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Totalitarianism and Corruption in George Orwell's *Animal Farm*

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Dedication

First, I would like to thank Allah who gave me the strength throughout this thesis. I dedicate this work to my parents for being my source of inspiration, knowledge and understanding. Because the thesis requires more than an academic support, I would thank my sisters, Mouna, Sana and Fatima, for their psychological support, encouragement and advice during my whole career. I would like to express a special gratitude to my supervisor for her countless guidance and patience.

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Abstract

This thesis explores how leaders corrupt power and oppress their people in order to build a totalitarian dictatorship. The study is carried out through the novella *Animal Farm* which is written by George Orwell as an allegory to the Russian Revolution. The research's most important objective is to describe and analyse how totalitarian dictators create a gap between the members of the society by establishing a system of hierarchy between the lower and upper classes. The current study follows an analytical method to shed light on the dangers of totalitarian regime that was raised in Russia after the Bolshevik revolution which is depicted through the characters of George Orwell's *Animal Farm*. The study is approached through the Marxist theory to treat issues related to society and politics. Since *Animal Farm* includes a rebellion, it examines how animals seized power through the revolution. Furthermore, it analyses the conflict of interests that exists between the pigs (upper class) and the other animals of the farm (lower class). The work comes to conclusion that whenever the people of a certain society are ignorant, they cannot organize a revolution because they would not succeed and would be the reason of enslaving themselves instead of reaching freedom and progress.

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Introduction

During the twentieth century, the world witnessed the occurrence of awful events including the First and Second World Wars, Great Depression and the Spanish Civil War. Meanwhile, many countries established dictator regimes and totalitarian states which aimed to spread totalitarian ideologies to the whole world. Those countries are Germany under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, Italy under the leadership of Benito Mussolini and Russia under the leadership of Joseph Stalin. Although these countries had different insights, they all serve the aim of totalitarianism which is to totally control people in all aspects of public and private life.

Totalitarian regimes usually involve a political system which opts for more power and authority and they share common characteristics which describe the way they use to rule. Among these characteristics are the single party governments, and it is headed by a dictator. Hence, the government allows no other party to participate in the ruling process. The single party is usually headed by a dictator who used terror as an effective tool to control the citizens. One of the agents that cause terror is the secret police which is used to reinforce the policies and rules of the state. Totalitarianism is also characterized by indoctrination and propaganda which spread particular views and do not allow for freedom of ideas.

One of the famous totalitarian regimes that rose in the twentieth century is the Russian Stalinist state under the leadership of Joseph Stalin. The latter took many personal decisions that led to the starvation, famine and the murder of millions of his people. He applied restrictions in all fields and sectors in the country and ordered the police to kill everyone if he is suspected to oppose the system. This led many writers

to write against the dangers of totalitarianism to make people aware of what is happening in such countries. Among these writers is George Orwell who is a British journalist and author. Orwell witnessed the British imperialism in India and experienced the bloody Civil War in Spain. These were the reasons that made Orwell change his orientations and start to write political works where he tried to fight totalitarianism and dictator regimes.

This study aims at investigating the themes of totalitarianism and corruption in George Orwell's *Animal Farm*. Orwell's novella was first published in 1945, in England. Orwell wrote this novella as a political allegory. He used the characters and the events of *Animal Farm* in order to reflect the different circumstances which led to the Russian Revolution, in addition to the corruption of power by the Soviet leaders who established a totalitarian dictatorship in Russia. So, the current study will follow an analytical method to shed light on the dangers of the totalitarian regime that was raised in Russia after the Bolshevik revolution which is depicted through the characters of George Orwell's *Animal Farm*. The study will be approached through the Marxist theory to treat issues related to society and politics.

This thesis consists of three chapters. The first chapter provides a general overview about the concept of totalitarianism, by giving a definition of the term, its characteristics and its development. It also includes the various totalitarian regimes that rose during the twentieth century. The chapter concludes with the literary reaction against the totalitarian regimes. The second chapter consists of biography of the author and summary of the novella. It also figures out the correspondence between the characters of *Animal Farm* and the Russian personalities. It concludes with the different circumstances that led George Orwell to write *Animal Farm*. The third chapter describes the rebellion that occurred in the farm. It also explains the

corruption of the pigs and their different actions that resulted in the rise of totalitarian dictatorship. The chapter closes with Orwell's view about the destiny of societies under the totalitarian regimes.

Therefore, the thesis depicts the dangers that may result from the totalitarian regimes in the novella of George Orwell *Animal Farm*. The study aims to make the readers know the different features that characterize the totalitarian regimes so that to make them aware of what happens in their countries and to be careful of living in the same circumstances.

Chapter One: Totalitarianism and its Origins

The first chapter will be devoted to the concept of totalitarianism. The chapter will provide a general overview about the concept of totalitarianism. The first section will identify the historical background of the same concept. The second section will introduce the main origins of totalitarianism and the different totalitarian regimes that rose after the First World War with an emphasis on the case of Russia. The third section will be devoted to discuss some of the literary works that were written as a reaction to the increase of totalitarianism and the fear originated due to it in all over the world.

I.1 Definition of Totalitarianism

I.1.1 An Overview of Totalitarianism

Totalitarianism describes the governments that totally control its people in all the aspects of public and private life. It involves a political system with no limits of power and authority. Totalitarian regimes are characterized by different features including the single party government which is headed by the leader of the state who is usually described as a dictator, and hence there is no possibility for other parties to exist and any opposition is to be eliminated. Moreover, the totalitarian state's leaders opted to spread terror and horror among the population.

Robert Charles Tucker, an American political scientist and historian best known for writing a biography of Joseph Stalin and his analysis of the Soviet political system. In his article, "The Dictator and Totalitarianism," Tucker describes the personality traits of the different dictators who rose in Germany, Italy and Soviet Russia. He also discusses how totalitarianism developed throughout the years. He asserts that terror is considered as one of the most important characteristics and the

nerve of totalitarianism (561). Tucker also confirms that one of the agents that causes terror is the police which are expected to reinforce the policies and rules of the state. Sometimes the police try to use violence and kill people in order to keep on the principles of the totalitarian state.

Another feature that characterizes totalitarian systems is the indoctrination which is done by manipulating people's minds especially children who learn in schools how to honor and respect the head of the state. Propaganda and censorship are likewise used by the totalitarian state to control the media and limit the production of literary and artistic works, in addition the spread of falsified and incorrect information to mislead people from the truth toward certain beliefs and actions usually to convince them about the ideologies of the party. Totalitarian leaders also try to choose specific groups often religious ones and announce them as enemies of the state in order to accuse them for the things they have not done, these groups are often tortured and asked to live in particular areas (560). Similarly, the American political scientist and Professor William Ebenstein in his article "The Study of Totalitarianism" summarizes the traits that characterize totalitarian dictatorship into six criteria as follows, an ideology particular to one group, a single party led by a leader, terroristic police power, no freedom of ideas, a monopoly of weapons and directed economy(277).

I.1.2 Development of the Concept of Totalitarianism

The term totalitarianism was first used by the Italian leader Mussolini in his article, and it was about the fascist ideology. In his article "The Totalitarian State", Waldemar Gurian points out that Mussolini believed that the state is where the freedom of the individual lies. He adds what is outside the state is considered of non value, and this is reflected in totalitarianism (514). Notwithstanding, James Gregor in his book *Marxism, Fascism, and Totalitarianism*, asserts that the opponents of

fascism saw totalitarianism as a cruel system that exercises a total power over its citizens. The term then started to emerge outside Italy and receive negative connotations usually associated with the ideologies and policies of Stalin in Russia and Hitler in Germany (12).

During the Second World War the concept of totalitarianism was highly used in association to the axis powers particularly Italy and Germany, and since Russia was allied against the axis powers it was excluded from the identification of totalitarianism. Yet, the end of the Second World War brought Russia again into the qualification of totalitarian states. In the 1950's many publications were emerged to warn about the danger and threat of totalitarianism (Gregor 13).

One of the famous works that discusses totalitarianism in a totally different perspective is Hannah Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism* where she explains that the most two important factors that led to the totalitarian movements are the imperialism and Anti -Semitism. Similarly, Erich Fromm's *Escape from Freedom* is another work which provides an analysis of the psychological roots of totalitarianism. Fromm analyzes the circumstances which led many countries willingly to embrace the totalitarian rule, which include creating an authoritarian system and make people governed under a system of control and submission. Fromm also gives solution for individuals to gain their freedom by realizing one's self so that they can recognize their talents and interests and improving themselves and the world around them. Furthermore, Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzeziński succeed to give a clear description and analysis of the different totalitarian dictatorships with an identification of their features and the policies they use through their book *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*. During the Cold War totalitarianism was believed to be existed against liberalism so that United States claimed that it had the responsibility to

liberate the world from its threat and danger. After the end of the Cold War the interests and uses of the concept were declined; however, its principles and features that characterize it still exist in many societies till the present day. This may include China under Mao Ze Dong and Democratic People's Republic of Korea under Kim Jong Il and then his son Kim Jong-Un (15-17).

I.1. 3 Understanding Totalitarianism

The German psychologist, sociologist and philosopher Erich Fromm explains how individuals see freedom as a burden on their shoulders and they feel isolated and insecure so that they decide to give up their freedom through developing certain mechanisms of escape. One of these mechanisms is to let one's personal independence melt in someone/thing else in order to gain more power which is regarded as human submission. The feeling of inferiority, powerlessness and insignificance are gradually developed and resulted in searching for powers outside themselves. Hence, individuals obey and go under the orders of outsider's powers and become totally submissive, the ruler or the leader usually takes advantage of this submission (122).

The leaders of the nations sought to destroy the individuals' confidence and convince them that they are part of a bigger and powerful whole. Since they are part of that whole which can be a God, a person, institution or a nation, they should participate in it and their participation is represented by obeying the rules and orders of their leaders. In this respect Erich Fromm describes in his book *The Fear of Freedom* the personality of the leaders, their passion for leadership and how they use their power and position to control their people, which is stated by the writer as follow: "I rule over you because I know what is best for you, and in your interest you should follow me without opposition" (124). Fromm further asserts that the leader

usually seeks to monopolize power; he exercises absolute mastery over his people, he makes them helpless objects under his hands, he acts as a complete governor over them, he even acts as their God by enslaving them and using them to fulfill his interests and make them means for his end. Consequently the leader admires the absolute and total power (124). In the following quote Fromm explains the way the authoritarian leaders think about their people as being subjects to the outside powers which they should obey, this power is usually represented by the leaders or the rulers themselves. He points out: "The feature common to all authoritarian thinking is the conviction that life is determined by forces outside man's own self, his interest, his wishes. The only possible happiness lies in the submission to these forces" (147).

There was an attempt in all over the globe aimed for total domination which caused a wreck in humanity and civilization. Hannah Arendt explains in her book, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, that this domination relied heavily on two major factors including imperialism which is known as the expansion for expansion's seek and power for power's seek, in addition to the spread of anti-Semitism and the hatred for the Jews. Both factors, Arendt argues, were important to pave the way for the emergence of the different totalitarian movements. Firstly, after the rise of imperialism the Jews lost all their positions and despite their richness and owning of wealth they had no power. Their powerlessness led them to be blamed of being the source of evil. The government refused neither to include them into the class system nor allowed them to found their own specific class as a result their value as community declined and each individual was acting for his own benefit (13).

Arendt asserts that the very rich Jews were often considered to be aristocrats or bourgeoisie, but their social status was underprivileged. In other words, the jews were not protected by the government and they lacked many rights and opportunities

that prevented them from the assimilation with the other citizens. Even the few privileged Jews started to lose their titles and positions gradually in Germany and the last event where they participated and were involved in the state's affairs was operating as advisers in the treaty of Versailles in the Weimar Republic. The anti-Semitic governments sought to eliminate the Jews from the international scene so they would have no voice to speak with. Anti-Semitism was first emerged in Prussia when Napoleon was defeated in 1807, the noble Jews lost their priorities since Napoleon Bonaparte was the first man in history to enact laws for emancipating the Jews in France and many countries that he conquered in the Napoleonic wars, in addition to grant them the right of equality like all Frenchmen. As a result more freedom and priorities were granted to the middle class (16 - 26).

