentional politics is also going on in the same logics. Day and night, analyses are being made to find adequate ways and means to limit, at maximum, power abuse whether it is by a person, a small group

¹³⁶ Sarah Pickard. *Civilisation Britannique*. Paris s: PUF. 2003. p.33.

¹³⁷ Pickard. *Ibid.*, p.35.

or majority group. Here and there, in the world, there are riots, uprisings, strikes, sit-in, boycott, elections, and referenda against power abuse. But, the everlasting change of political system is not the best solution to the problem of bad governance and power abuse. Education to ethics in politics and good governance will boost the current process of fighting power abuse in international politics. Most of the troubles and armed conflicts in the world today are due to social injustice, power abuse and bad governance.

Bad governance should be replaced by good governance to boost political strategies favourable to security, peace and development. Democracies today are shown as ideal contexts for good governance and development. And, I think that education should be the very first priority of any political governance whether it is capitalist, socialist or others. This education policy should put an emphasis on young people's education. The youth's education should be a focus in the sphere of international politics, because young people are decision makers and leaders of tomorrow. Through the process of their education, young people should be taught moral or ethical values of transparency, respect of laws, social justice, responsibility, integrity, dignity, freedom, equality, and tolerance, the respect of minorities' rights as well as those of the majorities.

These values will efficiently build the youth of today as the constructed anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, anti-segregation and anti-apartheid strugglers of yesterday. Only these values can establish or boost ethics in social and political relations for good governance. For, no good governance is possible without qualified, well educated and well trained youth people. In any society, they are the worse and better weapons for democracy, security, peace and development. Once more, those leaders of today should provide young people with job opportunities in order to feed them and supply them with life requirements and draw them from poverty and misery.

Youth's unemployment is also a great threat to social security, peace and development. This education policy should take into account the gender approach. Female youth should be given the same education opportunities as the males. Indeed, if the male youth should be the empowering motor of the future development, the female youth should be the good mother and house keeper of future generations. And, when the mother is not well educated, her children as well as future fathers and mothers will be bad educated. It is the reason why the U.N education programmes and policies, through UNESCO and IMF should focus not only on young people's education and training but also and mainly on job and enterprising opportunities of those young people for true strategies of security, peace and sustainable development. This will reinforce people's rights and duties to education, job and welfare. It is also the only guarantee to social justice, good governance and sustainable development.

Political institutions should be the first ones to make social justice without hypocrisy, corruption, cheatings, and demagogy. Ethics and good governance in politics, to be successful, should first be implemented by regional and international social and political institutions. Social and political laws and conventions should be respected by both leaders and common citizens. And even the leaders' role is more important because they are in power. No security, peace and development are possible with morality and ethics in politics. If the leaders want security, peace and sustainable development to be a reality, they should be the first to give examples of ethics and good governance in politics.

Education to good governance and political culture for young people should be included into educational politics. Leaders of today should correct the past political misbehaviors to arrange and better the current political governance for a Successful tomorrow governance, favorable to security, peace and sustainable development. For, the true actors of political, social and economic development are young people. The youth of today should be

well educated to become good leaders tomorrow. The youth should be well educated and trained to become good managers and leaders tomorrow. For, the leaders and managers should have required qualities and attitudes for the success of political governance. The leaders should be wise, a philosopher, intelligent, people of vision for their society. They should learn from the past to build, with the help of today, tomorrow life. The leaders should teach, inspire and show the way ahead to their citizens. Leaders should make their governed feel safe and secure during times of crisis. They should make a difference in any government organisation, institution, club, family and home.¹³⁸

Success or failure in business, commerce, education and the art, government and diplomacy, athletics and entertainment is a matter of trust, visibility, vision courage and principle in leadership. This is highly allegorically expressed by Larry Stout through this allegory: ‘‘Napoleon was not off when he said he would rather have an army of rabbits led by a lion than an army of lions led by a rabbit.’’¹³⁹

This simply means that, the lion shows more attitudes of leaders than the rabbit. The lion is more able to show strength for wisdom, for security peace and development than the rabbit. The leader should be the builder of the light and the light of the world he is leading through a context in which he should show to the managers their roles in social and political governance. It is what Stout further explains by writing:

Management versus Leadership.

Leaders are change-makers. Managers, on the other hand, are those who maintain the status quo .some individuals who have been excellent as managers are simply unable to make transition to leadership. George H. W. Bush, successor as president to Ronald Reagan, is an example of this type. He was called Mr. Resume because he had served in so many roles: US congressman UN Ambassador, CIA director and Vice president of the United States. Many assumed that with such a portfolio of experience, he would make an excellent president. But as John Podhoretz noted, ‘‘ Bush is one of the first human beings to serve in the White House a man of infinite personal grace and dignity, loved and admired.... But he was a

¹³⁸ Larry W. Stout. *Time for a Change: Ideal Leadership Series*. U.S.A. Destiny Image Publishers. 2006. p.63.

¹³⁹ Loc. Cit.

disaster as a president and as a party leader because he was consumed by the process. He did not seek to advance his ideas, or any ideas, for that matter.¹⁴⁰

Therefore, the leader should be more than a manager. He should advance in ideas taking into account the past. He should be a man or a woman of a positive change.

However, another question is how to change in political and social governance? To this question a certain number of scholars and leaders give their views and comment about the importance and the delicacy of change in political governance. The first one is that of the American President:

As Bush noted in a quote above, the wise leader understands that he or she has no choice. In this day and age of rapid change taking place in all aspects of society and life, to fail to embrace change is to sign a death warrant for a company or organisation"... Other views about the issue are "Edmund Burke, the famous British politician commented that healthy 'change is the means of our preservation'. William Safire, columnist for the New York Times said it best, "when you are through changing, you are through" As a final thought, a leader who is leading people who have been provoked into discomfort will usually find him or herself quite unpopular [...]

No less an authority than Niccolo Machiavelli has noted, "There is no more delicate matter to take in hand, nor many dangerous to conduct, nor more doubtful of success, than to step up as a leader in the introduction of change. For he who innovates will have for his enemies all those who are well off under the existing order of things and only lukewarm support in those who might be better off under the new",¹⁴¹

However no success in democracy, leadership and change for better social and political governance is possible without the assistance of social and political institutions in charge of ruling the world. They have so many impacts on the world's social and political institutions that no government can operate a political change without the support of those international organisations. Those institutions are the true leaders of the world's system, and they are the most important in helping to fight against poverty and inequality:

Global institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF, and the United Nations, transnational corporations, rich-country governments

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., PP. 63-64.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., PP. 97,98.

(and even international non-government organisations such as Oxfam) are sometimes viewed as the most powerful and dynamic forces in the fight against poverty and inequality.¹⁴²

¹⁴² Duncan Green. *From Poverty To Power* .London: Oxfam Interntional.2008.p.292.

Conclusion

To the preoccupation of which political and social governance is required for justice, freedom, security, peace and sustainable development in the United Kingdom, and in the international politics, the answers are diverse and various. Some people think that an extremely authoritarian government which is able to impose its will to everybody, and which controls everything in the country is the best. This group shares the totalitarian view of political and social governance. Thus communist style of governance is the ideal. The second category of people think that the communist style of governance used by Tsar Nicholas, by Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Union is the ideal. That new view is also contradicted by another category of people who think that the communist style of governance is not fair and favourable to human rights and duties for security and development. The fourth group is composed of socialist thinkers and other people who think that, in spite of its philosophical dimensions of human rights and duties promotion, pure socialist doctrine shows a certain number of flaws. Those flaws are shared, depicted by writers and thinkers. Among them is George Orwell, who clearly thinks and states that pure socialism is not totally the ideal system for security, peace and development; he rather thinks that socialism should put an emphasis on social justice, freedom and common decency. This new view of George Orwell shows also many flaws with the course of time.

Indeed, inside the well built old and recent socialist democratic or non democratic political regimes, there are some cases of social injustice, of tyranny, exploitation, corruption, insecurity, wars and underdevelopment. On the basis of these remarks, my view on the question is that, the success of social and political governance is not a matter of a rigid well established system, but rather that of ethics in politics. This ethics in politic should simply means respect for norms, respect for electoral promises, respect for social and political laws and agreements. The sense of ethics in political should be instilled with education. Education,

here, should put an emphasis on people's education, and mainly young people's education to leadership, management and political responsibility.

To build my argumentation, I develop my ideas by applying three theories: Psychoanalytic Criticism, Marxism Criticism and New Historicism. The choice of Psychoanalytic Criticism is determined by the fact that people's individual and collective psychology, minds and behaviours are the referential basis for leaders, common citizens, selected and organised as actors and characters throughout Orwell's fiction and essays. These human dimensions are viewed as the basis of analysis to my dissertation. Marxist Criticism is connected to Psychoanalytic Criticism because of the fact that thinking, awareness have become the boosting elements for change both for Orwell's writings and my whole dissertation. This is also due to the greatest influences of class struggle in both the writings and my dissertation. The third theory I have applied is New Historicism. Its choice is determined by the fact that George Orwell has highly been influenced by historical events of his life and time. I am inspired by those events, and I have also used them to show the deepest root of my analysis and the origin of social and political governance that should be made applied well in the United Kingdom and in the International politics.

I have divided the first part of my dissertation into two chapters. The first chapter is an overview on the background to the works. At this level, I have explained that the first motive of most of George Orwell's writings is his disappointing childhood experiences in an autocratic schooling system, highly influenced by discriminations of any kind. It is indeed George Orwell's first meeting with totalitarianism and social injustice that he will later denounce and criticise through fiction and essays. The second reason of his writing is his meeting with British imperialism, colonialism and social injustice in Burma which he witnessed as a policeman. All of his books and articles have been the critical account of those

sad realities, and the suggestions of other perspectives for a better future. Unfortunately those ideas suggested by George Orwell have strengths as well as weaknesses.

In chapter two, I have shown and explained history, society and politics in George Orwell works. Here, I have shown all the historical aspects that Orwell has used and demonstrated in his writings. I have also explained how the writer has depicted British and international societies throughout his writings. I have done the same with the writer's demonstrations about British and international politics. The major conclusions here are related to the fact that traditionally, British people show impression that they are the greatest and best people in the world, and that they have nothing to learn from the others. They are the first ones to offer, as an example, to the international community, a society highly influenced by classes division (the upper, the middle and lower classes). That complex of superiority has been betrayed by the world's catastrophes, mainly the economic crisis of 1929 and the Second World War during which the contribution of people from the smallest and poorest countries has helped to save the system. Even British socialist democracy that they blindly trust didn't succeed in stopping those historical catastrophes that time. It is the reason why, George Orwell also thinks that the single alternative for those difficulties is the implementation of social and economic system rooted in freedom, social justice and common decency, which will later become a utopia too.