The Anti-Semites sought always to show Jews as corrupt to prove to people that all Jews are parasites who pollute the political body. An example is what happened in France in 1894 when they accused the Jewish officer of the French General Staff Alfred Dreyfus of spying for Germany. The Jewish supporters of General Dreyfus were terrorized and tortured (Arendt 113). Arendt explains that this case proved to the world that whatever the Jewish's position was they were without country, they had no human rights and they were excluded from their privileges; "THE CASE of the unfortunate Captain Dreyfus had shown the world that in every Jewish nobleman and multimillionaire there still remained something of the old-time pariah, who has no country, for whom human rights do not exist, and whom society would gladly exclude from its privileges" (117). The case also showed to the Jews themselves that they are not secure anymore. However, it was proved afterward that Dreyfus was innocent when the court of appeal announced his innocence after five years from his arrest.

Imperialism on the other hand is based on the idea of extension of industrial production and economic growth as the ultimate goal of politics. For example, the British Empire expanded over more than four million square miles, France possessed about three million square miles and Germany owned an Empire of million square miles. Each nation tried to compete the other to win more lands and territories to its own empire. Imperialism is highly supported by business men who wish to export money and invest it in foreign lands under the government protection which was a tradition of the bourgeoisie society. For instance, the fields of diamonds and the mines of the gold which existed in South Africa were used as British possessions.

Furthermore, Hannah Arendt claims that there are two major political tools of imperialism which were established to guarantee more expansion, they are race and racism. They were emerged and developed particularly after introducing Charles Darwin's theory "the survival to the fittest". In the imperial rule, race was discovered in South Africa where humans were underestimated, Europeans were ashamed and scared of the black people and they thought that the Africans could not take control of their natural and rich resources. The second tool of imperialism was bureaucracy which was used as well to rule people of under developed countries whom the Europeans thought to be inferior; hence they had the right to protect them which is the case in Algeria, Egypt and India during the colonial rule (207-10).

Arendt asserts that many revolutionary and pan movements emerged in the time of the spread of national consciousness in order to unite people of the same race. European imperialism was ended by the end of the British Empire after India got its independence in 1947. This was followed by the rise of many movements which aimed to organize masses (which were characterized by the unconditional loyalty to the individual leader) rather than classes which were considered as important

constituents of imperialism. In an attempt to fight imperialism the world witnessed the emergence of the most dangerous movements and those are the totalitarian movements (323).

I.2 The Totalitarian Regimes

The First World War marked the rise of many totalitarian regimes in Europe including Fascism, Nazism and Bolshevism (later Stalinism). Even though they operated in different ways, all shared common strategies and tactics of using propaganda and terror to achieve their ultimate goal of holding total control and the expansion over as much territory as possible. Furthermore, these regimes were characterized by charismatic leader of the individual party who is usually described as a dictator. The totalitarian states generally sought to control all aspects of individual life including social, economic, political, cultural and intellectual aspects.

I.2.1 Fascism

The word Fascism comes from the Italian word *fascio* which means bundle or union however the word connoted violence, brutality and dictatorship at the time of the world wars. It is defined by Merriam Webster Dictionary as a tendency toward or actual exercise of strong autocratic or dictatorial control(Fascism). Stanley Payne in his book *A History of Fascism 1914- 1945*, claims that the Fascist ideas were inspired in opposition to the enlightenment beliefs of 1789 which were developed from the secular perceptions of eighteen century. Unlike the other movements, Fascism was believed to have little or no imperialist and expansionist ambitions. However, the national Fascists were racist toward the blacks and non Europeans and considered them as inferior. The leader of the Fascist party was Mussolini, a socialist journalist who became an editor of one of the official socialist newspaper *Avanti* and rose as one of the party's top leader at the age of twenty nine

(Payne 8,11). Mussolini was the head of the political force "Fascism" which was known as the ideological dictatorial regime established in Italy between 1925 and 1943. There was a negative impression toward Fascism in all over the world and it was believed that: if any demonstration or manifestation was happened, they would proclaim it as fascist. In this regard, Roger Griffin states in *The Nature of Fascism*: "It was less understandable when practically on the anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre, Romania's democratically elected president, Ion Iliesco claimed anti-government demonstrations were the work of fascists"(2). Similarly, Fascism was blamed as being a source of inspiration to many leaders to constitute a dictatorship like Adolf Hitler who attempted to establish a similar regime in Germany.

William Dukier and Jakson Spielvogel in their book *The World History* explain that in October 29, 1922 King Victor Emmanuel made Mussolini a prime minister when the latter along with other Fascists threatened to march on Rome. When he became the head of the government Mussolini built a Fascist dictatorship and outlawed all the anti fascist parties by killing their leaders. In addition, he replaced many trade unions by fascist ones. Moreover, Mussolini ordered the secret police to arrest anybody if they are suspected to commit crimes without pressing charges. Fascism in Italy attempted as well to manipulate the media including newspapers, radio, and cinema. Although it was barely used, propaganda played an important role in directing people toward certain ideologies and integrating them to the state. Mussolini also relied on youth to brainwash their minds concerning the Fascist ideologies and principles by creating Fascist organization and send them to the war whenever it was needed (685).

I.2.2 Nazism

Dukier and Spielvogel define Nazism or National Socialism as an ideology that was spread in Germany in the 1920's, it is characterized by racism and anti-semitism. It aimed to unite "pure" German people under homogeneous society by overcoming the social divisions and excluding those who belong to the inferior race. Nazism was associated with Adolf Hitler who joined the extreme right wing party "German Worker's Party" and took control over it which later became known as National Socialist German Worker's Party. Hitler developed the party's own flag, badge, uniform, and newspaper in addition to the police force or the party militia. Hitler was a good orator which enabled him to gain thousands of followers and many of them joined the party's militia. In a similar attempt to imitate Mussolini's march on Rome, Hitler wanted to take control in southern Germany, thus he led an army against the government in Munich which resulted in his imprisonment (687). Furthermore, Dukier and Spielvogel state that Hitler through his book *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle) provided a detailed description of his ideology that he would apply after his release, he also talked about his intentions of creating the movement. The writer further explains:

During his brief stay in jail, he wrote *Mein Kampf* (*My Struggle*), an autobiographical account of his movement and its underlying ideology. Extreme German nationalism, virulent anti-Semitism, and anticommunism are linked together by social Darwinism theory that stresses the right of superior nations to *Lebensraum* (living space) through expansion and the right of superior individuals to secure authoritarian leadership over the masses. (687)

Hitler was released in 1924 and gained more membership to his party. In March 1933 he passed an issue which aimed to remove all his rivals from power and this helped him to establish the totalitarian Nazi state. Nick Pinfield in his book *Democracy and Nazism: Germany, 1918- 1945* insists that like Mussolini, Hitler's Nazi party monopolized the trade unions and created the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda to control all the media. Similarly, the Gestapo or the state secret police were used to look for treason, spying, and attacks on the state and the party in order to send people who are suspected to be guilty without giving them the right to appeal in the court. Nazi sought to indoctrinate the young generation as an ultimate target in order to instill the Nazi's ideas and drive them away from opposition's ideologies. For instance, one of these strategies included burning all the books that contain literature of Marxism, bolshevism and communism, literature of Jewish writers including Sigmund Freud and Albert Einstein and literature concerned with liberal and democratic attitudes (106, 111, 118).

Richard Harvey in his book *Hitler and the Third Reich*, asserts that Hitler was an anti- Semitic and he created laws which prevented the Jews to carry a German citizenship and marry a German citizen. Further, many Jewish were humiliated, treated as inferior and seen as polluters to the Aryan race. Their properties and homes were either destroyed or burnt, lot of them were killed or imprisoned and this led many of them to leave Germany. Those who remained suffered from poverty since all their wealth and properties were seized by the government. As the German expansion of territories was overspread in Europe, many other Jews were at the hands of Hitler this resulted in a horrible genocide in the human history where more than five million Jews in all over Europe were murdered (Harvey 34).

I.2.3 The Russian (Bolshevik) Revolution and the Rise of the Totalitarian

Stalinist State

Stewart Ross through his book *The Russian Revolution: Events and Outcomes* clarifies that The Russian Empire was one of the greatest empires in the world, it covered about one-sixth of the globe. However, the empire was not considered very rich since most of its lands were not appropriate for agriculture and the latter was the most common sector that the empire relied on. The Russian society was divided into peasants who formed the majority of the population, they depended on the agriculture and they were usually poor. In addition to the urban who constituted the middle working class, the clergy of the Orthodox Church and the nobility (11).

In the twentieth century, Russia marked a social and economic change when it became an industrialized country. The Tsars (title used for the emperors who ruled the Russian Empire between 1721 and 1917) ruled Russia for more than three hundred years, and the last tsar was Nicholas II, who controlled the country through the secret police, the army and the Russian Orthodox Church. Steve Phillips claims in his book *Lenin and the Russian Revolution* that the Russian people in 1905 were angry on the Russo-Japanese war and its effects on the economic situation which led many workers to walk on a march to call for higher wages and less working hours in addition to free elections. As a result, many other peasants were encouraged to protest against the hard conditions and they seized many of the lands. The revolution of 1905 resulted in the establishment of the parliament (Duma) which granted the right of election for all the classes in addition to the freedom of speech, religion and freedom from arbitrary arrest. Although the Revolution paved the way for many revolutionary groups to emerge, however the secret police continued to arrest the revolutionary groups (3, 8)

Moreover, Ross adds that the First World War generated many hardships to the Tsar's regime especially after losing supporters from the aristocracy to whom Tsar refused to provide important positions in the country. In February 1917, there was a revolution in Petrograd over food shortages and because the army refused to shoot fire on the demonstrators, Tsar believed that he lost power and thus gave up the throne and he was replaced by Prince Gregor Lvov who established the Provisional Government which faced once again lack of power and support. The Provisional Government failed when millions of soldiers returned back to country from the World War. The chaotic situation helped the Bolsheviks to seize power through a coup d'état by Lenin and with the help of Trotsky in the October Revolution of 1917 (23-34).

The Bolshevik regime made different changes including the involvement of government in economy by embracing the communist ideology in addition to the monopoly and control of political system. The Bolshevik party was isolated from the other parties and opposition since the latter did not like the changes that were established by the Bolsheviks in addition they could not believe that the worker's party took power in the country, besides the opposition camps were certain that Bolsheviks would establish a dictatorship. In this regard Stephen Lee explains how the radical change carried by the Bolsheviks led to the emergence of many groups of opposition, he states:

Any change of regime as fundamental as that which occurred in Russia in 1917 was bound to incur a wide range of opposition groups. The Bolsheviks may have represented at least a degree of public support in bringing about revolution in October 1917, but they provoked equal

hostility when they took it upon themselves to interpret the future will of the public by establishing a dictatorship in 1918. (102)

Even though Lenin sought to change the country's conditions into better ones, he failed to do so; civil war caused impoverishment and destruction. As Agustin states in his article "From the Russian revolution of 1917 to Stalinist totalitarianism" that:

"As result of the disasters, impoverishment and devastation caused by the civil war, the isolation of the Russian Revolution following the failure of the international revolution, the deaths of numerous Bolshevik militants, economic chaos, a famine that caused millions of deaths, and generalized misery". (35)

Moreover, Lenin warned against bureaucracy and wished that the principles of the greatest worker's revolution would survive and hoped to be extended all over the world.

When Lenin died, many believed that Trotsky is going to be his successor because he was the leader of the Red Army in the civil war as well as the provider of the plan of 1917 Revolution. Yet Stalin was the actual successor of Lenin even though Lenin himself believed that Stalin is not qualified enough to take power and rule the country with sufficient caution (Downey and Smith 1924).

Linda Cernak in *Totalitarianism* explains that Stalin took control and established a totalitarian state. He started a Five year Plan to improve the economy and he placed industry and agriculture under the government's control but these decisions created catastrophic results including famine and starvation among the people where six million were died there. Many of the party leaders stood against Stalin's decisions. This led Stalin to apply his second plan by ordering the secret police to murder and imprison party members, writers, scientists, military officers and

even ordinary people. The process was known as the Great Purge. Stalin also targeted religion and arts; he put restrictions and prevented people from practicing their religions freely, he also imprisoned a lot of religious men and prohibited to teach religion in schools and replaced it by teaching the ideologies and philosophies of communism. Students in schools were not allowed to question about communism or its leaders but to follow blindly only what is imposed on them to know (which usually showed the virtues of communism and the evil of what opposed it). Police were also used to monitor the phone lines, read the mail and use implicit and terrifying tactics to stop anyone who attempted to speak or react against the government. Propaganda also was used to indoctrinate and brainwash people's minds by changing the truth and providing incomplete information (36-37).

Thus, the second section from this chapter explained the different totalitarian regimes that were raised after the First World War in Italy, Germany and Russia and how people were affected by such regimes. The following section will introduce how totalitarianism was depicted in literary works by many writers.

I.3 The Representation of Totalitarianism in Literary Works

One of the most effective tools that reflect and depict the real life problems and the important events that occur in this world is literature. Literature is considered as an influential way of expressing views and ideas that usually enlighten people about the different aspects existed in a particular society. During the two world wars, many writers preferred to stop or decrease writing in order not to produce a literature of a poor quality (Mearsheimer 61). However, the rise of totalitarian regimes in Italy, Germany and Russia pushed many writers to write about the situation and tried to make people know the reality of such regimes.

In 1924, the Russian writer Yevgeny Zamyatin wrote his novel *We*, which depicted the future life of individuals under the totalitarian One State. Although the writer described the world as a place of harmony and conformity, this was not evident since the individuals are directed and manipulated by the One State. Individuals are referred to as numbers, they eat and dress in the same way and live in similar apartments and hence the freedom of individuals is questioned. The novel was an inspiration to many other authors including George Orwell who wrote *1984*. The prophetic novel describes the bitter situation of citizens who lacked privacy and they are watched all the time as George Orwell states: “Big Brother is watching you” (3). The novel explains how the totalitarian government manipulates the citizens by providing them with falsified facts like war is peace, freedom is slavery and ignorance is strength (Orwell 6). It also uses propaganda to change the history and the past. George Orwell thus succeeded to predict the possible outcomes that may result from such totalitarian regimes.

Another novel which points out the unfair totalitarian regime in Russia was *Darkness at Noon* by Arthur Koestler which was published in 1940. It tells the story of the revolutionary Rubashov who was one of the Bolsheviks, but he was arrested and imprisoned. The novel describes real events that happened in Russia especially during the great purge, the book is considered as one of the writer’s masterpieces. *The Foundation Pit* is also a Russian novel written by Andrei Platonov in 1930. It narrates the story of the country’s lower class workers who spend all their days digging out a huge foundation without even knowing the aim behind making it. The novel is considered as a critique to Stalin’s policies and decisions which led to the postponing of the novel publication until 1987. Another novel is *The Master and Margarita* by Mikhail Bulgakov which was written between 1928 and 1940 and it was not

published until 1967, since it describes the real events of Russian life in the Soviet era. The writer tried to implicitly depict the horrible circumstances that were imposed on Russian people during the purge from arrests, religious banning in a sarcastic style.

In 1984, the writer George Orwell tried to show to the world the dangers of totalitarianism. The latter is mainly depicted in *Big Brother* which represents the government that exists everywhere and in every aspect of the daily life of individuals. It controls the life of individuals concerning their deeds, thoughts, food and even feeling. *Big Brother* controls the past and the present and seeks to falsify the facts in order to keep all its citizens under its control. The party also tries to monitor the behavior of citizens and dominate their minds by using the telescreens which are found everywhere and keep reminding the citizens that they are watched all the time. Moreover, the party aims to brainwash the children's mind by pushing them to spy on their parents and report any betrayal to the party. It also obliges the citizens to do certain sport exercises, force them to think in particular way such as convincing them that two plus two makes five and using slogans and propaganda to make citizens believe that all what the party says is right. *Big Brother* limits the citizen's creativity, punishes and tortures them if they commit a thought crime, like what was happened to the protagonist Winston.

Similarly, Arthur Koestler in *Darkness at Noon* depicts the story of Rubashov, who had helped in the establishment of the Soviet government, yet he was arrested and imprisoned for betraying the government. The writer criticizes in his novel the Soviet government and its leader Joseph Stalin which are referred to in the novel as "the Party" and "Number One" respectively. The novel starts with the scene of Rubashov's arrest at night from his home and taken secretly to the cell 404. Rubashov, the former commissar and previous member of the party was exposed to

many interrogations which were held by the secret police and aimed to convince him to confess for crimes he did not commit by applying psychological and physical pressure. Rubashov witnessed the use of violence and torture by the secret police to convince other prisoners to confess as well. Finally, Rubashov decided to confess for crimes he did not actually commit and he was executed publicly. The novel depicts the Moscow show trials of the 1930's that were held by the totalitarian regime under the dictatorship of Joseph Stalin.

Dystopian fiction is the best example which depicted totalitarianism in literature. The Glossary of literary Terms defines dystopia as “ (“bad place”) has recently come to be applied to works of fiction, including science fiction, that represent a very unpleasant imaginary world in which ominous tendencies of our present social, political, and technological order are projected into a disastrous future culmination” (328). Keith Booker in his book *The Dystopian Impulse in Modern Literature* states that dystopian fiction is used to criticize certain social and political situations which make this genre of literature read as a political warning so it receives a great attention of critics since it relates literature with society (175). Dystopian fiction visualizes the nightmares of future and tries to answer the questions and solve the problems that disturb the society. Dystopia often starts with an allusion of perfect society or utopia which is justified by propaganda to keep citizens under control. When the story develops the reader will discover a fictional world which is opposite of the perfect. Dystopia generally presents a current social state of affair, a technological trend or gives a critique of government or a system as Keith Booker explains in his book *Encyclopedia of Literature and Politics*; “... the essential themes and motifs of the dystopian fiction: a totalitarian state that uses technology, modern

compartmentalized bureaucracy, and engineered sexual norms to control every aspect of people's lives" (218).

The dystopian society tends to adopt a form of government which is totally different from the old one (oppressor) by giving power to a corporation, technology or a belief in an attempt to create a perfect society. However; this government usually becomes oppressive, unjust and inhumane. Dystopian society is identified by several characteristics including; propaganda which is used to control the citizens, independent thought and freedom are restricted, and figurehead who is usually worshiped by the citizens. In the dystopian society citizens are always under surveillance, have fear of what is outside the zones of their society. In addition, truth about the natural world is often unknown and kept a secret from most of the members of the society. The dystopian control may take many forms including a corporate control by controlling society through economy and media; it also can be bureaucratic, technological, religious and philosophical. The protagonist in dystopia often feels lost and struggles to escape this world and usually questions the current social and political systems.

Among the first novels which were written as dystopian fiction is *Brave New World* by Aldous Huxley. Although *Brave New World* is a satirical novel, it holds a message about the darkness of one world government which will rise to power. Society in the novel is divided into classes; Alphas, Betas, Gammas, Deltas and Epsilons and every class has the preferred and less preferred members. Those members are brainwashed and manipulated to love their jobs, their positions in the society and they are convinced that they are happy because they can get what they wish without competition. In the following quotation the writer Aldous Huxley explains to which extent the citizens were abused and frustrated by the state "The

lower the caste," said Mr. Foster, "the shorter the oxygen." The first organ affected was the brain. After that the skeleton. At seventy per cent of normal oxygen you got dwarfs. At less than seventy eyeless monsters." (Huxley 70). Thus science is useful tool in the hand of the state to control its people and imprison their thought and emotions.

The world state controls the behaviors and actions of its people to maintain the stability and power. It provides them with a limited number of surnames which should be used; it prohibits citizens from falling in love, marrying and bringing children and thus human emotions and feelings are humiliated and kids are created in special fertilizing rooms. Respect and loyalty is owed to the state only, individuals gave up their freedom in order to be happy, they try to escape the reality by taking the drugs (soma). As a result, individuals lost their dignity, morals, values, emotions and their humanity.

Aldous Huxley states in *Brave New World Revisited* (written in 1958) that he was right concerning his predictions about the futures that were depicted in *Brave New World*. He adds that the causes that help in the realization of his prophecy include overpopulation, propaganda, brain washing and hypnopaedia and he states "under proper conditions, hypnopaedia actually works-works, it would seem, about as well as hypnosis"(112). Rudolf Schmelr in his article "Aldous Huxley's Social Criticism" explains that Huxley tries to warn against the turning of democracy into totalitarianism and sheds light on the promotion of education and decentralization of government and property as essential means to enable individuals to become responsible of their own destiny. Even though it is difficult to restrict the different forces that menace the individual's freedom, it still crucial and important to face and resist those forces (6,7).

Hence, the first chapter provides a general overview about the concept of totalitarianism, by giving a definition of the term, its characteristics and its development. It also includes the various totalitarian regimes that rose during the twentieth century. The chapter concludes with the literary reaction against the totalitarian regimes.

Chapter Two: *Animal Farm* by George Orwell

The second chapter of this thesis will be divided into three sections. The first section will be devoted to the biography of the *Animal Farm*'s author George Orwell in addition to the summary of the novel. The second section will introduce the different characters of *Animal Farm* and their representation in the real world, more specifically what the characters represent in the Russian revolution and history. The third section will identify the main circumstances that pushed George Orwell to write about totalitarian regimes, and one of this works is *Animal Farm* which was written to tell the world about the danger of the totalitarian state that was established in the Soviet Russia.

II.1 Introducing George Orwell and *Animal Farm*

II.1.1 George Orwell's Life

George Orwell's real name is Eric Arthur Blair, he was born on June 25, 1903 in British India, his father Richard Blair was an employee in the Opium Department of the Indian Civil Service, he married with Ida Limouzin, the daughter of French émigré who ran a successful timber business and English mother. In 1903, their second son Eric was born and he was the favorite of his mother because of his fragile health.

Ida Blair was sophisticated, sociable young woman but she was not happy with her life in the Indian village like Edward Quinn explains in his book *critical companion to George Orwell*. He adds that when the plague spread in the area, she decided to move to England with her children (4). At the age of eight, Orwell attended St. Cyprian School with half scholarship which made him feel humiliated among his classmates and hate the school. He even suffered from chronic bed wetting. Later, Orwell expressed his experience in his work *Such Such Were the Joys*, where he

emphasized the psychology of the children and his experience of oppression and class conflict. Orwell states in *Such Such Were the Joys*:

Nowadays, I believe, it would make very little impression on me to see the place again, if it still exists. And if I went inside and smelled again the inky, dusty smell of the big schoolroom, the rosiny smell of the chapel, the stagnant smell of the swimming bath and the cold reek of the lavatories, I think I should only feel what one invariably feels in revisiting any scene of childhood: How small everything has grown, and how terrible is the deterioration in myself. (219)

Peter Davidson, in his book *George Orwell: A Literary Life*, explains that the misery of Orwell's life at St. Cyprian was decreased during the holidays that were spent with the Buddicom family and their three children, Orwell was close to Jacintha and they became friends for the next eight years. He shared with her the passion of reading; they read together many novels by Beatrix Potter, H.G.Wells among others. Jacintha Buddicom mentioned many authors that influenced Orwell including Shakespeare, Dickens, Charles Reade, Barry Pain and Graham James. Jacintha wrote *Eric and US* which described the different activities they shared together, they exchanged poems and one of the sonnets that Orwell wrote to her was "Our Minds Are Married, But We Are Too Young" (8,11). Eric won a scholarship to the most prestigious public school and moved to Eton in Westminster, England. When he finished the school at age of eighteen, he decided to start working; he passed the exam of entrance and chose to serve in Burma. He spent five years there and he saw that British Imperialism was hypocritical and oppressor which led him to resign from his office and return to England where he started his career as a writer (Quinn 8-10). In 1928 Orwell moved to Paris where he spent eighteen months and produced many

works. When he returned back to England, he wrote *Down and out in Paris and London* which was published under the penname George Orwell. It received positive response and many critics believed that they would hear more about Orwell. John Rodden explains in his book *The Cambridge Companion to George Orwell* that the book *Down and out in Paris and London* does not include political views but it reflects the hard conditions of the poor's life (3).