The second part of my dissertation is composed of two chapters. (Chapter three and chapter four). In this passage, I have explained and shown on the light of George Orwell's life and writings, the closest link between fiction and reality. To further explain, the storyline in George Orwell's writings constitute the recreation of his own life; or it is the intelligently arranged reportage of historical, social and political events of his time. But the remark here is that George Orwell has so sadly depicted realities of his time that his views become dystopian, because the world or realities he has described are too bad to exist.

In the same vein, he has been so harshly shocked by realities of his time that he decided to suggest a world which is too perfectly described that it can never exist on the earth. Thus, Orwell shows the utopian aspects of his views. Nevertheless, throughout George Orwell's writings, a message is drawn; the nineteenth century has perpetrated and reinforced, totalitarianism and social injustice inherited from the previous centuries. And this happened through a context of communist and socialist political and social systems. So for George Orwell, the only option to put an end to those practices is the choice and implementation of socialist democracy rooted in freedom, social justice and common decency. In the fourth chapter of my dissertation, I have discussed and analysed Orwell's views about politics and power in his fiction. At this step, I have shown that chaos and injustice in Orwell's writings have been favoured by tyranny, power abuse and social injustice. And that situation has led to people's desire and actions for change in social and political governance. Moreover, the strengths and weaknesses of George Orwell's perception have been demonstrated.

In part three, I have based my argumentation on the reading of other social political theories to show that what George Orwell has raised is relevant and omnipresent. The issues are still present in social and political contexts. I have also shown that Socialist democracy has undergone a series of evolution and influence from the capitalist ideology. At this level the point is that the international politics today is influenced by three major political systems which generate other subdivisions. These are communist, socialist and capitalist systems. Even today, most of political systems got their political doctrinal inspiration from the philosophy of those major systems. Taking into account these aspects, I conclude that George Orwell's views have been a source of inspiration to the building and management of democratic systems today. The sixth chapter of my work has put an emphasis on the major points of Orwell's contribution to British and the world's contemporary social and political

governance. These points are summed up into putting an end to despotism and social injustice.

For that reason, political power ruling should be controlled and inspected throughout different policies of checks and balances of political institutions and practices. This is not always easy to achieve. It is the reason why people should have in mind that in the core of great crises, revolution is the only alternative for moving ahead for welfare and development. Even after the revolution, they should keep in mind that, only the sense of ethics in politics can boost respect for norms for security, peace and development. This should put a focus on education to leadership and management rules. Accordingly, the system will train good leaders and managers for the affectivity and the efficiency of social and political governance in the world in general and in the UK in particular.

To implement the above mentioned results, I have suggested that specialised schools should be built. These are:

- Schools for education to leadership,
- Schools for education to ethics in politics;
- Schools for education to social and political governance ;
- Schools for education to control and inspection of political governance
- Schools for education to political management
- Schools for education to political and social responsibility.

References

Corpus

- 1- Orwell, George. *Animal Farm*. England: Longman Group ltd. 2007. (1945) pp.250.
- 2- _____ *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. England: Penguin Group. 2000.(1949) pp.329.
- 3-_____. *Homage to Catalonia*. London.1985.(1938).pp.250.
- 4- _____. *Burmese Days*. London: Harper Bros.1978 (1934).pp.287.
- 5- _____. *Down and Out in Paris and London*. London: Victor Gollancz LTD.1973 (1933).pp.213.

Other Works by and about George Orwell

* George Orwell's Works

- 6- Orwell George. *The Road to Wigan Pier*. London.1986 (1936).
- 7- _____. *Coming up for air*. England: Victor Gollancz LTD.1978 (1939).
- 8- _____. *Keep the Aspidistra Flying*. 1997 (1936).
- 9- _____. *A Clergyman's Daughter*. V. Gollancz. 1979(1935).

* Works about George Orwell

- 10- Orwell, Sonia; Agnus, Ian.*The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*:
 - Volume1.*An Age Like this*. (1940).
 - Volume2.*My Country Right or Left*. (1943).
 - Volume3.*As I Please*.(1945).
 - Volume 4.*In Front of Your Nose*. (1950).

-Volume 5 *Shooting an Elephant*. (1940).

-Volume 6 *England Your England* (1940)

-Volume 7 *The Lion and the Unicorn* (1940).

11- Oxley B. T.. *George Orwell*. London: Evans Brothers, Literature in Perspective series,
1967.

*** Additional Critical Works on George Orwell**

12- Bees, Richard. *George Orwell: Fugitive from the Camp of Victory*. London: Balland.1961

13- C., R. de Camara. ‘‘Homage to Orwell’’. London: National Review .1983.

14-Calder, Jenny . *Chronicles of Conscience: A Study of George Orwell and Arther Lastler*.
London: Secker & Warburg. 1968.

15- Crick, Bernard. *George Orwell: A Life*. London: Penguin.1980.

16- Fyvel, T. R. *George Orwell: Personal Memoir*. London: Balland. 1982.

17- Forster, E. M. . ‘‘George Orwell’’ in *Two Cheers for Democracy*, Penguin, 1972

18- Heller M. et Nekrich A.. *L’utopie au Pouvoir*, Paris, 1962

19- How, Irving . *Politics and the Novel*. New York: Macmillan. 1957.

20- Lee, A. Robert. *Orwell’s Fiction*. Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 1969.

21- Milosz C.. *The captive Mind*. Penguin: 1980.

22- Podhoretz , Norman. ‘‘If Orwell were alive today’’ . London: Harper’s. 1983.

23- Small, Christopher. *The Road to Miniluv: George Orwell, the State and God*. London:
Penguin. 1975.

24- Stanky, Peter and William, Abrahams .*Orwell: The Transformation*. London:
Penguin. 1979.

25- Stanky, Peter and William, A. *The Unknown Orwell*, Vol 1 London: Penguin. 1972.

26- Stern, P. J. and Jung, C. G.. *The Haunted Prophet*. New York: Penguin. 1977.

- 27- Secker & Warburg. *Collected Essays, The Problem with Biography*. London: Penguin. 1968.
- 28- Secker & Warburg. *Collected Essays, The Age Monthly Review*. London: Macmillan. 1968.
- 29- Stanky, Peter and William Abrahams .*Orwell: The Transformation*. London: Penguin. 1979.
- 30- Stanky, Peter and William, A. *The Unknown Orwell. Vol 1* London: Penguin. 1972.
- 31- Waldron, J.. *Liberal Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1993.
- 32- Walzer, M.. *On Toleration*. New Haven. CT: Yale University. 1997.

Other Writings

- 33- Abrams, M. H.. *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition*. New York: Oxford UP. 1953.
- 34-Adonis, A. and Pollard, S. A.. *Class Act: The Myth of Britain's Classless Society*. London: Hamish Hamilton.1997.
- 35- Adorno, T. W. and Max, H. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. London: Allen Lane. 1972.
- 36- Althusser, Louis. *For Marx*. New York: Pantheon. 1969.
- 37- Arac, J. Wlad, G. and Wallace, M., eds, *The Yale Critics: Deconstruction in America Theory and History of Literature*, vol, 6, Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press. 1983.
- 38- Arnold, Matthew. *Essays in Criticism: First Series*. New York: Macmillan. 1895.
- 39- Atkins, G. D.. and Laura ,M. eds. *Contemporary Literary Theory*. Amherst: USA: Masssachusetts. 1989.
- 40- Atkins, J. W. H. *English Literary Criticism: 17th and 18th Centuries*. London: Methuen. 1951.

- 41- Atkins, John: George Orwell, London: Macmillan.1954.
- 42- Attlee C. The Labour Party in Perspective.London:Macmillan.1937.
- 43- Aughey, A.. Nationalism, Devolution and the Challenge to the United Kingdom State.
Plato: London. 2001.
- 44- Bagehot, W. The English Constitution .London: Fontana.1963.
- 45- Baker, R..Capitalism's Achilles Heel.Chichester:Wiley.2005.
- 46- Banister, J.'Manufacturing Employment in China'. Monthly Labor Review.2005.
- 47-Barrett, William. "Writers and Madness", Literature and Psychoanalysis. Edith Kurzweil
and William Phillips, eds, New York: Columbia UP. 1983.
- 48- Bate, Walter J. From Classic to Romantic. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP. 1946.
- 49- Bate, W. Jackson. From Classic to Romantic: Premises of Taste in Eighteenth Century
England, Cambridge: Harvard UP. 1946.
- 50- Baxandall, L., and Stefan, M., eds., Marx and Engels on Literature and Art. New York:
International General. 1973.
- 51- Baym, Nina. Women's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America,
1820-1870, Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP. 1978.
- 52- Beardsley, M. C. The Possibility of Criticism, Detroit: Wayne State UP. 1970.
- 53- Beauvoir, Simone de, The Second Sex, 1949, Ed, and Trans, H. M. Parshle. New York:
Modern Library. 1952.

- 54- Beer, S. *Modern British Politics*. London: OUP. 1965.
- 55- Beley, C. and Jane, M. eds, *The Feminist Reader: Essays in Gender and the Politics of Literary Criticism*. London: Macmillan. 1989.
- 56- Benjamin, W. *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken. 1970.
- 57- Benn, T.. *Arguments For Socialism*. London: Macmillan. 1979.
- 58- Bennett, Tony. *Formalism and Marxism*. London: Methuen. 1979.
- 59- Berlins, M. and Dyer, C.. *The Law Machine*. Penguin: Harmondsworth. 1986.
- 60- Berman, Art, *From the New Criticism to Deconstruction: The Reception of Structuralism and Post-Structuralism*. Chicago: U of Illinois P. 1988.
- 61- Bernstein, B.. *Class, Codes and Control*. London: Macmillan 1973.
- 62- Blakemore K.. *Introduction to Social Policy*. Oxford University Press: Oxford. 1999.
- 63- Bloom, Harold, et al., eds, *Deconstruction and Criticism*, New York: Seabury P. 1979.
- 64- Bloomfield, D.. *Peacemaking Strategies in Northern Ireland*. London: Macmillan Press. 1999.
- 65- Bogdanor, V.. *The Monarchy and the Constitution*. Clarendon Press: Oxford. 1995.
- 66- Booth, C.. *Life and Labour of People in London*. London: OUP. 1903.