Orwell was hospitalized with Pneumonia but he continued writing. He finished *A Clergyman's Daughter* in 1934 and then started to work as a clerk in Booklover's Corner which was a bookshop in North London, in the same year he published *Burmese Days* in New York. His experience in the bookstore helped him to write his next work *Keep the Aspidistra Flying*. In 1936, Orwell got married to Eileen, a warm, attractive and intelligent woman; their relationship was described between the two characters; Gordon and Rosemary in *Keep the Aspidistra Flying*. Eileen helped Orwell during his illness and the first years of marriage were the happiest years in Orwell's life. During this period Orwell completed *The Road to Wigan Pier* which was written to criticize the English Class System where he described his own experience in Eton. (Quinn 14,17).

Peter Monteath explains in his book *The Spanish Civil War in Literature, Film and Art* that George Orwell in 1936 went to Spain as a reporter but he then joined the Republican government and fought with the Worker's Party of Marxist Unification against the Fascist Francisco Franco. He experienced with his wife Eileen the crimes and purges that were done by the communists in Barcelona which made him anti communist. Orwell was shot in his throat and he was rescued by a miracle, those events led Orwell to leave Spain and start his next work *Homage to Catalonia* (xii,xiii). Orwell then moved to the hospital because of serious health problems, he was

supposed to relax and do not work but he refused and began writing *Come Up to Air*. In order to get pure air for his lungs, Orwell moved to Morocco, but he returned back to London despite the fact that it suffered from bombs, food shortages and homelessness. Orwell published the collected essays *Inside the Whale* in 1940 which covers different range of topics including the literary criticism, cultural studies concerning Theatre and Film Reviews for *Time and Tide* magazine. During the Second World War, Orwell worked at the BBC; he wrote, produced and read reports which were about the war. He then left the BBC to start work in the *Tribune* journal and he had a regular column to write in weekly. The column was entitled *As I Please* which involved short essays on any subject of his choice (Quinn 18-20).

In 1944, Orwell completed *Animal Farm* but it remained unpublished for three years, meanwhile Orwell and Eileen adopted a child in an attempt to strengthen their marriage. Eileen loved the child so much but she died a year later when her heart stopped while she was in the surgery. Orwell traveled around many European countries to decrease his stress and depression and when the Second World War ended *Animal Farm* was published and it was translated to eighteen languages. *Animal Farm* enabled Orwell to achieve his goal as a political writer. Although he was very ill, Orwell wrote *Nineteen Eighty-Four* which was published in 1949. Orwell named it at first *The Last Man in Europe*, but he changed it to *Nineteen Eighty-Four* to make it more attractive and interesting. The novel describes the nightmarish vision of the world under the oppression of totalitarianism; it received great success and inspired many writers, singers and artists. While sleeping in the hospital with no hope for living, Orwell met with Sonia Brownell and proposed marriage to her, she accepted and they married in the University College Hospital in London in October 1949, however; he died after three months (Quinn27).

II.1.2 *Animal Farm*: a Summary

George Orwell's *Animal Farm* begins describing the indifference of Mr. Jones toward the animals and the farm. He spends nights drinking alcohol and sleeping for long hours, he left the animals without food and care. One night Old Major, a wise boar at Mr. Jones' Manor Farm gathers all the animals to tell them about his dream which is to see all the animals live free from the human control and oppression. Old Major died soon after the meeting but he inspired the animals by his ideas and philosophy of Animalism. The animals of the farm decide to revolt against Mr. Jones and they make a rebellion which is led by Snowball and Napoleon. The animals renamed the farm as Animal Farm and they succeed to get rid of Mr. Jones.

The pigs become the leaders of the farm because they are supposed to be the intelligent ones. Snowball teaches the other animals how to read the principles of Animalism, however; Napoleon trains a group of puppies to become his personal guards. Squealer is responsible for convincing the animals about any decisions that are taken by the pigs. The other animals do the harvest and the hard work. Mr. Jones and his men wanted to return back to the farm but the animals defeat him because of Snowball's tactics in what is known The Battle of the Cowshed.

Snowball and Napoleon usually struggle with each other. And when Snowball decides to build the windmill, he was opposed by Napoleon who gives an order to the puppies to attack and chase him, soon after Napoleon declares himself as the leader of the Animal Farm. He decides that only the pigs will take decisions concerning the farm and announces that the windmill plan will be carried on by saying that windmill is his idea. The work of the windmill is accomplished by the other animals of the farm especially Boxer. Napoleon blames everything that happens in the farm on Snowball.

Squealer's propaganda helps Napoleon and the other pigs to change all the principles of Animalism to fit their benefits. Moreover, they move to Jones' home, sleep in the beds, drink alcohol, and neglect the other animals. They even let the other animals without any food and enforced them to confess for things they did not commit in order to hang them. Napoleon also sells Boxer to the knacker because he becomes ill and old and can no longer work hard. All the principles of Animalism are spoiled, the name of the farm becomes once again the Manor Farm and the pigs behave just like the humans by taking the place of Mr. Jones. The other animals can no longer differentiate the pigs from the humans.

II.2 The Representation of the Characters in the Real World

George Orwell wrote *Animal Farm* as a political allegory to the history of the Soviet Union, particularly about the Russian Revolution of 1917. The farm is depicted as Russia, Animalism resembles communism and each animal in the farm represents one human character who took part in the Russian Revolution.

Mr. Jones

The owner of Manor Farm in England, he always drinks alcohol and treats the animals of the farm badly by leaving them without food and care. As a result his animals overthrow him through a rebellion. He portrays the type of government which is corrupt that lead the people to make a revolution.

Harold Bloom explains in his book *Bloom's guides: George Orwell's Animal Farm* that the character of Mr. Jones represents the czars and more specifically Czar Nicholas II of the Imperial Russia (18). Marc Ferro in his book *Nicholas II: Last of the Tsars* explains that Nicholas was not able to rule Russian Empire and he was relying on his wife Alexandra who had great influence on him. Alexandra had an active role in the decisions that were taken in the government since Nicholas lacked

the will and power to fulfill his responsibilities. Ferro states “Nicholas thus busied himself with government matters for only two or three hours a day, his reading of the newspaper included... Everything was related to the proposals made by the Tsaritsa, the Grand Duchesses and all the intriguers with whom the court swarmed“(51).

Consequently; Nicholas’ decisions led his country to both Russo-Japanese War and First World War; he was brutal with the opponents and he did not hesitate to order his army to murder the people in the strikes and riots he was also mistrusted by his ministers. Marc Ferro adds that many of Nicholas’ ministers rebelled against him and they did sign a petition to refuse his decisions which was unprecedented move.

Consequently he was overthrown by the Bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution (57, 164).

Old Major

Old Major, the prize-winning boar, is wise and the most respected pig in the farm. He is “Stout . . . But still a majestic-looking pig, with a wise and benevolent appearance” (Orwell, *Animal Farm* 26). Old Major wanted to share his vision with the animals; he calls them for a meeting and teaches them the principles of Animalism. Addressing the animals, Old Major reveals that the human is considered as their enemy so that they should not stay under his control, and he further explains; “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“(3). He also teaches them the song of “Beasts of England”, he is considered as the main figure in the novel who leads to the outbreak of the revolution by encouraging the animals not to surrender to the human’s oppression, but he dies before the revolution.

Bloom argues that Old Major represents Karl Marx who is known as the father of Marxism (18). Jon Elster explains in his book *Introduction to Karl Marx* that Karl developed ideas and theories concerning political economy, Socialism and Communism and they were defined after his death as a Soviet Marxism which played great role in influencing the Soviet social parties especially the Bolsheviks who relied on Marx's ideas in the organization for the Russian Revolution of 1917(12). Old Major also represents Vladimir Lenin who added many of his ideas to Marxism which became known as Marxism Leninism and the latter brought about the Russian Revolution. Elster argues "to cut the brilliant ideas of Marx down to size and order, with some finishing touches added by Lenin, Marxism Leninism was in place, it had strong preference for assertion over argument. It is Marxism set in concrete" (13).

Snowball

One of the two pigs leaders in the farm, he is young, smart, idealistic and good orator. He is one of the important figures in the rebellion and because of his courage; he gets the animal's trust and loyalty; "the animals decide unanimously to create a military decoration Animal Hero, First Class which was conferred there and then on Snowball..." (Orwell 44). He decides to improve the farm and try to provide the animals with better life after the rebellion that was occurred. He believes that the farm belongs to every animal because they are all equal. Snowball starts to make plans in order to build the windmill and thus to enable the animals to work less and produce more. Snowball becomes a threat to Napoleon especially concerning the leadership. For that reason, Napoleon orders the dogs to attack Snowball in the moment of choosing a leader to the farm, he is exiled and later he is accused for destroying the windmill and of being hidden in the neighboring farms. Unfortunately, the animals believe the pigs' lies and blame him for everything bad that happened in the farm.

Bloom states in his book *Bloom's guides: George Orwell's Animal Farm* that Snowball represents Leon Trotsky who believed in the Marxist and Communist ideas; he was one of the leaders of the Russian Revolution with Vladimir Lenin (17). Trotsky wished to improve the situation of the working class in Russia, which upset Stalin. Consequently, the latter plotted against Trotsky and gave an order to the secret police to arrest him. Although Trotsky was intelligent and had creative ideas concerning politics and economy more than Joseph Stalin, he was exiled and then murdered (North 4). In this respect David North states in his book *In Defense of Leon Trotsky*; "Trotsky lost power not because he was less skilled a politician than Stalin, but because the social force upon which his power was based - The Russian and International Working Class- was in political retreat" (4).

Napoleon

Cruel, selfish, merciless and fierce- looking Berkshire boar, Napoleon is educated but he is not intelligent and eloquent like Snowball. He does not attend meetings regularly and does not give his opinions or contribute in the hard works, instead he wants only to take absolute power and control over the farm. His jealousy and envy toward Snowball makes him savage, mean and heartless, he first disagrees with Snowball's proposal about the windmill, he trains the dogs to serve his own benefits and then orders them to attack Snowball and expel him outside the farm when he is very close to the leadership. After that, he uses Squealer to change the facts and falsify the history through the lies. Napoleon becomes more powerful when he spreads terror and fear among the animals and throughout time he becomes brutal; he bans the Sunday Meetings and he starts to meet with humans in the neighboring farms, he even murders many of the animals after obliging them to confess for things they did not do. Finally, he becomes a total dictator just like Mr. Jones; he sleeps in

the bed, drinks alcohol and he neglects the other animals and leaves them starving;

“In these days Napoleon rarely appeared in public, but spent all his time in the farmhouse which was guarded at each door by fierce looking dogs” (47).

Consequently, Napoleon diverts from the original principles of Animalism and ideals of the rebellion, thus the farm is returned to its previous situation but this time it is led by the pigs themselves.

Harold Bloom states in his book *Bloom's guides: George Orwell's Animal Farm* that Napoleon represents Joseph Stalin who is educated but not good orator like Leon Trotsky, he had a great passion for power and control and he used all the means to achieve his quest for authority (17). In *Joseph Stalin: Dictator of the Soviet Union*, Brenda Haugen explains that in order to replace Vladimir Lenin and take the office, Joseph Stalin spread many spies to inform him about all the events that happen between the party officials and to spy on the private phones at homes so that he would be able to know every detail about the communist party (41). After Lenin's death, Stalin took power and tried to make people distrust Trotsky by spreading rumors about him, he later sent him to exile and thus Stalin became the most powerful man in the Soviet Union. When Stalin took power he tried to maintain it at all costs; he killed his people without mercy. Haugen identifies the sufferings of people under Stalin's control; “Those unwilling to give up their land, livestock, and other property without a fight were killed, forced into exile or sent to labor camps” (52). Stalin also took the farmers' crops to export it by saying that it would improve the country's economy, but unfortunately millions of people died from starvation. Stalin used other tools to preserve his office; he convinced the public that he is a hero by manipulating the media and allowing only the desired books to be published; however the music, art, and books that did not fit him were all banned. In addition to that, when Stalin got

older and feared to be replaced, he ordered the police to kill anyone who is suspected to be opponent and established a show trials to kill people in public, those people were obliged to confess for crimes they did not commit, and thus Stalin became a total dictator (Haugen 54).

Squealer

Orwell introduces him as “a small fat pig, with very round cheeks, twinkling eyes, nimble movements and shrill voice” (2). Squealer is a good talker and he can convince anybody easily since he “turns black into white”. He tries each time to justify the actions of Napoleon to the animals and to convince them to believe in all what he says. He acts as a liaison between Napoleon and the animals of the farm. For instance when Napoleon decides to ban the Sunday Morning Meeting, Squealer convinces the animals that he does so because he is going to do more efforts by himself instead of wasting time in the meetings. Squealer attempts to falsify facts and history and takes advantage from animals’ ignorance and succeeds to persuade them in the meetings with the changes of the commandments. Squealer uses three tactics to be able to ensure the animals’ obedience; first, he profits from the sheep stupidity and innocence in order to gain their loyalty to the pigs. As a result the sheep support the pigs by making demonstrations. Secondly, he uses the animals’ inability to remember so that Squealer finds it easy to make them believe him in anything he says, even if they are sure about something they will thought that they are mistaken. Thirdly, Squealer threatens the animals with Napoleon’s dogs.

Harold Bloom argues that Squealer represents the propaganda machine of the totalitarian government of Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Russia (18). Propaganda was first used to show to which extent Joseph Stalin was close to his precedent Vladimir Lenin at the same time Propaganda attempted to show how Leon Trotsky was not

loyal to Lenin especially when he did not attend Lenin's funeral. Propaganda was used to build a good image for Joseph Stalin to his people. Propagandists wrote books to show him as an ideal leader, they told heroic stories about his participation in the Russian Revolution, and they also included his name in the Soviet national anthem. In her book *Popular Opinion in Stalin's Russia: Terror, Propaganda and Dissent 1934-1941*, Sarah Davies sheds light on how propaganda plays a huge role in creating a good image of the leader, she asserts; "propaganda campaigns tried to portray the country's leaders in a populist guise ... an image which clearly had the potential to resonate with ordinary people's own representation of the ideal leader" (127).

Propaganda took the forms of media, books, art and music to convince people that Joseph Stalin should be followed. Howard Woolston in his article "Propaganda in Soviet Russia" clarifies that propaganda controlled education and banned the teaching of opposed philosophies and ideas so that they can brainwash the children's brain in their early ages. He adds that schools in the Soviet Russia were considered as the "third front" to spread political literacy and endorse the government programs (34).

The Dogs

The dogs are nine puppies that are taken by Napoleon from their parents by saying that he will be responsible for their education. However; Napoleon raises them in isolation from the other animals to be brutal, fierce and loyal to him. They become little monsters who serve as security guards for Napoleon. They appear the first time in the novella after the speech of Snowball to take the leadership and they attack him when Napoleon orders them to do so. From that moment on, the dogs are used by Napoleon to control the animals; they threaten the animals and spread fear among them and force them to work. They oblige the animals to confess to treachery, after that they kill them by tearing out their throats.

Like what is stated in *Education Umbrella*, the dogs represent Stalin's personal secret police or the NKVD which means the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs and the supreme law-enforcement agency of Stalin's USSR and the forerunner to the modern-day KGB,

Although founded early after the Revolution, the NKVD (which transliterates as *Narodnyy Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del*) only achieved its full power and notoriety in 1934 after a steady and unseen expansion that is mirrored by Napoleon's secret raising of the nine puppies. During the 1930s and 1940s the NKVD carried out countless arrests, detentions, deportations and executions of people it deemed 'enemies of the state,' both in the Soviet Union and around the world. (*Education Umbrella*)

They were violent and brutal yet very loyal to Stalin and helped him to bring down anybody if he is suspected as a threat to the leader or the country and then they killed him. Joseph Stalin used the secret police as another tool to maintain power and destroy his opponents. Stalin's secret police first spied on phone lines and informed Stalin about all the events that were secret and important in Russia at Lenin's era which facilitated for Stalin to know everything about Trotsky which led the secret police to exile Trotsky (Davies and Harris 112,113). The secret police was considered as the most powerful strategy in Stalin's hands since it spread terror and horror among people. This was done by torturing people in prison cells to confess crimes they did not commit and then they kill them, in addition to the show trials where the people who were suspected to be a threat to the leadership or as rivals of Stalin, were killed publicly. Moreover, the purges played an important role in killing millions of innocent

people by the police. In this respect Helen Rappaport states in her book *Joseph Stalin: a Biographical Companion* ;

One of the major acts of political repression by Stalin's secret police was its purge and executions of members of Leningrad Communist party in 1948...By now the Soviet secret police had extended its surveillance over the Communist satellite of Europe, instituting its own purge trials among the various national Communist parties.(195)

Moses the Raven

Moses is a tame raven and Mr. Jones' preferred pet. He was the only animal who is absent during Old Major's speech. He does not participate in the work which upsets the other animals, rather he is always busy of telling the animals stories about Sugar Candy Mountain as a mythical place where all animals will go when they die, he say that this place is like the heaven. The pigs do not like Moses' stories concerning Sugar Candy Mountain since they want the animals to believe them only and not anybody else. Moses disappears several years from the farm and when he returns back, he continues telling the same stories.

Moses represents religion and more specifically the Russian Orthodox Church, which was rejected and suppressed aggressively by the Soviet government since they believe of socialism and Communism, which is stated in the website of *education umbrella*:

Moses represents the Russian Orthodox Church and Christianity.

Elimination of religion was a stated aim of the Bolsheviks...During the Russian Civil War the Red Army killed 28 bishops and thousands of

priests, committed numerous acts of violence against religious figures, stole Church land and destroyed churches. (*Education umbrella*)

Philip Boobbyer in *The Stalin Era* points out that the Soviet leaders separated the state from the church, for instance Lenin had a great hatred for religion, and many clergy were arrested and shot. He adds that many of the church associations and the teachings of religious beliefs were forbidden, any religious performance of rites publicly required special permission from the government. In Stalin era there were several attacks on the church, thousand of clerks and nuns died, others were exiled or executed and churches were closed (172, 173, 179). All these attempts to destroy the religion were made by the Soviet leaders in order to make people believe only in the Communist principles and prevent the Russian Orthodox Church from gaining any privileges in the government.

Mollie

Mollie is a Vain, irresponsible white mare that draws Mr. Jones' carriage. She is superficial and cares only about herself and her beauty. In the novel, she is described as "Mollie...came mincing daintly in, chewing a lump of sugar. She took a place near the front and began flirting her white mane, hoping to draw attention to the red ribbon it was plaited with" (27). Mollie does not think about the farm because she prefers to hide in the stall instead of fighting and helping the animals during the Battle of Cowshed and the only things she wants from the revolution are sugar and ribbons. After the rebellion, Mollie is found picking up Mrs. Jones' dressing table and seeing herself in the glass. Mollie comes always late to work and leaves it early, clarifying that she oversleeps or has pains. Mollie wishes to go with anyone if he gives her what she wants even if it is human. Clover 'a mare and Boxer's companion' sees her sitting

with human from the neighborhood and letting him pet her nose, when Clover asks her about it Mollie denies it and she is not seen after that.

Mollie represents rich people in Russia who were not seem interested so much neither in the revolution and fighting with Bolsheviks nor in providing a financial help, rather they preferred to flee to other countries where they can have luxurious life with their money. “Mollie represents the 'petite bourgeoisie.' That is, female members of the working-class who have slightly more money and stature than the peasants and other members of the proletariat” (Education umbrella).

Boxer

Boxer is a cart horse known for his great strength; “an enormous best, nearly eighteen hands high and as strong as any two ordinary horses” (Orwell, *Animal Farm* 26). He is very faithful and loyal to the principles of Animalism and fights bravely in the Battle of Cowshed; he also plays a major role in the completion of the windmill. He works hard and to motivate himself he invents a personal motto that he always repeats which is “I will work harder” (3). However, Boxer is naïve, he believes all lies of the pigs, and follows Napoleon blindly since he says “Napoleon is always right” (22). Even when Napoleon starts to murder the other animals, Boxer still thinks that they commit mistakes; as a result Bower decides to double his efforts and work harder. Finally, when Boxer gets injured while he is fighting in the Battle of windmill to defend the farm, Napoleon betrays him and decides to sell him to the horse’s murderer and benefit from his money to buy whisky. Boxer’s lack of intelligence leads to his death.

Harold bloom points out that Boxer represents the Russian working class who believed in communism, they trusted and followed Joseph Stalin and considered him as an ideal (17). Bloom states; “His name is a nod to the Boxer Rebellion, which

signaled the beginning of Communism in China. He and the other horses are representative of the simple, working class people of Britain” (17). The working class (poor people) played a major role in the October Revolution and they were great supporters of Joseph Stalin because he was communist, so that the proletariat helped him to take control and maintain his position. However; Joseph Stalin murdered millions of his people when they believed and trusted him.

Benjamin

The oldest and wisest animal in the farm, Benjamin is a donkey who barely talks; he does not believe that rebellion will come with change and that life will remain miserable just like when Jones was the owner of the Manor Farm. Benjamin understands that humans will destroy the windmill and he reacts in a weird way when it is actually destroyed, he finds the accident funny. He also recognizes that Squealer is changing the commandments but he does not warn the animals, he also refuses to help Clover reading the Seven Commandments. Benjamin seems to be negative and unwilling to provide the help to the animals. The first time Benjamin appears to show his emotion is when Boxer is sent for slaughter, he tells the animals that Boxer is taken to the knackers. Finally, Benjamin isolates himself and notices that things remain like before the rebellion miserable and hard.

Benjamin represents both the intellectual Russians (intelligentsia) and elderly people who did not believe in the Russian Revolution. These intellectuals knew that the Russian Revolution would not bring of great change to the Russians: “They are men who have seen rulers and governments change but lives stay the same. They do an honest day's work, but do not believe that there will be any positive changes and are cynical about everything” (*education umbrella*). Jane Burbank explains ‘in her book *Intelligentsia and Revolution: Russian views of Bolshevism 1917-1922*’ that the

intellectual Russians did not trust Communism and Communist leaders since they are corrupt. In the same time the intellectuals themselves did not want to provide help or change anything in the country. Burbank states that intellectuals were not interested in politics or the state affairs, rather they were interested much more in culture, she asserts; “for those intellectuals whose primary concern was culture, not politics, the country’s collapse into anarchy, war and famine proved that the course chosen by the intelligentsia before 1917 had been based on ignorance of the Russian nation” (190).

II.3 Circumstances that Led George Orwell to Write *Animal Farm*

George Orwell started writing in a very young age, he wrote stories and he always created imaginary companions and talked to them when he was a child. Orwell then developed his writing from a mere hobby to a production of academic writings. He wrote hundred of articles, books, novels, collections, pamphlets, poems, journals and letters. Many of Orwell’s works are based on his personal experiences and *Animal Farm* is not an exception.

George Orwell experienced several events which made him hold great hatred for the governments. Orwell states in his book *The Road to Wigan Pier*; that “All government is evil, that the punishment always harm than the crime and the people can be trusted to behave decently if you will only let them alone” (76). Orwell always seemed to sympathize with people rather than governments since he believed that the latter is the source of corruption and he wished that government would provide its people with protection and prevent the committing of crimes by applying justice and equality among all the people without differentiating between them. As a result, Orwell criticized in his works the different governments and rulers that he saw and witnessed in the experiences of his life which include imperialism, political dishonesty, capitalism, nationalism, abuse of power and totalitarianism. He also

warned against the threat of socialism and Communism that were the prominent ideologies to Stalin's rule in Russia.

Animal Farm is one of George Orwell's masterpieces where he mixed between his own political views and artistic features as he mentions in his essay, "Why I Write," "*Animal Farm* was the first book in which I tried ... to fuse political purpose and artistic purpose into one whole" (5). *Animal Farm* was published in 1945, it is an allegorical novel which depicts the events that precede the Russian revolution and how Joseph Stalin takes control in Soviet Russia. In a clever manner, Orwell sheds light on the deviation from the revolution's real purpose and the corruption of power by the leaders who turn to total dictators. George Orwell is a democratic socialist who does not support the totalitarian leaders and dictators and does not hesitate to criticize their corruption in his works. Orwell experienced and witnessed many events throughout his life which pushed him to write *Animal Farm*.