- 67- Bové, Paul A.. *Intellectuals in Power: A Genealogy of Critical Humanism*. New York: Columbia UP. 1986.
- 68- Brander, L. *George Orwell*. London. Penguin. 1954.
- 69- Brittan, L.. *A Diet of Brussels: The Changing Face of Europe*. London: Little Brown. 2000.
- 70- Brooker, P. ed, *Modernism/Postmodernism*. New York: Longman. 1992.
- 71- Brownell, W. C.. *Criticism* .New York: Scribner's. 1914.
- 72 - Bruss, E. W. *Beautiful Theories: The Spectacle of Discourse in Contemporary Criticism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP. 1982.
- 73- Bullock, A.. *The life and Times of Ernest Bevin*. London. Penguin. 1960.
- 74- Butcher, S.H. *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*. 3rd ed, London: Macmillan. 1902.
- 75- Cain, W. E.. "Deconstruction in America: The Recent Literary Criticism of J. Hillis Miller." *College English* .1979.
- 76- Cannadine, D.. *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*. London. OUP. 1990
- 77- Carroll, David, "Freud and the Myth of Origins," *London:New Literary History* 1975
- 78- Cascardi, A. J.. "Skepticism and Deconstruction.' *Philosophy and Literature*. 1984.
- 79- Casey, John.*The Language of Criticism*. London: Methuen. 1960.

- 80- Cathcart, B.. *The Case of Stephen Lawrence*. London: Viking 1999.
- 81- Cixous, Hélène, "The Laugh of the Medusa," Trans, Keith Cohen and Paul Cohen: *Signs* 1976.
- 82- Clarke, P.. *The Transformation of British Politics.1960-1995*. OUP: Oxford. 1995.
- 83- Class, D.V.. *Social Mobility in Britain*. London: OUP. 1954.
- 84- Clubbe, J.. and Ernest J., L.. *English Romanticism: The Grounds of Belief*, London: Macmillan. 1983.
- 85- Cohen, Raph, ed, *New Literary History: A journal of Theory and Interpretation*. vol, 19, 1 (Autunmn 1987) : special edition in *Femininist Directions*.
- 86- Collier, Peter, and Helga; G.-R., eds. *Literary Theory Today* .Ithaca, NY: Cornel UP. 1990.
- 87- Con, D. R. and Laurie, F.. *Literary Criticism and Theory: The Greeks to the Present*. New York: Longman. 1989.
- 88- Con, D. R.. and Ronald, S.. *Contemporary Literary Criticism: Literary and Cultural Studies*. 2nd ed, New York: Longman. 1989.
- 89- Cook, R.: "Rugard Kipling and George Orwell". in *Modern Fiction, studies*, VII, Summer. 1961.
- 90- Cooper, B., Michel, F.. *An Introduction to the Study of His Thought* .New York : Edwin Mellen, 1982.
- 91- Craig, David, ed, *Marxists on Literature*. Harmondswort .England: Penguin. 1975.
- 100- Crane, R. S., ed, *Critics and Criticism: Ancient and Modern*. Chicago: U of Chicago P.

- 1952.
- 101- Crewe, I., "The disturbing truth behind Labour's rout". London: The Guardian, 13 June.
- 1983.
- 102- Culler, J.. On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism. Ithaca. NY: Cornell UP. 1982.
- 103- Curran, J. and Seaton, J.. Power without Responsibility. London: OUP. 1981.
- 104- Daiches, David, Critical Approaches to Literature. 2nd ed, New York: Longman. 1981.
- 105- Daiches, David. Critical Approaches to Literature. New York: Longman. 1981.
- 106- Danziger, M. and W. S. Johnson, An Introduction to Literature Criticism. Boston: D, C, Heath. 1961.
- 107- Daugherty, S. B.. The Literary Criticism of Henry James. Athens: Ohio UP. 1981.
- 108- Davis, R. C.. ed, Special issue on "Psychoanalysis and Pedagogy".College English 49
6/7 (1987).
- 109- De George, R. T..And Fernande, M. eds,. The Structuralists from Marx to Lévi-Strauss. Garden . NY: Doubleday. 1972.
- 110- Deakin, N.. The Politics of the Welfare State. Harvester: Hemel Hempstead. 1999.
- 111- Dembo, L. S. Criticism: Speculative and Analytical Essays, Madison: U of Wisconsin P.
1968.
- 112- Demetz, P., M. Engels and the Poets: Origins of Marxist Literary Criticism. Chicago: U
of Chicago P. 1967.

- 113- Derrida, Jacques. *Speech and Phenomena, and Other Essay on Husserl's Theory of Signs*. 1973, Trans. Davd B. Allison. Evanston, IL: Northwester. UP. 1978. 114-
- Detweiler, Robert. *Story, Sign, and Self: Phenomenology and Structuralism as Literary-Critical Methods*. Philadelphia: Fortress. 1978.
- 115- Deutsher, Isaac: *Heretics and Renegades*, London.OUP. 1953.
- 116- Devereux, J. A.. "The Meaning of Delight in Sidney's Defense of Poesy." *Studies in the Literary Imagination* .1982.
- 117- Dicey, A. V.. *Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution*. London: Macmillan.1945.
- 118- Dicey A.V.. *Law of the Constitution*.London.OUP. 1885.
- 119- Dollimore, J.. and Alan. S.. eds. *Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural Materialism*. Manchester. England: Manchester UP. 1985.
- 120- Dollimore, J. R.. *Tragedy: Religion, Ideology, and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries*, Chicago: U of Chicago P. 1984.
- 121- Donovan, Josephine, ed, *Feminist Literary Criticism: Explorations in Theory*. Lexington: Kentucky UP. 1975.
- 122- Dowing, W.C. J.. *Althusser, M.. An Introduction to the Political Unconscious*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1984,
- 123- Dowling, William C.. *The Critic's Hornbook: Reading for Interpretation*. New York: Crowell. 1977.
- 124- Dunn, Avril: "My Brother, George Orwell's in Twentieth Century. London Macmillan Press. 1961.
- 125- Eagleton, Mary, ed, *Feminist Literary Criticism*, New York: Longman. 1991.
- 126- Eagleton, Mary, ed, *Feminist Literary Theory: A Reader*. Oxford: Brasil Blackwell. 1986.

- 127- Eagleton, Terry, *Literary Theory: An Introduction*: Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P. 1983.
- 128- Eagleton, Terry. *Criticism and Ideology: A Study in Marxist Literary Theory*. London: New Left Books. 1976.
- 129- Eagleton, Terry. *Marxism and Literary Criticism*. Berkeley: U of California P. 1976.
- 130- Eagleton, Terry. *The Function of Criticism: From The Spectator to Post-Structuralism*. London: Thetford. 1984.
- 131- Edwards, L., and Arlyn D.. eds.,. *The Authority of Experience: Essays in Feminist Criticism*. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P. 1977.
- 132- Eisenstein, Hester, *Contemporary Feminist Thought*. London: Unwin. 1984.
- 133- Ellis, John M.. *The Theory of Literary Criticism: A Logical Analysis*, Berkeley: U of California P. 1974.
- 134- Ellmann, Mary. *Thinking About Women*. New York: Harcourt. 1968.
- 135- Engels, F., *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. London OUP.1844.
- 136- Erikson, Erik, *Childhood and Society*, New York: Norton. 1963.
- 137- Fekete, John. *The Critical Twilight*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1976.
- 138- Ferguson, N.. *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World*. London: Allen Lane. 2002.
- 139- Fetterley, Judith. *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction*. Bloomington: Indiana UP. 1978.
- 140- Fish, *Self-Consuming Artifacts: The Experience of Seventeenth-Century Literature*. Berkeley: U of California P. 1972.
- 141- Foucault, Michel. *Madness and Civilization*. Trans. Richard Howard. New York: Pantheon. 1965.
- 142- Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things*, New York: Pantheon. 1972.

- 143- Fowler, Rowena. "Feminist Criticism: The Common Pursuit," *New Literary History*. Vol, 19, 1 (Autumn 1987).
- 144- Francis, P., Davies, P., Jupp, V.. *Policing Futures: The Police. Law Enforcement and the Twenty-First Century*. London: Palgrave. London. 1997.
- 145- Fraser, D.. *The Evolution of the British Welfare State*. London OUP.1973.
- 146- Freud, Sigmund. *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, Trans, Joan Riviere. London: Allen. 1922.
- 147- Freud, Sigmund. *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Trans, A. A. Brill, New York: Random. 1950.
- 148- Freund, Elizabeth. *The Return of the Reader-Response Criticism*. New York: Methuen. 1987.
- 149- Friedman M.and R.. *Freedom to Choose*. London.OUP. 1980.
- 150- Frow, John. *Marxism and Literary History*. Ithaca .NY: Cornell UP. 1986.
- 151 Fuerbach, Nina.: *An Idea in Communities of Women Fiction*. Cambridge: MA: Harvard UP. 1978.
- 152- Fyvel, T.R. "George Orwell and Eric Blair" in *Encournter*, July 1959, and others: Pictorial feature in *Picture Post*, 8 Jan. London: OUP.1955.
- 153- Gallop, Jane. *The Daughter's Seduction: Feminism and Psychoanalysis*. Itlaca. NY: Cornell UP. 1982.
- 154- George, S. *The Awkward Partner: Britain and the European Community*. OUP: Oxford. 1990.
- 155- George, V. and Wilding, P. *Ideology and Social Wefare*. Routledge and Kegan Paul: London. 1976.
- 156- Gilbert, Sandra, M.. and Susan, G.. *A Classroom Guide to Accompany the Norton Anthology of Literature by Women*. New York: Norton. 1985.

- 157- Gilbert, Sandra M.. *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*, New Haven: Yale UP. 1979.
- 158- Gilman, Sander. ed, *Introducing Psychoanalytic Theory*, New York: Brunner-Mazel. 1982.
- 159- Gilmour, I. and Garnett, M.. *Whatever Happened to the Tories?* London. Fourth Estate. 1998.
- 160- Goad, Caroline. *Horace in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century*. New Haven: Yale UP. 1918.
- 161- Goldberg, G.. Jay and Nancy, M. G.. eds, *The Modern Critical Spectrum*, Englewood Cliffs. NJ: Prentice-Hall. 1962.
- 162- Goldberg, J. James, I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne. and Their Contemporaries. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP. 1983.
- 163- Goldmann, Lucien.. "Marxist Criticism". *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*. Cambridge. MA: MIT. 1973, 86-97.
- 164- Goldsworthy. *The Sovereignty of Parliament*. Clarendon Press : Oxford.1999.
- 165- Goldthorpe, J. H. et al., *Social Mobility and the Class Structure in Modern Britain*. Clarendon Press: Oxford. 1980.
- 166- Goodheart, Eugene. *The Failure of Criticism*. Cambridge: Harvard UP. 1978.
- 167- Goodheart, Eugene. *The Skeptic Disposition in Contemporary Criticism*. Princeton: Princeton UP. 1984.
- 168- Goldthorpe, J. et al., *The Affluent Worker*. London .OUP. 1969.
- 169- Grebaqnier, Bernard. *The Enjoyment of Literature*. New York: Crown. 1975.
- 170- Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago: U of Chicago P. 1980.
- 171- Greenblatt, Stephen. Introduction. "The Forms of Power and the Power of Forms in the

- Renaissance.' Genre 15 (Summer 1982).
- 172- Greene, G. and Coppelia, K., eds. Making a Difference: Feminist Literary Criticism. New York: Methuen. 1985.
- 173- Greene, W. C.. The Choices of Criticism, Cambridge. MA : MIT. 1965.
- 174- Griffin, D. Alexander P. The Poet in the Poems, Princeton: Princeton UP. 1935.
- 175- Gutheil, Emil. The Handbook of Dream Analysis, New York: Liveright. 1951.
- 176- Habrakuk H. J.. Population Growth and Economic Development since.London:OUP.1971.
- 177- Halsey A. H. et al, Origins and Destinations : Family, Class and Education in Modern Britain. OUP: Oxford. 1980.
- 178- Hartman, Geoffrey, Psychoanalysis and the Question of the Text. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP. 1979.
- 179- Hartmann, Geoffrey H. et al. Deconstruction and Criticism. New York: Continuum. 1979.
- 180- Harvie C., Jones, P., The Road to Home Rule: Images of Scotland's Cause. Polygon: Edinburgh. 2000.
- 181- Hawthorn, Jeremy, ed. Criticism and Critical Theory . London: Arnold. 1984.
- 182- Hayek, F. The Road to Serfdon. London :OUP. 1946.
- 183- Heath, A. Social Mobility, Glasgow:Fontana 1981.
- 184- Henn, T.R. Longinus and English Criticism. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. 1934.
- 185- Hennessy, P., The Prime Minister: The Office and its Holders since 1945.London: Allen Lane. 2000.
- 186- Herrick, Marvin T. The Fusion of Horatian and Aristotelian Literary Criticism. Urbana/ U of Illinois P. 1946.
- 187- Hill, J. S., ed, The Romantic Imagination: A Casebook, London: Macmillan. 1977.

- 188- HMSO, Social Trends, London.OUP. 2003.
- 189- Hoffman, Frederick, J. Freudianism and the Literary Mind, 2nd ed, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP. 1957.
- 190- Hoggart, R.. The Use of Literacy. London Macmillan. 1957.
- 200- Holland, Norman N. The Dynamics of Literary Response. New York: Oxford UP. 1968.
- 201- Holland, Norman, "Literary Interpretation and the Three Phases of psychoanalysis. " Critical Inquiry 3 1976.
- 202- Holland, Norman. "The 'Unconscious' of Literature," Contemporary Criticism. Ed, Norman Bradbury and David palmer, Stratford-upon - Avon Series, vol, 12, New York: St, Martin's. 1970.
- 203- Hollis, Christopher. A Study of George Orwell. London. Penguin. 1956.
- 204- Holman, C. H. and William, H.. A Handbook to Literature, 6th ed, New York: Macmillan. 1992.
- 205- Hopkinson, Tom. George Orwell. London.OUP. 1953.
- 206- Howe, Irving. Politics and the Novel. New York. Macmillan 1957.
- 207- Hume, Robert D. Dryden's Criticism. Ithaca. NY: Cornell UP. 1970.
- 208- Irigaray, Luce. This Sex Which Is Not One, Trans, Catherine Porter. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP. 1985.
- 209- Iser, Wolfgang. The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Buntan to Beckett. Baltimore: Hohns hopkins UP. 1974.
- 210- Jacobus, ed. Woman Writing and Writing About Women, London: Croom Helm. 1979.
- 211- Jacobus, Mary. Reading Woman: Essays in Feminist Criticism. New York: Columbia UP. 1868..
- 212- James, C. Vaughan. Soviet Realist Realism: Origins and Theory. New York: Macmillan. 1973.

- 213- James, Henry. *The Art of the Novel: Critical Prefaces*. Introduction by R. P. Blackmur. New York: Scribner's. 1932.
- 214- Jameson, Fredric. *Marxism and Form: Twentieth-century Dialectical Theories of Literature*. Princeton: Princeton UP. 1971.
- 215- Leys, Simon. *Orwell ou L'horreur de la Politique*. Paris :Hermann.1984.
- 216- Lord, Beloff. *Britain and European Union*. Marmillan: London. 1997.
- 217- Loughlin, M. *Local Government in the Modern State*, Sweet & Maxwell: London. 1986.
- 217- Lowe, R. *The Welfare State in Britain since 1945*. Marmillan: London 1993.
- 208- Lukacs, George. *The Historical Novel*. London: Merlin. 1962.
- 209- Lukacs, George. *The Meaning of Contemporary Realism*. London: Merlin. 1963.
- 210- Madgewick, P. J.. *An Introduction to the British Constitution*.London:Macmillan. 1983.
- 211- Maltland, F. W..*The Constitutional History of England*, Cambridge UP, Cambridge. 1977.
- 212- Mandelson, P. and Liddle, R.. *The Blair Revolution: Can New Labour Deliver?.* Faber and Faber: London. 1996.
- 213- Marcuse, Herbert. *The Aesthetic Dimension: Toward a Critique of Marxist Aesthetics*. Boston: Beacon. 1978.
- 213- McIlroy, J..*Trade Unions in Britain Today*.Manchester. Manchester University Press. 1997.
- 214- Meisel, Perry. ed, *Freud: Twentieth Century Views*. Englewood Cliffs,. NJ: Prentice Hall. 1981.
- 215- Millett, Kate. *Sexual Politics*. New York: Doubleday. 1970.
- 216- Millirand, R... *Parliamentary Socialism*. London. OUP. 1961.
- 217- Moers, Ellen. *Literary Women: The Creative Writers*. New York: Doubleday. 1976.
- 218- Moi, Toril, *Sexual: Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory*. New York: Methuen.

- 1985.
- 219- Moran, C. and Elizabeth, F. Penfield, eds, *Conversations: Contemporary Critical Theory and the Teaching of Literature*. Urbana. IL: National Council of Teachers of English. 1990.
- 220- Morgan K.. Mungham G.. *Redesigning Democracy, The Making of the Welsh Assembly*: London: Seen.2000.
- 221- Morris, Wesley. *Toward a New Historicism*. Princeton: Princeton UP. 1972.
- 222- Murfin, Ross, ed, *Heart of Darkness: A Case Study in Contemporary Criticism*. New York: St, Martin's 1989.
- 223- Nairnt, T. *After Britain - New Labour and the Return of Scotland*. Granta Books: London. 1999.
- 224 Natoli, Joseph. *Tracing Literary Theory*. Chicago: U of Illinois P 1987.
- 225- Norris,P..*Electoral Change since 1945*. Oxford:Blackwell. 1998.
- 226- Olson, Elder. *Aristotle's Poetics and English Literature* .Chicago: U of Chicago P. 1965.
- 227- Otte, T. G. (Ed,) *The Makers of Britain Foreign Policy from Pitt to Thatcher*.London: Palgrave. London. 2002.
- 228- Parry, R. *The Treasury and Social Polity*. London: 2000.
- 229-Pimlott, B., Rao N.. *Governing London*. Oxford : OxfordUniversity Press :2000.
- 230- Plato. *The Republic*. Trans. B. Jowett. 3rd ed, Oxford: Clarendon. 1888.
- 231- Porter, Laurence M. *The Interpretation of Dreams: Freud's Theories Revisited*. Twayne's Masterwork Studies Series. Boston: Hall. 1986.
- 232- Pritchett, V. S. : *Appreciation of George Orwell in New Statesman*, 28 Jan. London: OUP. 1950.
- 233- Ray, William. *Literary Meaning: From Phenomenology to Deconstruction*. New York:

- Blackwell. 1984.
- 234- Ruthven, K.K.. *Feminist Literary Studies: An Introduction*. New York: Cambridge UP. 1984.
- 235- Sartre, Jean-Paul. *What Is Literature?* New York: Philosophical Library. 1949.
- 236- Saunders, O.. "Might Britain be a meritocracy?", *Sociology*, 29 (1). 1998.
- 237- Savage, P.. and Atkinson R., *Public Policy under Blair*. London: Macmillan. 2000.
- 238- Selden, Raman. ed, *The Theory of Criticism: From Plato to the Present*. New York: Longman. 1988.
- 239- Skura, Meredith Anne. *The Literary Use of Psychoanalytic Process*. New Haven: Yale U., 1981.
- 240- Taylor R., *The Trade Union Question in British Politics*. Oxford: Blackwell 1998.
- 241- Vesser, H. Aram, ed. *The New Historicism*. New York: Routledge. 1989.
- 242- Watson, George. *The Literary Critics: A Study of English Descriptive Criticism*, 2nd ed, London: Woburn. 1973.
- 243- Williams K., *From Paupers to Poverty*. London: OUP. 1981.
- 244- Williams, *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford UP. 1977.
- Unpublished Dissertations and other additional critical works
- 245- Achebe, Chinua. *A Man of the People*. London: Heinemann. 1977 (1966).
- 246- Agossou, Pamphile." *Socialist realism as expressed in Ngugi Wa Thiongo's Petals of Blood*." UAC (EDP) 2007.
- 247- Allen, Walter. *The English Novel: A short critical history*. London: Penguin Books. 1963.
- 248- Apter, T.E.. *Fantasy Literature: An Approach to Reality*. London: The Macmillan Press LTD.1982.
- 249- Armah, Ayi Kwei. *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*. London: Heinemann.1975 (1969).