Instead of continuing his studies in Cambridge or Oxford universities which were expected from Eton's students, George Orwell decided to join the Indian Civil Service to become an imperial police. John Rodden and John Rossi explain in their book *The Cambridge Introduction to George Orwell* that Orwell did so in an attempt to gain his father's trust and respect (10). After two months from passing the entrance exam of the Indian Civil Service, he chose to work as imperial policeman in Burma which was annexed to the British Empire. Orwell remained in Burma for five years and during this period he did not like his job as a policeman since he thought what happened in Burma was not human and the crimes that were committed there were corrupting both the ruled and the ruler. He noticed that what he learned in school about the British Empire's morals was fake and unreal (Rodden and Rossi 11). Orwell claims in *The Road to Wigan Pier* that his experience in Burma made him know about

the imperial powers and their acts in the colonies. Back from Burma, Orwell witnessed the arrest of peasants and civilians without cause, the police were hitting the servants and Orwell felt guilty for doing such actions: “I felt that I had got to escape not merely from imperialism but from every form of man’s domination over man” (77). Andrea Rollig in his seminar paper “George Orwell and Englishness” cites that George Orwell’s service in the Indian Imperial Police was a turning point in his life, because he changed his views toward the Empire, he hated Imperialism and became less trusted to the authorities and governments. This experience is considered as the first motive that pushed him to write many of his novels later (5, 6).

Another experience which inspired Orwell to write *Animal Farm* is the Spanish Civil War. John Newsinger in his book *Orwell’s politics* states that Orwell went to Spain in order to join the Spanish Republican government which fought against Francisco Franco who aimed to spread Fascism in Spain and he was supported by Germany and Italy and thus the war was between Democracy and Fascism. George Orwell as being part of “the socialist party in England (Independent Labor Party)” joined the militia of POUM (the Worker’s Party of Marxist Unification), another party participated in the Civil War as anti-fascist which was the Spanish Communist Party and it was supported military and politically by Russia and Stalin. The Communists did not like the Marxists’ interference in the war since they wanted to be the absolute and sole power to fight against Fascism. Consequently, Stalin decided to outlaw the Marxist Party for being not effective in the Civil War. As a result of these disputes and problems between the Communists and Marxists, Franco won the war (46, 47). These circumstances led Orwell to return back with his wife to England especially after he was shot by Franco’s soldiers. John Rodden in his book *The Cambridge Companion to George Orwell* explains that Orwell’s experience in Spain

is considered as a turning point in Orwell's political beliefs and in his writings. He understood what was the purpose of the Russian Communists, that they were using all means in order to achieve their goal which was to acquire the absolute power and create a totalitarian dictatorship. Accordingly, Orwell carried a distrust and great hatred to Communism and Russia. After the Spanish Civil War, Orwell devoted all his writing to warn and fight against totalitarianism and tell the world about its dangers. In his essay "Why I Write" Orwell states; "Every line of serious work that I have written since the 1936 has been written directly or indirectly, against totalitarianism "(4).

In *George Orwell: The Man Who Saw Tomorrow*, Satyabrata Das explains that after the Spanish Civil War. George Orwell changed his beliefs concerning Russian Socialism and deduced that it was just a tool that was used by Russians to apply Communism to achieve their goals; he also recognized that Communism and Fascism are similar (33). Orwell noticed that the world would become a totalitarian state led by Russia. He became certain that Russia had intentions to create a totalitarian state based on the principles of Communism. Hence, Orwell stressed the need for defining what a real Socialism is. He states in his *Collected Essays Journalism and Letters*; "And so for the past ten years I have been convinced that the destruction of the Soviet myth was essential if we wanted the revival of Socialism" (458).

So, the second chapter gives a brief biography of George Orwell, in addition to a summary for the novel *Animal Farm*. It also provides the similarities between the characters of the novel and the main figures of the Russian history. Finally, it cites the different occurrences that led George Orwell to write *Animal Farm*.

Chapter Three: Totalitarianism and corruption in *Animal Farm*

The third chapter of this thesis will discuss totalitarianism in the novella of *Animal Farm* by George Orwell. It is divided into three sections. The first section will introduce the rebellion that occurs in the farm and how the animals organize it together. The second section will explain how pigs corrupt power and neglect the original principles of the rebellion in order to constitute a totalitarian state led by dictator pigs. The third section will identify the pessimistic view of George Orwell concerning the future and how he predicts it.

III.1 Rebellion in the Barnyard

The idea of writing about the animals and a rebellion has been in George Orwell's mind since he was inspired by a little child who was playing by a toy. In his *Collected Essays*, Orwell reminisces "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..." (Orwell 458-459).

Orwell considered Russia as a threat that may bring about the spread of totalitarianism and he was certain that Russia believed in many notions which were used under the name of socialism. Morris Dickstein explains in his article "*Animal Farm: History as Fable*" that Orwell believed always in Socialism and he tried to save it through the character of Old Major and his speech to the animals especially that Major's speech and Socialism base on important principle which is equality (139). Orwell himself states in the preface of the Ukrainian version of *Animal Farm* that he wrote his novel in order to attack Russia and save Socialism, he states; "In my opinion, nothing has contributed so much to the corruption of the original idea of Socialism as the belief that Russia is a socialist country" (Orwell, *Collected*

Essays 457-458). And this is another reason that inspired Orwell to write about the rebellion through satirizing the Russian Revolution.

The idea of the rebellion in *Animal Farm* first appears with the character of Old Major who likes to share his vision concerning a farm where the animals are the owners and work together in order to live a better life. The animals seem to be convinced of Old Major's speech since he introduces himself as wise and understands the life through his multiple experiences, he says "I feel it my duty to pass on to you such wisdom as I have acquired. I have had a long life, I have had much time for thought as I lay alone in my stall, and I think I may say that I understand the nature of life on this earth as well as any animal now living"(Orwell, *Animal Farm* 6).

Old Major persuades the animals that they all have one enemy who is the human; consequently they should not carry on giving their services while they do not receive any benefits. Old Major tells them that the humans do not contribute in the production of the Farm's goods and let all the work on the animal's shoulders. Thus, Old Major's speech plays an important role in persuading the animals for the necessity to rebel against the owner of the farm Mr. Jones. He lectures:

Is it not crystal clear, then, comrades, that all the evils of this life of ours spring from the tyranny of human beings? Only get rid of Man, and the produce of our labour would be our own. Almost overnight we could become rich and free. What then must we do? Why, work night and day, body and soul, for the overthrow of the human race! That is my message to you, comrades: Rebellion. (6)

The animals become convinced of the ideas and principles of Old Major, thus they are following a specific ideology which is based on the equality between all the

animals of the farm. Raymond Williams explains in his book *Marxism and Literature* that men who follow a specific ideology become more aware of what they want, they do not want and the different obstacles they may face (68), he further acknowledges; “ideology then reverts to a specific and practical dimension: the complicated process within which men become (are) conscious of their interests and their conflicts” (68). As a result, by following Old Major’s ideas the animals of the farm become conscious of their rights and interests and they decide to rebel against Mr. Jones. Old Major dies after three nights from his influential speech, this leads the animals to meet secretly many times in order to talk about the plans concerning the rebellion and prepare for it, though they do not know when it will take place (Orwell 12).

Napoleon, Squealer and Snowball play an important role in gathering Old Major’s ideas and expanding them into an ideology called “Animalism” as it is stated in the novel; “These three had elaborated Old Major's teachings into a complete system of thought, to which they gave the name of Animalism” (Orwell 12). At the beginning, the pigs find difficulty in convincing the animals for the necessity of the rebellion, the pigs face many questions and obstacles from the animals but they convince them at the end. When Mr. Jones loses all his money, he spends his days and nights in drinking, he neglects the animals and forgets to feed them. One of the cows starts to break the doors of the barn, then all the animals join her which leads Mr. Jones and his men to go to the barn to check what is happening, however; the animals surround them from all the sides. Mr. Jones and his men flee hastily, Mrs. Jones sees what happens from the window and she follows them. The rebellion thus comes suddenly and unexpectedly without well prepared plans, but it succeeds in throwing Mr. Jones outside the farm. Snowball and Napoleon change the name of the farm into

“Animal Farm”, they reduce the principles of Animalism into seven commandments which were written by Snowball in the wall:

The commandments were written on the tarred wall in great white letters that could be read thirty yards away. They ran thus

THE SEVEN COMMANDMENTS

1. Whatever goes upon two legs is an enemy.
2. Whatever goes upon four legs, or has wings, is friend.
3. No animal shall wear clothes.
4. No animal shall sleep in beds.
5. No animal shall drink alcohol.
6. No animal shall kill any other animal.
7. All animals are equal (21).

There is a Marxist slogan which says “from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs” which is explained by Leon Trotsky in his book *The Revolution Betrayed* that the work is not seen anymore as an obligation to be done but rather as a need related to the individual himself (195). This is what happens in the farm where the animals have different needs and thus their interest in work differs. For instance Boxer works hard in the farm, because he believes that working hard is the thing that would improve the farm. Whereas Mollie keeps caring about herself and does not show any interest in the work and always leaves her responsibilities not completed. Benjamin also does not believe in the rebellion and he is certain that it will bring about no changes to the farm for this he does not like to contribute in the works of the farm.

When the pigeons start to teach “Beasts of England” to other animals in the neighboring farms, news about the farm of the animals and what happens there spread

rapidly. Neighbors begin to talk about savage animals and torture inside the farm, they fear 'Animal Farm' will prosper and the animals will be free and independent. Jones and his men do not give up and try to take the farm again, but this time they come armed with sticks and guns. However; they find a well prepared defense which is developed by Snowball who learns the different tactics of Julius Caesar and he organizes the animals where each of them should be in his place. Snowball launches the first attack immediately when the humans approach the farm. After that the pigeons, the geese attack them but the humans are able to drive them off easily with their sticks, here Snowball applies his second attack along with Muriel, Benjamin and the sheep; they attack the men with their hoofs. Snowball gives the animals the signal to go toward the gateway which leads the men to think that they win, but Snowball uses this plan to launch his next attack where three horses, three cows and the rest of the pigs along with Snowball attack Jones who flees with his men. The narrator notices:

The men gave a shout of triumph. They saw, as they imagined, their enemies in fight, and they rushed after them in disorder. This was just what Snowball had intended. As soon as they were well inside the yard, the three horses, the three cows, and the rest of the pigs, who had been lying in ambush in the cowshed, suddenly emerged in their rear, cutting them off. Snowball now gave the signal for the charge. (36)

The animals sing together "Beasts of England", they give Snowball and Boxer military decoration "Animal Hero, First Class" and they name the battle as "Battle of Cowshed". In the general scene of the battle one can barely hear about Napoleon or see any achievement done by him. The preparation and the application of the plans and tactics are all accomplished by Snowball, the pig with the wisdom and

intelligence; the one who really deserves the leadership of the farm. Snowball invents important ideas and plans concerning the windmill, which is totally rejected by Napoleon at the beginning. Snowball also is more eloquent than Napoleon which leads the animals to support and vote for him, however; Napoleon refuses the situation and orders his enormous dogs to come and attack Snowball. The dogs frighten the animals that remain silent and from that moment on the dogs serve as the personal guards for Napoleon. It is narrated that Napoleon's dogs "dashed straight for Snowball, who only sprang from his place just in time to escape their snapping jaws. In a moment he was out of the door and they were after him. Too amazed and frightened to speak, all the animals crowded through the door to watch the chase" (42).

Consequently, Snowball is not anymore a member in the farm since he is exiled, Napoleon becomes the leader and with time he neglects the original principles of Animalism and turns to a total dictator. Therefore, the rebellion does not bring about the equality and justice to the farm as Old Major wished to happen, but rather it results in exploitation and injustice among the animals because they double their efforts to build the windmill but they spend little time in meetings and enjoying their time. The rebellion establishes a new dictatorship which is led by the pigs instead of the humans. Moreover, the pigs betray the principles of the rebellion; they deal with the humans and benefit from the farm without sharing with the other animals just like what Mr. Jones did in the past.