- 250- Bressler, Charles. *Literary criticism, An Introduction to theory and Practice*. New Jersey/ Pentice Hall.
- 251- Dansou, Bertin. Y.. Pre-doctoral Dissertation on” *Bad governance as the main cause of underdevelopment in Africa, through The Interpreters and the Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born by Soyinka & Armah.*” UAC (EDP) 2008.
- 252- Dickens, Charles. *Great Expectations*. England: Longman Group. 1989 (1950).
- 253- Dossou-Yovo, Noël. *George Orwell’s Nineteen Eighty-Four: A critical study*. Porto Novo: Gevoix Publishers Limited.2007.
- 254- Dumont, René. *L’Afrique Noire est mal partie*. Edition du Seuil. 1973.
- 255- Hommond, J.R. *A George Orwell companion*. London; The Macmillan Press TD. 1984 (1982).
- 256- Kermodo, F. and Hollander, J.. *Modern British Literature*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1953.
- 257- Marx, Karl. *The Communist Manifesto*. New York: Bantam Books. 1948..
- 258- _____. *Le Manifeste du Parti Communiste*. 1991 (1848).
- 259- Hornby, A. S..*Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*. 7th Edition. 2007.
- 260- _____.*Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*. 7th Edition. 2007.
- 261- Soyinka, Wole. *The Interpreters*. London: André Deutsch Ltd. 1986 (1965).
- 262- Stewart, J. I. M. *Eight Modern Writers*. London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press. 1996 (1963).
- 263- Tocqueville de Alexis. *De la démocratie en Amérique*. 1840.

264- Walsh, William. *Readings in commonwealth literature*. London: Oxford University Press. 1973.

265- Wa Thiongo, Ngugi. *Weep not, child: with Introduction and notes by IME IKIDDEH*. London: Heinemann. 1964 (2005)).

Websites

266- *Encarta Dictionaries Microsoft, 2009* [DVD], Microsoft Corporation, 2008 .

267- <http://www.google.com/analytics/utmsite/utmsite.htm> June 11th, 2011
3:00 pm.

268- <http://www.google.com/analytics/utmsite/utmsite.htm> June 11th, 2011.3:pm

269- <http://www.amazon.com>. ‘*Best dystopian novels*’.’ Htm. June 22nd 2011. 5:30am

270- <http://www.amazon.com> ‘*Authoritarianism*’’. Htm. June 25th 2011. 6:pm

271- <http://www.google.com/analytics/utmsite/utmsite.htm> ‘*Animal Farm by George Orwell*’.’ htm .July 6th
5:30 am

272- <http://www.google.com/analytics/utmsite/utmsite.htm> ‘*Psychoanalysis*’.’ htm.December.22nd,2011.4:00.am.

273- <http://www.amazon.com>. ‘*Socialism*’’.htm January.15th ,2012.3:00 am

274- <http://www.amazon.com>. ‘*Democratic socialism*’’. htm.January.16th ,2012.3:00.am.

275- <http://www.google.com/analytics/utmsite/utmsite.htm>. ‘*Qualitative research*’’. htm. Janaury 20th, 2012. 4:00.

276- <http://www.google.com/analytics/utmsite/utmsite.htm>. ‘*Utopian societies – Amana Colonies Nationa* .

Register of historic places travel itinerary’’. htm. .January 24th, 2012.3:00

- 277- <http://www.google-analytic.com> '*Utopian socialism*'. htm.26th, 2012.4:00.
- 278- [http//.google-analytic.com](http://.google-analytic.com) '*Utopian literature*'. htm.19th,2012 5:00.
- 279- <http://www.google-analytic.com> . '*History of science fiction*'. htm. January 15th,2012.5:00.
- 280- <http://www.google-analytic.com>. '*Science fiction*.' htm.February 23th,2012.6:00;am.
- 281- <http://www.amazon.com>. '*Social structure of the United Kingdom*.' htm; February 4th 2012
- 282- <http://www.amazon.com> '*The United Kingdom*' htm, idem.
- 283- <http://www.amazon.com>. '*George Orwell and political governance*' htm, idem.
- 284- <http://www.amazon.com>. '*Sustainable development: directory environment and greener living*' htm, idem
- 285- <http://www.palgrave.com>. '*George Orwell: Dystopian novel 1984 – Animal Farm*' htm, idem
- 286- <http://www.palgrave.com>. '*George Orwell*' htm, idem.
- 287- <http://www.palgave.com>. '*Burmese Days*.' htm.idem.
- 288- <http://www.google-analytic.com> '*Book Review Down and Out in Paris and London*' htm.idem.
- 289-<http://www.google-analytic.com>. '*Sparknotes: Animal Farm character list*.' Htm.idem.
- 290- <http://www.google-analytic.com>. '*Homage to Catalonia: character study*.' Htm.idem.

291- <http://www.google-analytic.com>. '*Sparknotes - 1984*'. htm. Idem.

292- <http://www.google-analytic.com>. '*1984character-map id 900,0 p.a Authoritarianism*'

htm,idem

293- <http://www.google-analytic.com>. '*Plot study in Homage to Catalonia*' htm,

March,2nd,2012.6:00.am.

294- <http://www.amazon.com>. '*Social structure of the UK*' htm, idem.

295- <http://www.amazon.com>. '*British political system*' htm.idem.

296-<http://www.amazon.com>. '*Capitalism*' htm.idem.

297- <http://www.amazon.com>. '*World- systems theory*' htm,idem.

298- [http://www. Google-analytic.com](http://www.Google-analytic.com). '*Absolutism*' htm,idem.

299- <http://www.welcome to Democracy and Socialism.com>. '*Welcome to Democracy and* -

Socialism' htm.idem

Annex pages

Theme N° 1

**DEMOCRACY AND “GOOD GOVERNANCE”
AMBIGUITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF
POLITICAL CONDITIONALITIES OF
DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE.**

By Professor Richard BANEGAS

International cooperation policies between developed and developing countries have been subjected, during the past twenty years, to increasingly constraining conditions in terms of delivery of development assistance. These conditions which were at the origin global and macro-economic, are prescribed by the Bretton Wood Institutions within the framework of the implementation of structural adjustment plans. However they were progressively extended to embrace notably other social and economic areas, and were even transformed into true doctrines for the reform of state and "democratic development". The bilateral aid donors – spearheaded by France after the La Baule Speech – also followed suit by subjecting their assistance to political conditionalities, with the aim of encouraging and accompanying political changes that were looming at the time in Sub-Saharan Africa.

What was, and what is today, the efficiency of these arrangements of international constraints which are spelt out in the form of conditional policies? What are the theoretical bases and the practical terms of these new conditionalities of development assistance, prescribed by the World Bank or the French official development assistance agency? Do these foreign injunctions that very often mix up democracy and "good governance," entail incredible ambiguities? Has the often lax and indiscriminate application of these political conditions not often produced the opposite of the much sought after effects? Basically speaking, is it possible to promote "democratic transplant" and consolidation of a pluralist order through the implementation of programs for support to the civil society, "good governance" or "institutional development"?

We will attempt to provide answers to these questions in this study that aims at highlighting the paradoxes, ambivalence and limitations of these political conditionalities of development assistance. The general idea developed in this paper is that on the one hand these new conditionalities produce basically insignificant effects on the introduction and success of the processes of democratization in the countries of the South, notably in Africa; and on the other hand that some of the consequences or perverse effects, in the long run, may to the contrary prove to be negative for the consolidation of pluralism.

By studying the evolution of conditional policies of the World Bank and France, this paper attempts first and foremost to show that these practices which were ambitious from the outset, narrowed their scope to the minimalist and ambiguous conceptions of political change and pluralism which have emptied conditionality of its strictly democratic content (1st part). For instance, the notion of "good governance" which was formulated by the international financial institutions during the late 1980s, were at the outset base on a strong criticism of authoritarianisms, that led to predict the implementation of true political conditionality in favour of democracy in the countries of the South. The central concept of "political accountability" occupies prime place. However these ambitions were to be quickly reviewed down wards, with "good governance" embracing only four problems: poor administrative capacities, lack of "accountability," lack of legal framework for development and the problems of availability or transparency of information. It was therefore possible to provide technical "solutions" to the crisis of governance of post-colonial states, irrespective of the form of political representation. The shift of focus from pluralism and political legitimacy to financial accountability and government management capacities has emptied "political conditionality" of its revolutionary "content". Indeed an implicit "depoliticization" restricts considerably the scope of "pressures that the bilateral and multilateral aid donors could have exerted in return for their support for the structural adjustment measures and which did not rule out that the latter are implemented by authoritarian regimes, resistant to change. By offering new financial opportunities to governments which are recognized for their international "legitimacy," by focussing on the institutional dimension of reforms, and more indirectly, by strengthening the "informal" and underground stems of state, this paper defends the idea that SAPs contribute in very many instances to stabilize incumbent regimes.

The positions of France with regard to the issue of democracy in Africa are not less ambiguous, in spite of the extensive media coverage of the La Baule Speech. This study suggests that the scope of the 'La Baule' summit which was over-publicized by the media must be relativized because the message came in late and also because of the original ambiguity that will be fuelled over time. To some extent, the La Baule speech merely confirms the changes that Africa was undergoing at the time, and did not have a determining influence on the processes of political openness or authoritarian decompression that Sub-Saharan Africa countries experienced during the 1980s and 1990s. Moreover, the novelty of the French speech conceals improperly a continuity of practices that enabled several African leaders to perpetuate or to restore their system of autocratic central government management by playing on the ambiguity of this conditionality and the multiplicity of decision taking centers in charge of its application. The lining up of the French development assistance on the criteria laid down by the Breton Wood institutions (Abidjan doctrine and minimal doctrine of the rule of law and 'and governance') is an evidence of these ambiguities.

The study of a standard ideal-case, the one of the transition of Republic of Benin, offers the opportunity to prove empirically this hypothesis that conditional policies of development assistance hardly influenced African democratization processes (2nd part). Through our analysis of the relations of the revolutionary regime of Republic of Benin with its aid donors (France, World Bank, IMF, European Union), we highlight that international conditionalities were the only catalysts of change in this country which is rightly considered as one of the pioneers of democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa. The example of Republic of Benin proves that SAPs constitute by and large an opportunity instead of a constraint for the destabilize elites of autocratic regimes. With the blessing of other bilateral aid donors, Mathieu Kerekou could have found in the structural adjustment subsidies an opportunity of stabilization if he had accepted the modest conditions that were prescribe. However as he was concerned with the dynamics of multisectoral mobilizations, he could not seize the opportunity at the right time. Similarly, the intervention of France in the political gimmicks of Republic of Benin in 1989, should not also be interpreted as a mere constraint but also as an opportunity for the Beninese stakeholders. The sole episode of the French 'prescriptions' circulated under the form of tracts in the streets of Cotonou, shows how French interference may be instrumentalized within the framework of internal factional struggles for political purposes.

Lastly, by analyzing the circumventions and misappropriations generated by the application of conditionalities, this paper attempts to underscore the possible perverse effects of these foreign injunctions (3rd part). today, most of the observers agree that conditional policies prescribed by the bilateral and multilateral aid donors were virtually a general failure: whether in terms of economic or political development, it is obvious that the conditionalities of structural adjustment in favour of a 'good governance' of African societies and a better integration into the world of economy have not alleviated the dependence and the 'patrimonialist' drift of the states in question. The insignificant number of successful democratic transitions alone proves the global inefficiency of the instruments of political conditionality. Ten years after the summit of La Baule, it is clear that development assistance is not a necessary and sufficient condition for the consolidation of pluralism in the countries of the South. To the contrary, it is observed here that the hypothesis of systematic, complacent and indiscriminate prescription of 'democratic conditionalities' of aid produced paradoxically the effects of window-dressing reforms that foster authoritarian elites who cling to power and encumber long-term entrenchment of pluralism. To support this assertion, we will mention first the limitations and the contradictions which are inherent to political conditionality of development assistance, and the misappropriation of funds that it gives rise to, before highlighting some of its perverse effects. Prescribed from outside, base on Western models

and political ideologies, these conditionalities often generate conflicts of norms which take the form either of frontal opposition and rejection reaction - such as the ones of Malaysia, China or Indonesia, in the name of 'Asian values' - or more frequently of 'unwillingness to lend support' (exit option), circumvention of conditionalities and, in fine, a failure of the 'pluralist' transplant. The practical difficulties encountered during the application of democratic conditionalities of development assistance are also due to the fact that their underlying political model is rarely explained. Most of the aid programs for democratic development are based on the fiction of a teleological model of transition towards pluralism and the rule of law; thus falling into the shortcomings of the 'illusion of natural history' and 'heroic illusion.' Another limitation of conditional policies of bilateral and multilateral development assistance agencies lies in the problem of synchronization and accounting of the prescribed reforms. To run in parallel democratization and economic adjustment processes, is of course, a difficult task. The new pluralist regimes face a major contradiction: meeting the multiform expectation of populations in order to establish their social basis and their stability, and implementing at the same time structural reforms, austerity programs which undermine the same social bases.

The political conditions of development assistance therefore suffer from internal contradictions which affect to a large extent their efficiency. However their limitations also lie and most especially in the circumventions they are subjected to during their effective application. Diverted from their original objectives by both the recipient countries and the main donors, some of these conditions which are prescribed by the donors, even produce perverse effects that encumber the possibilities of pluralism entrenchment and consolidation possibilities. These perverse effects include most especially the fact that reforms and conditionalities of structural adjustment indirectly contribute to an 'informalization' of states and a splitting of the structures of power which are not necessarily in favour of the consolidation of pluralism and whose consequence is rendering very difficult - if not impossible - the emergence of democratic legitimacies.

Theme N° 2

**GOOD GOVERNANCE,
HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT**

By Doctor Philippe T. NOUDJENOUME

I- INTRODUCTION AND CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

The three concepts “good governance, “ “human rights” and “development” are the focal points of every political, social and economic debate of our times.

The term “governance”, in French “gouvernance” came into use during the early 1980s (World Bank, 1980). According to the definition of the World Bank governance is “the exercise of political power with a view to managing a country’s affairs.” Good governance is “the transparent and accountable management of human, natural, economic and financial resources for the purposes of equitable and sustainable development” (ACP-UE Convention).

Today, almost everyone agrees that one may talk of “Human Rights” only in the context of the modern era. Human rights can only exist when “the universality of all human beings is accepted and they are granted equal rights regardless of social origin, race, sex, etc..” (NOUDJENOUME, 1999).

There are two approaches to the notion of human rights: the “naturalist approach” and the “positivist approach.”

According to the “natural law” school of thought, human rights are rights which are granted to every individual simply by virtue of his being human. “These rights are inalienable, imprescriptibly, “immutable and [produce] everywhere the same effect”.

The positivist or functionalist approach considers human rights as historical data, accepted as such, for human being of a given period and therefore variable in time and in space “reflecting the needs of specific periods, and endeavouring to meet them.”

And it is by taking this approach that we can define human rights as a set of prerogatives granted to everyone nationally and internationally and which, in a certain state of civilization, ensures that they come into full bloom. They embrace a range from civil and political rights (rights, freedoms) to economic, social and cultural rights (right-equality) and «solidarity» rights.

The concept of development is relatively new. According to the definition of UNESCO, development may be “considered as a series of more or less linear transformations which evolve, thanks to technological advances and improvements in primitive modes of production, towards other more sophisticated forms, from the terrible ordeals of everyday life towards a more comfortable life.”

This definition seems to reconcile the two schools of thought i.e. ‘quantitativist’ and ‘qualitativist,’ and is in line with the one given by Lahsen ABDELMALKI and Claude COURLET (1998), according to which development consists of “the qualitative and structural changes which are necessary to accompany the growth of net profit and broadly speaking, welfare.” This is also the approach of the UNDP as evidenced by the adoption of the Sustainable Human Development Indicator.

Development is a process that brings into operation human, intellectual and cultural abilities (qualitative factor) and a certain material organization of properties and society (quantitative factor). The process of material and structural transformations (quantitative factor) takes place as a result of human, intellectual and cultural abilities in a given society (qualitative factor). In view of this, the deciding factor in this process is the human factor i.e. the qualitative factor and every development originates in the mind.

The basic hypothesis of our study is that there is no sustainable development without the implementation of social, cultural and economic rights, without the freedom to produce, which is a fundamental element of the right of people to development (UNDP, 2000.).

«Economic rights... determine... how effective other human rights are implemented» (BORGHI & MEYER-BISCH, 1998). In the new democracies such as the one in the Republic of Benin, economic, social and cultural rights as well as development rights are completely ignored, whereas it is only the observance of these rights that can lead to sustainable development. Worse still, the international financial institutions prescribe, through the

reduction of social budgets in developing countries, programs which deny the enjoyment of these rights. This explains the growth of poverty which is a fundamental cause of insecurity and a multiplication of conflicts worldwide, particularly in Africa.

The second hypothesis is that it is only the populations of a given measure of management skills, organized in control assemblies (TOFFLER, 1971), in Action Committees (FANTODJI, 1996) that are capable of winning the battle against corruption, the second factor responsible for the underdevelopment of our countries. It is on the basis of these hypotheses that the relevance of these three notions i.e. "good governance," "human rights" and "development" will be studied in Republic of Benin, in the following three parts: (I) Beninese positive law as it relates to the three concepts, (II) the relevance of these concepts in the Beninese context and (III) *propo* (titre a copier). The state structures and those of Civil Society. The permanent state structures are mainly the Auditors' Court in the Supreme Court, the General Inspectorate of Finance, IGF (Inspection Générale des Finances), the State General Inspectorate, IGE (Inspection Générale de l'Etat). The ad hoc structures are mainly internal audits of Ministries and Parliamentary Inquiry Commissions.

The structures of civil society include! The Front of National Organizations fighting Corruption, FONAC (Front des Organisations Nationales de lutte contre la Corruption), an association established by virtue of the 1901 Bill, the Beninese Human Rights Commission, CBDH (Commission Béninoise des Droits de l'Homme), Afrika Obota Center, CAO, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, KAF, Transparency International – Republic of Benin, etc..

The structures that make for a certain coordination are the state-run ones. Furthermore, one observes no coordination between these structures and the ones of the civil society (NGOs) whose simple role seems to be to raise people's awareness of the evil that this plague represents: corruption. Their fight is merely theoretical.

II- RELEVANCE OF THESE NOTIONS ON THE FIELD

The unity and interdependence of these three concepts are such that it is very difficult to isolate one from the other in actual facts. One cannot talk of human rights if one does not consider these rights to be indivisible, that is, encompassing not only individual rights but also citizen's rights and most especially social, cultural and economic rights. Thus, the study of one calls for the other.

- 1) The central element of Beninese democracy, the one which makes it a model is the relatively smooth running of the constitutional institutions: The Executive – The Legislative, The Constitutional Court, The Supreme, Courts that is, Democracy at the top. The conflicts that arise or may arise between the Executive and the Legislative have up till now were within the limits of the acceptable. The decisions of the countervailing institutions are generally respected by the government: invalidation of the Constitutional Court of the nomination of YEHOUESSI Yves to the Supreme Court by SOGLO in 1993, proclamation by the same Constitutional Court of the final results of the March 1996 presidential elections.

The same holds true for the rulings of the Supreme Court.

- 2) With regard to good governance, the performance of the Republic of Benin is rather poor. Both in constitution and in political practice, the populations have not been involved since 1990 in the major decisions affecting the life of the Beninese State. The social, economic and political decisions with impacts on the lives of the populations are taken without consultation of the citizenry. This applies to the signing of the structural adjustment programs with the Bretton Woods Institutions privatization of state-run enterprises including some strategic ones such as SONACOP. Constraining international obligations affecting the lives of the citizenry without taking their opinion into account: implementation of OHADA, Common External Tariff of

UEMOA (Economic and Monetary Union of Francophone West African States); and the issue of the ECOWAS Parliament. The only right left to the population is the power to elect their municipal councillors, their representatives in parliament (every four (4) years) and their head of state, every five years. The Beninese people enjoy autonomy, freedom but not participation freedom (BURDEAU, 1956).