After the rebellion, the pigs consider themselves as intelligent and superior by taking the work that requires less effort and to leave the hard works for the other animals. As a result, the pigs become the upper class in the farm; they work less and benefit the most. Veronica Claire Letemendia argues in her article "Revolution on

Animal Farm: Orwell's Neglected Commentary" that the revolutions that are organized and succeeded by the efforts of the working class are usually betrayed by the upper class who are interested only in serving their own benefits. She insists that "what you get over and over again is a movement of the proletariat which is promptly canalized and betrayed by astute people at the top, and then the growth of a new governing class" (127).

The pigs seem to betray the rebellion just from the beginning. Napoleon takes the milk and the apples and Squealer then convinces the animals with false ideas by telling them that the pigs are the most intelligent creatures in the farm and thus they require milk and apples to nourish their brains and enable them to think about the good decisions and prepare for the best plans to the farm, which is considered as inequality between the animals. In this respect Letemendia explains that despite the great role that the animals have done in the rebellion, they lack the qualities of education and self-confidence which are important attitudes that each working class should acquire in order to obtain free and equal society (129).

III.2 The Corruption of Power and the Rise of Totalitarian State

Old Major asks the animals to rebel against Mr. Jones and the humans and he wishes to live together in harmony where equality and justice are the essential rules of the farm. However; the pigs betray the rebellion; they gain power and the more they gain power the more they become corrupted. This leads to the rise of totalitarian state by Napoleon the dictator.

The word power is defined by Oxford dictionary as "the ability or capacity to direct or influence the behavior of others or the course of events, it is the political or social authority or control, especially that exercised by government, it is the authority that is given or delegated to a person or body" (power). Power is a crucial theme in

Animal Farm where we witness the pigs obtain it and abuse it in order to take control of the animals and the farm.

John Dalberg-Acton is an English historian, politician and writer who is known as Lord Acton. Acton developed an idea about corruption which became very popular. He believes that whoever the person is, if he has the opportunity to possess power he would use it for his own benefits and he would do anything in order to maintain this power. He assumes that even the great personalities would use their authorities to gain more power and keep on their position, even good men become corrupt for the sake of power and thus they turn to be bad people (Online Library of Liberty). Ronald Hill in his book *Lord Acton* explains Acton's point of view concerning how power corrupts people and turns them from good to bad. Hill quotes from Lord Acton who says;

Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupt absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men, even when they exercise influence and not authority: still more when you superadd the tendency of the certainty of corruption by authority... Elizabeth asked the goaler to murder Mary, and William III ordered his Scots ministers to extirpate a clan. Here are the greatest names coupled with the greatest crimes.

(300)

The animals of the farm including the pigs wish to make a rebellion in order to become free from the slavery of Mr. Jones and the humans. In addition, they want to live in the farm where there is equality between all the animals. For this reason they create a law for the farm which they call Animalism and it consists of seven commandments which should be followed by all animals without exception. The leadership is granted to the three pigs; Napoleon, Snowball and Squealer who

consider themselves as the most intellectual and intelligent animals in the farm, and this move can be seen as the first time for the pigs to take control. The animals of the farm trust the pigs and think that they would be good leaders and would protect them from Mr. Jones and the humans. In addition to that, the animals believe that the pigs would apply justice and equality in the farm and most importantly, the animals want to enjoy a better life.

However, inequality in the farm start just after the rebellion, Napoleon steals the milk and apples for himself, and after that he legalizes it for all the pigs. They explain to the animals that they need apple and milk because they require more energy since they have to think and make efforts more than the other animals. This act proved that the pigs do not really think on the behalf of the others. They rather use their positions and power to benefit for their own. Hence, the pigs do not hesitate to corrupt power and neglect the most important principle of Animalism which is equality between all animals of the farm.

Snowball seems as a good leader who wishes to grant the animals with better living conditions. He wins the trust of the animals since he does not hesitate to provide help when it is needed, he always gives animals the advice and he also tries to educate them to enable them to know what happens in the farm instead of being ignorant and naïve. Snowball always provides the animals with truths and facts and keeps on the promises he gives. He is a good leader because he does not use his position to corrupt power and use it for his own benefits the reason why Napoleon sees him as a big obstacle that prevents him from achieving the leadership. Napoleon does not seem corrupt so much until he prepares a trap for Snowball by ordering the dogs to attack him and then sending him to exile. Consequently, Napoleon becomes the leader without any rival to share with him the power and control over the farm.

Napoleon is ready to do anything in order to gain more and more power; he trains nine puppies and feeds them to become very strong and be able to protect him and serve as his personal guards. This represents one of the characteristics of totalitarian dictators who seek to form a totalitarian state which relies on the secret police who spread terror among people. The same thing for Napoleon who uses the dogs to get rid of Snowball who does not commit anything wrong except being a good leader.

Percy Bysshe Shelly, an English poet, believes that power corrupts; he expresses his opinion in his poem Queen Mab. He explains that power can be dangerous if it is not well used, he states; “ power, like desolating pestilence, pollutes whatever it touches” (176- 177). This is the case of Napoleon who starts to corrupt when gains power.

Throughout time, Napoleon becomes more corrupted whenever he gains more power and control.

The pig’s corruption of power results in the betrayal of revolution. Over time, the pigs start to neglect the original principles of the revolution and do not follow the commandments of Animalism. Moreover, they change them in order to gain more power and control over the farm. Cyril Connolly explains in his article “The Betrayal of The Russian Revolution” that the ideals of the farm’s rebellion are neglected and betrayed since the pigs choose to abuse power instead of using it wisely by sharing the decision making with all the animals. Connolly states; “the commandments of the Animal Revolution ... can perhaps never be achieved by a revolutionary seizure of power but only by the spiritual operation of reason or moral philosophy in the animal heart” (47).

The seven commandments of the farm start to fall apart the one after the other gradually. However, the most important one is the last one which insists “All animals are equal” which is ruined and seems never achieved from the beginning of the life in

the farm without Mr. Jones and it is continued to be broken and betrayed till the end of the story. In his research paper entitled “The Idea of Equality in Animal Farm of George Orwell”, Nisha Khardia clarifies that the pigs create a class division between the animals and they put themselves as the ruling class who work the less and consume the most. Consequently; the other animals are considered as the working class who spend the day working hard without any rest, besides they do not enjoy any privileges in return and the worst thing is that they do not know that there is a class distinction in the farm, because the most important thing for them is living without being oppressed by the humans (590).

The ignorance and simplicity of the animals give Napoleon additional power to corrupt and exploit them. He also finds it easy to change the most important commandment from its original state which is mentioned above to “All animals are equal but some are equal than others” (111). The new slogan proves that the pigs consider themselves as more superior than the other animals and hence they cannot be equal with them and deserve to enjoy their life without thinking about the other animals. This is another aspect which characterizes dictatorships and totalitarian states where the dictator thinks only about himself and never cares about the good for his people, justice and equality are not present in such governments.

After abandoning the principle of equality, Napoleon finds it easy to neglect and change the remaining commandments since he has the absolute power and control over the farm and he is free to do whatever he wants without being questioned. Napoleon uses the dogs to frighten and to silence the animals of the farm so that they cannot rebel or give their opinion about anything. The dogs also serve as overseers over the animal’s working to keep them work hard and in case of being lazy, the animals would be punished by Napoleon. It is narrated “with his nine huge dogs

frisking round him and uttering growls that sent shivers down all the animals' spines. They all cowered silently in their places, seeming to know in advance that some terrible thing was about to happen” (70).

The animals of the farm which are considered as the working class help Napoleon and the pigs to control them and corrupt more power by being easily manipulated and having no voices to be heard. This class is apparently represented by Boxer who keeps repeating his two famous mottos; “I will work harder” and “Napoleon is always right”. Napoleon continues his savage treatment to the animals and turns to be an evil force casting deterioration and destruction over the farm. Philip Zimbardo in his book *The Lucifer Effect* points out that “evil consists in intentionally behaving in ways that harm, abuse, demean, dehumanize or destroy innocent others- or using one’s authority and systematic power to encourage or permit other to do so on your behalf” (5). All the characteristics that are mentioned above are found in Napoleon’s personality and if one starts to count the horrible acts that he has committed since he took control over the farm, it is apparent that Napoleon is corrupted by power that he attempts to gain. After he seizes power, Napoleon forgets about Old Major’s prophecy, he disagrees with Snowball about the building of the windmill since it is the latter’s idea, but when he gets rid of Snowball he announces to the animals that the windmill will be built and he lies to them by saying that windmill construction is his idea from the beginning and not Snowball’s.

The hens decide to rebel against Napoleon by refusing to give him their eggs. Consequently; Napoleon starves them which causes in murdering many of them, this leads the rest of the hens to surrender in order to save their lives. This act is considered as extremely savage and terrible because such demonstration should be solved by agreement in peaceful ways. This incident proves to which extent Napoleon

is a dictator who does not accept the opinion of the others especially who oppose him. This recalls of Joseph Stalin's great purge where he killed millions of people without any reason. Napoleon also bans the Sunday Morning Meeting which is considered as an opportunity for the animals to express their wants and desires and give their opinions. However; Napoleon prevents them from their right of freedom of speech which characterizes the democratic nations.

Moreover, Napoleon attempts to get rid of any animal who is suspected to oppose him or think about rebelling against him, for this reason he uses his dogs to force the animals to confess for crimes they do not commit, and then Napoleon orders the dogs to kill those animals by tearing out their throats; "and so that the tale of confessions and executions went on, until there was a pile of corpses lying before Napoleon's feet and the air was heavy with the smell of blood, which had been unknown since the time of Jones" (26). Napoleon becomes more savage and brutal through time and he does not hesitate to corrupt the power that he gains from his position as the leader of the farm.

Although the animals consider the humans and specially the neighboring farmers as their enemies, Napoleon does not care and he decides to deal with those farmers by announcing that the pile of timber would be sold to Mr. Pilkington and Mr. Frederick by saying that this trade is done just for the behalf of the farm. But actually, he starts to deal with humans in order to gain money which enables him to buy whatever he wants for himself and the pigs. Consequently, Napoleon reaches a higher rate of corruption and indifference about the farm and the animals. Napoleon's sole interest turns to be on how to enjoy life with the pigs. They become a human like; they sleep on beds, wear clothes of Mr. Jones and they train to walk on two legs just like the humans:

It did not seem strange when Napoleon was seen strolling in the farmhouse garden with a pipe in his mouth - no, not even when the pigs took Mr. Jones's clothes out of the wardrobes and put them on, Napoleon himself appearing in a black coat, ratcatcher breeches, and leather leggings, while his favourite sow appeared in the watered silk dress which Mrs. Jones had been used to wear on Sundays.(112)

Napoleon organizes parties with pigs where they meet with humans and celebrate with them and drink beer. They neglect the other animals and leave them without food, at this moment the animals can no longer distinguish between the pigs and the humans: "Twelve voices were shouting in anger, and they were all alike. No question, now, what had happened to the faces of the pigs. The creatures outside looked from pig to man, and from man to pig, and from pig to man again; but already it was impossible to say which was which" (118).