The non-accountability of elected representatives to the electorate, with as a corollary the irresponsible behaviour of every manager of public property vis-à-vis the taxpayers, spawns an opaque management style on the part of those to whom administrative power is entrusted. Corruption, which is a manifestation of this, has become a plague in the Republic of Benin. The manager of public property who is appointed by the executive and in the first place by the head of state, feels that he can account for his management only to the head of the executive. The Beninese State has set up since 1960 some mechanisms to fight corruption. The best known are the government commissions of enquiry and audit of public properties, SOS Corruption, the Unit in charge of the Moralization of Public Life, the Committees for the Defense of Revolution, CDR (Comités de Défense of Revoluton). All the mechanisms set up at the helm to fight corruption have failed. The root cause of the failures of the traditional methods to fight corruption lies in the fact that they are initiated from the top and their operations are limited to the top. In other worlds these structures are created and kept within the sphere of those they are supposed to control and punish. The great victims of corruption i.e .the bottom, the populations, are not associated to this fight and are even excluded from it.

As they are unaccountable to the populations, the managers of public property live in complete impunity.

- 3) Local democracy is an essential actor of development. Everyone generally agrees that decentralization “strengthens the efficiency of the management and compels them to pay attention to the opinions of the citizenry,” as it enables the later more easily to call to account local elected representatives” (World Bank, 2000). The Constitution of the Republic of Benin provides for this in its Title X, most especially its article 151: “these local authorities shall enjoy the right to self-administration through elected councillors and in accordance with the conditions laid down by the law.” However recent laws on territorial decentralization seem not to be in line with the requirements for development. There are two explanations for this: the first is that they defined only one type of decentralized local authorities, namely local governments; the second explanation lies in the fact that local governments are to operate under the authority of an enormous supervisory authority which is exercised by the Prefect. Thus all local government decisions are subjected to prior approval by the supervisory body before they come into force. Under no circumstances can such an à priori control be conducive to the self-administration of the populations. The civil and political rights are the rights which are fore grounded in the Republic of Benin, and they account for the farthest the country is considered a model. No citizen of the Republic of Benin is any longer imprisoned for his beliefs. The fundamental freedoms of press, expression, demonstration, association, assembly, religion are fully guaranteed. However these rights are burdened with corruption fraud and impunity.
- 4) On the other hand, social, cultural and economic rights have never been upheld by the Beninese democratic system as rights to be truly respected as human rights in law or in practice. Though the Constitution deals with these rights in article 8 to 31, it cancels them out in reality with clauses such as these : “The State shall progressively provide for free public education” ,” The State shall strive to create the conditions that make the enjoyment of the right to work effective,” etc.. Culturally, illiteracy is not only

part of the life of the populations (73%), the latter cannot use their local languages in administration and in school, and cannot have access to scientific information in their languages in accordance with the recommendations of UNESCO. There is no respect for traditional cultures, and no people can have access to development without having access to scientific knowledge in their language. The right of people to development is actually denied by the aid donors who prescribe as "conditionality" the privatization of public enterprises, notably the strategic ones such as telecommunications, energy, water, electricity, seaports, airports. Privatization, in a context of weak or insufficient national savings leads to giving away the whole national strategic sector to foreign capital.

III- PROPOSED MEASURES FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION AND THE SYNERGETIC ACTION PLAN OF THE THREE CONCEPTS

These proposals: are made up of institutional, legal, economic, social and cultural measures.

- 1) Institutionally, the basic principle consists in involving the populations in taking all decisions concerning them and particularly the management of their patrimony. We propose to take as a basic the theory of Alain TOFFLER (Choc du future, 1971) that recommends the establishment in each country, in each region, in each ward of "assemblies... which by associating the various ethnic groups and the various cultural and social communities would define the social and political objectives to be attained". In other words, we recommend the establishment of Committees of Councils at every level of the administrative system for the control of the management of public property along the lines of 'Action Committees.'
- 2) Legally, the first measure to be taken consists in passing a text of law conferring a legal status on these Committees in charge of controlling the management of public property. The same status could be conferred upon Action Committees for the same purpose... The second legal measure consists in passing certain texts of law notably: on the imprescriptibility of economic crimes and offences, the review of Bill 97-010 on the liberalization of the audio-visual space that protects economic criminals by protecting them from denunciation by the media, which is a form of punishment for anyone found guilty of corruption.
- 3) As economic measures, we propose the return of strategic privatized sectors such as SONACOP (National Corporation for the Marketing of Petroleum Products) to state ownership; the discontinuance of all procedures for the privatisation of OPT (Post and Telecommunications Corporation), SBEE (Water and Electricity Authority), PAC (Autonomous Sea Port of Cotonou), Airport; the opening up of the capital of these strategic enterprises to private capital with the Beninese state being the majority shareholder of holding at least a blocking minority in all strategic units; the establishment in these strategic structures of Boards of Control of the management of Managing Directors, the creation of a public development Bank to support all private individual and collective initiatives in the area of production, renegotiation of the Common External Tariff and a better integration into ECOWAS.
- 4) Socially, the effective implementation of the right to work i.e. the obligation for the state to train the youth so as to make them competitive in the employment market, and the lifting of the ban on recruitment to the civil service (1987 Finance Bill).
- 5) Culturally, the prompt establishment of our national languages as public education languages in the Republic of Benin in all our schools and the introduction of the populations to science intense languages so as to eradicate illiteracy, the basic of our

present evils; the establishment of Conservatories of Music, Fine Arts and Crafts. All these require the suspension of all contradictory. Programs i.e. Structural Adjustment Programs mandated by international financial institutions: the IMF and the World Bank.

Theme N° 3

**FACTORS LIKELY TO FACILITATE OR
HAMPER THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS: GOOD
GOVERNANCE AND THE VIOLATION OF
HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL
LIBERTIES: DEVELOPING AN INDIGENOUS
HUMAN RIGHTS APPROACH IN AFRICA**

By Professor Christoffel HEYNS.

Introduction

Human rights is the idea of our time; worldwide and in Africa. However, although the concept of human rights is widely recognised, the legal mechanisms that are supposed to enforce these norms in Africa – on the international and the national level - often fail to do so. This paper investigates possible reasons for this, and makes some recommendations in this regard.

THE CONCEPT AND CONTENTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The fact that human rights is often seen as a Western concept is discussed. It is proposed that the underlying essence of the concept of human rights should be identified, in order to establish its relevance and meaning in other social settings around the world.

A “struggle approach” to human rights is proposed. In summarised form, this approach amounts to the following equation: “human rights = legitimate resistance”. That is, if one wants to know whether a particular interest has the status of being a fundamental human rights, one must ask whether it would be acceptable to resist an infringement of that interest, even through illegal means, if that is the only reasonable alternative. Conversely, in order to determine whether resistance is legitimate, it should be asked whether such resistance is aimed at the protection of basic human rights.

The link between human rights and resistance appears from the fact that seminal human rights instruments emerge after seminal human rights instrumentals emerge after periods of intense social strife; when former belligerents get together around a table to make sure the same conflict will not recur in future. In order to do so, they look back at what went wrong; which interests were threatened that sparked the conflagration?

The emerging consensus on the contents of the notion of human rights is in essence the result of the collective and collected wisdom of the human race, built up over the centuries, concerning those interests which human nature will not indefinitely allow infringements of, and which need to be protected to avoid future conflict.

This approach implies that, in tracing the origins of the concept, one should note only look for references to the term “human rights”, but also to the acceptance of legitimate resistance, which is universal in one form or another to all cultures.

The “struggle approach” also has a number of other implications.

- 1) It explains the different emphasis placed in different cultures in respect of the contents of human rights. In the West, the notion of legitimate resistance largely developed around the recognition of the conscience of the individual, and as a result a largely individualistic approach is followed. In Africa, oppression from outside and from within has often been aimed against entire groups, whose very existence was threatened. In this context, it is to be expected that human rights will be seen not only as the exclusive prerogative of individuals, but also of groups or “peoples”.
- 2) If human rights violations lead to legitimate resistance, and resistance leads to instability, the protection of human rights must clearly be part of any definition of the concept of “good governance”.
- 3) The struggle approach recognises the universality of human rights, because of our common human nature. At the same time it recognises the influence that different histories will have on the understanding of human rights in different cultures.
- 4) The struggle approach also has direct consequences for the so-called “counter-majoritarian dilemma”: That is, the question of how the idea of democracy as the rule of the majority can be reconciled with the idea of human rights,

according to which not even the majority can legitimately infringe on certain basic interests. Is the notion of human rights not as a result potentially anti-democratic?

It is submitted that the view set out above rests on an impoverished view of democracy as simply ‘rule by the majority’. That is only one component of a democracy, but human rights itself is the second component of the concept of democracy.

Democracy, properly understood, implies that the majority of the population in any given society determines all those issues that do not affect human rights. Human rights matters are under the jurisdiction of a much larger majority – namely the wisdom of the entire human race. The closest we can come to access this wisdom, is to leave these matters in the hands of those whose potential for wisdom we trust most. These are the judges, whose loyalty is to what their conscience tells them about the long term lessons of history. They then have the power, under appropriate circumstances, to overrule the will of the temporary and limited majority, on the strength of what they see as the wishes of humanity as a whole.

This does not mean the judges are always right - at a certain even their decisions may be challenged through resistance.

HUMAN RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT MECHANISMS IN AFRICA

The effectiveness and relevance of existing legal mechanisms for the protection of human rights in Africa are, is then raised. International human rights mechanisms

In respect of the UN human rights treaties, it is concluded that African countries have a very low level of engagement with the system, both in respect of state reporting and individual communications. One of the major problems identified is the perception that the UN human rights treaty system is too remote. It operates from the North, and has very little impact or resonance in Africa. It is proposed that for the purposes of reporting, treaty bodies should have at least one of their annual sessions outside Geneva or New York. During this part of their meeting they should focus on reports from the region where they meet.

The OAU system

Although the African Charter system reflects a more indigenous approach to human rights, it is also not having a major impact in Africa. Some of the reasons for this are discussed, and the following ways of addressing these problems are recommended:

- 1) A certain revision of the African Charter should be undertaken.
- 2) The African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights should create within itself sub-regional units, dealing with North, West, Central, East and Southern Africa.
- 3) The Commission should issue concluding observations when it has considered state reports.

The following reforms are proposed in respect of both the UN and OAU systems:

- 1) National human rights institutions should be mobilised to regard follow up the concluding observations and views in respect of individual communications as part of their function.
- 2) A ‘treaty support unit’ must be established in Africa, to assist governments with reporting and NGOs and individuals with lodging complaints.
- 3) In order to make reporting a worthwhile experience, it must become institutionalised in the countries concerned. It is proposed that a forum of relevant governmental and non-governmental institutions be formed to

- supervise and drive the reporting process. They must be able to draw on a data base that is continuously updated.
- 4) Trade, cultural and other links between African countries must be strengthened in order to create the kind of network and potential for peer pressure that is needed for the international enforcement of human rights norms.