Napoleon employs another tool to gain more power and to maintain his position as the leader of the farm. This strategy is the propaganda machine which is done and applied by Squealer. Napoleon relies on Squealer to justify and convince the animals about anything wrong that is committed by the pigs or Napoleon. Samir Albarbary in his article "Language as Theme in *Animal Farm*" asserts that the pigs use the language as an important tool to falsify facts and spread lies which results in establishing a strong totalitarian system, he states;

I suggest that the deliberate derangement of language, and linguistic exclusiveness which sustain the usurpation of power, stand out as one of the novel's central thematic concerns...The animals are the negative other of the pigs. They-with an underdeveloped language, a Para-language-are overpowered by the linguistic skill of the pigs.(35)

Squealer is the chief propagandist and spokesman of Napoleon. An example of Squealer's lies is when he convinced the animals that Boxer was not sent to be sold, but Napoleon sends him to be cured:

Some of the animals had noticed that the van which took Boxer away was marked "Horse Slaughterer," and had actually jumped to the conclusion that Boxer was being sent to the knacker's. It was almost unbelievable, said Squealer... The van had previously been the property of the knacker, and had been bought by the veterinary surgeon, who had not yet painted the old name out. That was how the mistake had arisen. (105)

Propaganda is also used to create an imaginary enemy to blame him for all the bad things that happen in the farm, this enemy is Snowball. Squealer persuades the animals that the windmill is the idea of Napoleon and that Snowball is a traitor who collaborates with the neighboring farmers to destroy the Animal Farm. Squealer also tells the animals that Snowball pretends in the Battle of the Cowshed that he is helpful but in reality he wants to betray them and give the farm to the enemies: "The plot was for Snowball, at the critical moment, to give the signal for flight and leave the field to the enemy... Do you not remember how, just at the moment when Jones and his men had got inside the yard, Snowball suddenly turned and fled, and many animals followed him?" (Orwell 68). Consequently, Squealer brainwashes the animal's brain by spreading lies and telling stories that have never happened. In this respect, Philip Zimbardo explains that the powerful nations usually use the different aspects of propaganda against their enemy in order to show to the world how much that nation is bad and hence to be able to destroy it easily. Zimbardo argues:

When a power elite wants to destroy an enemy nation, it turns to propaganda experts to fashion a program of hate. What does it take for the citizens of one society to hate the citizens of another society to the degree that they want to segregate them, torment them, even kill them? It requires a hostile imagination, a psychological construction embedded deeply in their minds by propaganda that transforms that other into the enemy. (11)

Squealer also tries to change the history by convincing the animals that their memories are faulty, he also justifies both the pig's trade with the humans and their living in the farmhouse. When Napoleon bans the singing of "Beasts of England", Squealer explains to the animals that the song cannot serve the aim of the farm anymore because it calls for freedom but Squealer tells them that they became free when they kicked Mr. Jones out of the farm.

Propaganda also plays an effective role in convincing the animals about the different changes that are added to the commandments. In this respect, the pigs do not consider the humans as enemies anymore, they rather become friends and start to behave like them by walking on two legs and by that they betray the first and second commandments. Similarly, all the other commandments are betrayed by the pigs one after the other, but Squealer keeps in every time telling the animals that the commandments are the same ones of the rebellion without changes and the animals do believe him because they can neither read nor remember the original ones.

All the original principles of Animalism are neglected and betrayed, the pigs establish for themselves totalitarian dictatorship where they practice all the types of oppression and corruption in order to keep the control of the farm under their hands.

III.3 George Orwell's Pessimism: No Hope for the Future

In the twentieth century, the world witnessed the outbreak of many terrifying events including the two World Wars, Spanish Civil War and the Great Depression which caused a wave of horror and disillusionment. In *George Orwell: The Man Who Saw Tomorrow*, Satyabrata Das points out that in addition to all this mess, there was a possible threat for the spread of totalitarianism in all over the world because many countries joined Fascism even if it was by force and army like what happened in Spain. These events led to two reactions among writers who seemed to be confused and disillusioned and the writers who took the responsibility to survive from disillusionment, George Orwell was among those who chose to be responsible (1, 2). Das states in this respect:

Orwell not only survived the wave of disillusionment, he emerged clearly with powerful political vision and insight that enabled him to see the murky political atmosphere of his time far into the future. To be more categorical, it was the Spanish Civil War exposure that enabled Orwell to visualize for ahead into the shape of things to come. (2, 3)

Thus the experience of the Spanish Civil War changed Orwell's whole career concerning writing, he created a new perspective and he became more interested in politics and political writing in comparison to his earlier writings. Orwell states in his *Collected Essays, Journals and Letters*; "...and looking back through my work, I see that it is invariably where I lacked political purpose that I wrote lifeless books and was betrayed into purple passages...and humbug generally" (30).

George Orwell used his new perspective and point of view about politics in his next writings which were written after the Spanish Civil War when he promised himself to write against totalitarianism. He wrote many works and the most famous

ones that are considered as the writer's masterpieces are *Nineteen Eighty Four* and *Animal Farm*. They both gained fame and success since they were written against totalitarianism from one hand, and they predicted how the world would be under the oppressive and totalitarian systems from another hand.

Although written in simple and plain language with straightforward plot and one dimensional characters, *Animal Farm* is not just a simple story that is written for entertaining children, the reader who reads it superficially may think the same. However, the novel carries great meanings and hidden messages that George Orwell wanted to express implicitly. In this regard, John Rodden points out in his article "Appreciating *Animal Farm* in the New Millennium" that "the fact that *Animal Farm* works so beautifully on its literal, surface level as an animal that it may lull the unwary reader into staying on the surface, thereby misleading him or her into missing its underlying political and historical references" (5).

Orwell wrote *Animal Farm* as a political allegory by describing the events that led up to and following the Russian Revolution. He uses the characters of the novel to represent the principle figures of the Russian history. Orwell chooses the farm as a setting of his novel, since the farm is bound by different rules where every animal has specific job to fulfill like an organized society in a nation. The pigs represent the ruling class and intellectuals whereas the other animals represent the different types of common people (Meyers 26-27). Valerie Meyers points out in "An Allegory of Revolution" that Orwell provides other details concerning the Russian history like the hoof and the horn which represent the hammer and the sickle of the Communist party, "Beasts of England" as the "Internationale", in addition to several events including Battle of Cowshed as the Civil War (27).

Thus, George Orwell describes all the details about the Russian events to give the readers a clear-cut view about what happened in Russia. Moreover, Orwell expresses his opinions and beliefs through the political allegory by making the animals speak on his behalf. He believes that liberty and freedom are worth more than any other thing in this life and he expresses this through the character of Snowball who convinces Mollie that the ribbons are signs of slavery “can you not understand that liberty is worth more than just ribbons” (25). Orwell also explains his disappointment about the selfishness and carelessness of the human being and he expresses this in Old Major’s speech “the answer to all our problems. It is summed up in a single word; Man...Man is the only creature that consumes without producing” (7). Finally, Orwell speaks about how much life is hard and exhausting he says: “what is the nature of this life of ours? Let us face it: our lives are miserable, laborious and short” (6).

Orwell predicted in his novel *Animal Farm* many events that happened in the future. He witnessed the abolition of the individual freedom was taken by the governments from its societies and left them without hope. Orwell predicted the destiny of societies who lived under the totalitarian rule in *Animal Farm* in two forms; first by showing the destiny of the working class in such governments where the hard workers are not given a great value, they are rather oppressed and represent the lower class of the society. Orwell expressed this view through the character of Boxer, the horse who believed in every single word that was said by Napoleon and the pigs and he remained faithful to them until his death. However, when he lost his power they sent him without mercy to the knacker. The second vision that Orwell expressed in his novel is the hopeless end which depicts a world where there is no equality or freedom in it, a world ruled by a totalitarian state. Orwell succeeds in predicting such

pessimistic yet real vision since many of the countries in the current century suffered from the ruling of dictators. This vision was depicted in the novel in the last events where the pigs turn to total dictators that one cannot distinguish them from humans.

So, the third chapter includes an overview about the theme of totalitarianism in George Orwell's *Animal Farm* and it is divided as follow. First, it explains the events that precede the rebellion and how the animals followed the advice of Old Major to rebel against Mr. Jones. Next, it specifies the corruption of power and the different actions of the pigs that led to the rise of a totalitarian dictatorship. Finally, it examines the pessimistic yet a realistic view of George Orwell toward the future and how he succeeds to predict the shared destiny of the countries under the totalitarian governments.

Conclusion

The totalitarian regimes that rose in Europe in the twentieth century induced a wave of horror and terror among the people of the world. These regimes were established in Germany, Italy and Russia with one goal of obtaining absolute power and totally control the citizens in their public and private life. What made the situation more tragic was that the leaders of these states became corrupted and used power and authority to exploit their citizens. These circumstances led many authors to use their pens to show the whole world the reality of the totalitarian regimes and the dangers that may be caused by them.

Among the writers who wrote against totalitarian regimes is George Orwell who survived in hard conditions. Orwell witnessed the oppression of the imperial powers in its colonies and he experienced the brutality of totalitarianism in the Spanish civil war. These conditions led George to write against the injustice of the dictators and their lust for obtaining and corrupting power.

This thesis presented one of George Orwell's masterpieces which served the aim of standing against totalitarianism and dictatorships which is *Animal Farm*. Orwell wants to give to the whole world a lesson of democracy. He does so by using allegory and portraying the Russian history and revolution through the farm of the animals.

Throughout the novel, Orwell provides a good example of dystopian a society where the leader transforms into a total dictator when he is in position of power. Orwell shows the inequality and injustice of totalitarian states and how power is given to a minority who represent the upper class and leaving the lower classes very poor. In this respect, Orwell explains to the readers that revolutions in such countries usually fail since its leaders ignore the lower classes to which these revolutions are meant to

serve, and instead of benefiting from such revolutions the lower classes become the victims.

Orwell explains in his novel how the pigs dominate the farm; they become the upper class and consider themselves as superior in comparison to the other animals since they are the leaders of the farm and represent the intelligent class. Orwell clarifies that the pigs abuse power and use their positions to benefit for their own. They do so through changing the original principles of Animalism in order to become free and do whatever they want in the farm, consequently; the pigs constitute a totalitarian dictatorship.

Throughout the novel Orwell asserts that the totalitarian dictators usually corrupt power to gain more authority and control by spreading terror and fear among the population. At the end of the novel Orwell expresses his pessimistic view about the future especially in the totalitarian states. He shows that the pigs become totally corrupted and they do not care neither about the other animals nor the farm itself which represents the dangers of totalitarianism and the merciless of the dictators who do not think about anything except themselves.

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Résumé

Cette thèse explore comment les gouverneurs corrompent le pouvoir et oppriment leur peuple afin de construire une dictature totalitaire. L'étude se déroule à travers la nouvelle "la ferme des animaux" écrite par George Orwell comme une allégorie de la révolution russe. L'objectif le plus important de la recherche est de décrire et d'analyser comment les dictateurs totalitaires créent un écart entre les membres de la société en établissant un système de hiérarchie entre les classes inférieures et supérieures. Cette étude suit une méthode analytique pour éclairer les dangers du régime totalitaire qui a été élevé en Russie après la révolution bolchevique on représentée par les personnages de la Ferme des animaux de George Orwell. L'étude est abordée par la théorie marxiste pour traiter les problèmes liés à la société et à la politique. Comme la nouvelle "la Ferme des animaux" comprend une rébellion elle examine comment les porcs ont saisi le pouvoir à travers la révolution. En outre, elle analyse le conflit d'intérêts qui existe entre les porcs (classe supérieure) et les autres animaux de la ferme (classe inférieure). Le travail aboutit à la conclusion que chaque fois que les gens de la société sont ignorants, ils ne peuvent pas organiser une révolution parce qu'ils ne réussiraient pas et seraient la raison de s'effondrer au lieu d'atteindre la liberté et le progrès.

ملخص

تكشف هذه الدراسة فساد الحكام و قمعهم لشعوبهم من اجل بناء دكتاتورية شمولية. وقد أجريت هذه الدراسة من خلال رواية مزرعة الحيوانات للكاتب جورج اورويل, تعتبر الرواية محل الدراسة محاكاة ساخرة للثورة الروسية. تهدف هذه المذكرة إلى وصف وتحليل ظاهرة استبداد الدكتاتوريين وكيفية قيامهم بإنشاء فوارق اجتماعية وخلق الطبقة في المجتمع, تتبع الدراسة منهج تحليلي لتسليط الضوء على مخاطر الأنظمة الشمولية التي برزت بعد قيام الثورة البلشفية في روسيا والتي تم تصويرها من خلال شخصيات الرواية المذكورة. وقد تم تناول الدراسة من خلال النظرية الماركسية لمعالجة قضايا متعلقة بالمجتمع والسياسة, وبما أن الرواية تتناول قصة لتمرد الحيوانات فقضت أن تكون هناك دراسة لكيفية استيلاء الحيوانات على السلطة. وعلاوة على ذلك فالدراسة تستعرض تضاربا للمصالح بين الخنازير (الطبقة الحاكمة) و بقية الحيوانات (الطبقة العاملة). ويخلص هذا العمل إلى أن جهل أفراد المجتمع وقيامهم بالثورات دون تخطيط أو معرفة لحقوقهم يؤدي إلى فشلهم وجعل هذه الثورات أداة لاستعبادهم بدلا من تحقيقهم للحرية و الازدهار.