Human rights protection on the national level in Africa

The history of the introduction of the concept of human rights in a core group of Anglophone African countries is recounted. The influence of the European convention, and its emphasis on the individual, is pointed out. However, modern day recognition of the more collectivist notion of duties in a number of African constitutions is also pointed out. The wide recognition of a right of resistance in African constitutions is also commented on.

A range of possible educational measures in respect of human rights is proposed; inter alia regional post-graduate programmes on human rights, internships at African human rights institutions for African students, and continental colloquiums for judges.

Theme N° 4

**DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT: MEETING THE
CHALLENGES TO THE EQUITABLE PARTICIPATION
AND PROGRESS OF WOMEN AND YOUTH.**

By Professor Niara SUDARKASA, Ph.D.

Whether one focuses on equality of opportunities, equity of outcomes, or parity in rates of participation, the worldwide data show a continuing gender gap between males and females. In other words, in most of the world at the onset of the 21st century, there is evidence of persistent, if not pervasive, patterns of differential treatment of women. Studies of the positions and problems of youth, defined by the United Nations as persons aged 15 to 24, are not as numerous as those relating to women. However, the studies that are available show a need to provide youth with equitable access to education, training, and employment, and to afford them more opportunities for participation and leadership in the democratic processes that will prepare them for their responsibilities as citizens and leaders of today and tomorrow.

Equity and Equality for Women: The Road Travelled and the Road Ahead.

The last quarter of the 20th century witnessed the propagation of many laws, government policies, and private sector initiatives designed (at least on paper) to eradicate existing social, political, economic, legal and domestic inequalities between women and men. The catalysts for most of these policies and programs were the four United Nations-sponsored World Conferences on Women, convened in Mexico City in 1975; in Copenhagen in 1980; in Nairobi in 1985 and in Beijing in 1995.

The Beijing Conference produced the most comprehensive Declaration and Platform for Action on record for achieving equality, equity and / or parity between men and women in all areas of domestic and public life. The Beijing Platform for Action noted twelve critical areas of concern where inequalities between men and women should be addressed "by a basic group of priority Acton that should be carried out during the next five years" [i.e. by the year 2000]. The areas of concern include: education and training, health care; violence against women; the effects of armed conflict on women; economic structures and policies; power-sharing and decision-making; mechanisms for promoting the advancement of women; violations of women's human rights; stereotyping of women's human rights; stereotyping of women via the media; safeguarding the environment; and violations of the rights of girl children.

Despite the strong directives from Beijing, and the many policies and programs that precede that Conference, recent publications show that positive change in the lives of women has been slow in most of the world, at a standstill in some places and backward-sloping in others. In fact, in too many cases, laws and policies couched in the rhetoric of closing the gender gap, have been de facto substitutes for action to remove existing barriers to the equal protection and participation of women.

Before the Beijing Conference, the United Nations Economic and Social Council (UNESCO) had set a goal of 30 % participation by women in national parliaments and other national offices by the year 1995. When the Beijing Conference was convened in 1995, women still constituted only 10% of the world's parliaments. The goal of 30% representation was reaffirmed at Beijing.

Five years after Beijing, in the year 2000, the level of women's participation in the world's parliaments has increased by only two percentage points, to 12%. There are a few hopeful signs: in the Scandinavian countries, nearly 38% of the parliamentary positions are held by women; in the Bahamas and Sweden, over 30% of the ministers and deputy-ministers are women; and most encouragingly, in the newly democratic South Africa, 29.8% of the parliament and 29.6% of the ministers and deputy ministers are women. Despite these signs of progress here and there, five years after Beijing, fifteen years after Nairobi, and twenty-five years after the kick-off of the Decade for Women in Mexico City, on average, 88% of those who make today's legislative and executive decisions in the world's democracies are men.

One thing is certain: at a rate of increase of two percent every five years, we will be in the year 2045 before 30 % of the seats in the world's parliaments will be held by women. We

will be five years from the turn of the 22nd century before the ultimate goal of 50% participation, or parity with men, is reached. Clearly, the nations of the world must take more affirmative, assertive, and indeed aggressive, action if we are to reach the goal of gender equality with something more than "all deliberate speed".

Studies show that women in government have an impact that outweighs their numbers. A recent World Bank study noted a positive correlation between higher rates of participation by women and lower levels of corruption in national governments. In Uganda, the Parliament's Women's Caucus led the fight for greater transparency and accountability in the area of public spending. In South Africa, since 1995, a coalition of women parliamentarians, civil servants and leaders from NGOs have produced annual "Woman's Budget" that analyzes the government's budget in terms of its differential impact on women and girls as well as men and boys. In so doing, the Women's Budget enables the government to identify funds that can be shifted to meet special needs, including those of women and children. Presently, gender-sensitive budget initiatives are underway in twenty other countries in four of the world's major regions.

Another example of the impact of women's participation in governance comes from India where, since 1994, as a result of a change in the constitution, one-third of all seats in the local councils have been allocated to women. This incorporation of more than 800 000 women into India's local government demonstrates that women do not have to come into the system of governance at the national level or their impacts to be felt nationwide.

Women's statuses in their economies and their access to education still reveal a gender gap. The most alarming development in recent years is that referred to as the "feminization of poverty," whereby, according to estimates (or "guesstimates" as some would argue), 70 % of the 1.3 billion people living in poverty are women. Cultural and legal factors, such as norms regarding land ownership, inheritance and other forms of property transfer account for some of the economic inequalities between men and women, but a number of studies have traced this phenomenon to the macroeconomic policies enshrined in the "structural adjustment programs (by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

The gap in earnings between men and women in the same job sector persists in most countries of the world. In the job category of Industry and Services (i.e. in non-agricultural jobs), for example, in most countries, women earn from about 60 % of what men earn.

In the area of education and training, the data on female enrolment at the secondary level show that females continue to lag behind males. In most of the developed countries, the ratio of females to males in secondary school is approximately 1:1. In Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, the ratio of females to males enrolled in secondary school is getting close to that in the developed countries. Sub-Saharan Africa has made the least progress in closing the gender gap in secondary school enrolment. Of the 34 countries included in one survey, only 5 had an enrolment of 100 or more girls to every 100 boys. However, some of the African countries where we would expect to see a closing of the gender gap in enrolment were not included in the data reported. For example, Ghana, Nigeria and Tanzania were not included. In considering the importance of education to closing the gender gap in society overall, one Report has noted that equal years of education do not translate into equality of job opportunities for women and men. Everywhere, men still tend to get better jobs than women with the same years of education.

Overall, the data on women's positions and progress at the beginning of the 21st century indicate that in the final analysis, all democracies must decide whether they are prepared to do what is necessary to reach the goal of gender equality, which we all espouse. Certainly, more laws will be passed and more policies will be adopted, but what is needed now are actions not just assurances; deeds not directives: programs not only prescriptions; performance not more proclamations.

If not another position paper is written, not another conference held, not another declaration adopted, and not another piece of legislation enacted, there are more than enough laws, plans, priorities, guidelines, objectives, strategies and tactics on the books to enable any society, any nation, any community anywhere to act expeditiously to eradicate the inequalities and inequities that continue to relegate women to roles and statuses that command less power, less privilege, fewer resources and fewer rewards than those of the men on the planet.

Ensuring the Equitable Participation of Youth in the Processes of Democracy and Development.

The United Nations defines "youth" as persons from 15 to 24 years of age, however, some countries such as South Africa, include a larger age cohort in the youth category. The task of gathering cross-national statistics and making cross-national comparisons on youth would best be served if the member states of the United Nations would adopt a uniform definition of that segment of the population. Given the relatively low life expectancies in many of the developing countries, it does not appear helpful statistically nor sound demographically to define a "youth" as someone as old as 35 years of age, when he or she would have lived over half of their expected life span.

The year 1985, was designated as the international Youth Year by the United Nations. Ten years later, in 1995, the UN adopted the World Program of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and beyond. This World Programme of Action is the global policy initiative driven by the establishment of National Programs of Action for youth around the world.

The reasons for the heightened international concern with youth are easy to understand. Youth number over one billion persons, or, about 18 % of the world's population. Together with children, they represent the fastest growing segment of the population, as well as the largest age cohort on the African continent and in some other parts of the developing world. The interest in youth also reflects the fact that they, along with women and children, are the hardest hit by poverty and disease, especially by the HIV/AIDS crisis. Today, as in times past, male youth also make up the majority of the world's armies and other "fighting forces". With the worldwide increase in the sale and use of illegal drugs, males, and increasingly females, in the youth generation are caught in cycles of violence that represent and create major social problems in both developing and developed nations. Youths also comprise the largest unemployed segment of the population in many nations; a factor which not only constitutes a constraint on economic development, but also contributes to the social problems already alluded to.

On the positive side is the fact that youth constitute some of the most creative and productive people in the world today. They are the main cultural innovators and social trendsetters. In the world of "high tech", youth are among the most entrepreneurial and successful in businesses about which many in the older generations know virtually nothing. They have already proven themselves to be leaders and risk takers. Youth were in the forefront of the civil rights movement, the anti-war movement, the anti-apartheid movement, and the student movements that transformed many facets of academia throughout the world.

As leaders of tomorrow, it is imperative that youth be provided with opportunities for greater participation in decision-making and leadership throughout the society. Equitable access to education and enhanced labour force participation are essential elements in the development of youth. Each country's future will depend, in large measure, on the preparation of its youth to become able, informed, and skilled citizens, equipped to participate in an increasingly competitive world that is technologically sophisticated, and politically and economically interdependent.

The values that undergird democracy-i.e., freedom, justice, equality, tolerance, respect for differences, respect for the rights of minorities as well as the rights of the majority,

inclusion and participation interdivision-making process can be instrumental in the transition to a society that promotes equity and equality for women and youth these values can inspire today's youth as they did their heroes and heroines from the anti colonial, anti-imperialist, anti-segregationist, and anti-apartheid struggles of the not too distant past. As we disarm the youth of the weapons of war, we can arm them with the skills and values that will pave the way for democracy, development and peace.