REPRESSIVE STATE APPARATUSES AND IDEOLOGICAL STATE APPARATUSES IN “1984” WITH THE VIEW POINT OF MARXISM

Tuğçe Özcan*

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INTRODUCTION
Karl Marx, a German philosopher, Friedrich Engels, a German sociologist, were the joint founders of the school of thoughts. They themselves called their economic theories ‘Communism’ rather than Marxism, designating their belief in the state ownership. Marx and Engels announced the advent of Communism in their jointly – written Communist Manifesto of 1848. Communism is a social, political and economic ideology and movement whose ultimate goal is the establishment of the communist society, which is a socioeconomic order structured upon the common ownership of the means of production and the absence of social classes, money and state. Socialism is a variety of social and economic systems characterized by social ownership and democratic control of the means of production. Capitalism is an economic system based on private ownership of the means of production and the pursuit of profits by private owners through the creation of goods and services.

BACKGROUND
The aim of Marxism is to bring about a classless society, based on the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. It is a materialist philosophy. It looks for concrete scientific, logical explanations of the world of observable fact. It is opposed to idealist philosophy. Materialism tries to explain things based on scientific knowledge, observable facts and logic. But in contrast, idealism assumes the existence of a world beyond the observable world and the society we live in. Marxism sees progress as coming about through the struggle for power between different social classes. The exploitation of one class by another is seen especially in modern industrial capitalism. One result of this exploitation is alienation which is the state which comes about when the worker is ‘deskilled’ and made to perform

* Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü Öğrencisi
fragmented, repetitive tasks in a sequence of whose nature and purpose he or she has overall grasp. By contrast, reification concerns the ways when capitalist goals and their questions of profit and loss are paramount, workers are bereft of their full humanity and are thought of as ‘hands’ or ‘the labour force’ so that, for instance, the effects of industrial closures are calculated in purely economic terms. According to Marxist approach, society is constituted by a basestructure and superstructure. Basestructure comprises the forces and relations of production, distribution and exchange. On the other hand, superstructure is the cultural world of ideas, art, religion, law and so on. According to the Marxist view, superstructure is determined by basestructure. This is also known as ‘economic determinism.’ Marxist literary criticism maintains that a writer’s social class and its prevailing ‘ideology’ have a major bearing on what is written by a member of that class. For Marxism, art is part of the ‘superstructure’ of society. It’s part of a society’s ideology, that’s why, art is the product of literary works.

**TERMS SUGGESTED BY ALTHUSSER**

Another important figure is the French philosopher Louis Althusser. Whereas Lukacs saw literature as a reflection of a society’s consciousness, Althusser asserted that the process can go the other way. In short, literature and art can affect society even lead it to revolution. There are some key terms suggested by Althusser. One such is the notion of ‘overdeterminism’, a word borrowed from Freud which designates an effect which arises from a variety of causes that is, from several causes acting together, rather than from a single factor. A related term is the notion of ‘relative autonomy’, which is the view that in spite of connections between culture and economics, art has a degree of indepence from economic forces. Actually, Althusser suggests that the state is a machine of repression which enables the ruling classes to ensure their domination over the working class. He makes a useful distinction between what we might call state power and state control. State power is maintained by what Althusser terms ‘repressive structures’ or ‘repressive state apparatuses’ which are institutions like the law courts, prisons, the police force and the army which operate by external force. But, the power of the state is also maintained more subtly by seeming to secure the internal consent of its citizens, using what Althusser calls ‘ideological structures’ or ‘ideological state apparatuses’. These are such groupings as political parties, schools, churches, the family and art and literature which foster an ideology – a set of ideas and attitudes. That’s why, you’re automatically conditioned to respect the order that the state imposes on you. ‘Interpellation’ is Althusser’s term for the way the individual is encouraged to see herself or himself as an entity free and independent of social forces. Actually, it is described as how people uncosciously support the party. The general of
these Althusserian ideas is to enable a much more subtle view of how society works than that provided by traditional Marxism.

**TOTALITARIAN REGIMES**

Totalitarianism is a political system where the state recognises no limits to its authority and strives to regulate every aspect of public and private life wherever feasible. Totalitarian regimes are repressive. There is no freedom. Elimination of the opponents is an important factor in totalitarian regimes. It’s difficult to survive because it is not given importance to the people who are in the opposing view. There are agents everywhere in the country and people are remanded in custody. The main aim of totalitarian regimes is to discount people with one another. We can mention the period (1939-1945) which fascist leaders were effective in Europe. For instance; there were Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, Stalin in Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. At the beginning, Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic became very fruitful. After Lenin died in 1924, Stalin became the leader. He was tyrannical. People who wrote literary works freely had to write their works for the sake of the party literature. Stalin’s opponents were forced into exile. Key opponent of Stalin was Trotsky. He continued in exile to oppose the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. He died in Mexico in 1940. In fact, George Orwell was a writer who witnessed the period which fascist leaders were influential. That’s why, he wrote his remarkable novel, *1984* an example of dystopia, to criticize all the totalitarian regimes. In *1984*, Big Brother refers to ‘‘Stalin’’ and Goldstein refers to ‘‘Trotsky’’.

**ANALYSIS**

The story in *1984* takes place in London in the year 1984, a terrifying place and time where the human spirit and freedom are all but crushed. George Orwell divided the novel into three political realms – the super states of Ocenia, Eastasia and Eurasia. Actually, London is a province of Ocenia. In this novel, there is a class-based society. Ocenia is a huge country ruled by ‘The Party’ which is led by a figure called Big Brother. The Inner Party which has %1 of population controls the country. The Outer Party which has %18 of population are controlled by the Inner Party. The Proles which has %81 of population are the labor power who live in poverty. The Brotherhood is an underground rebellion organization lead by Emmanuel Goldstein. Actually, Big Brother controls everything in this society. We are not sure whether he is a character or not. But in the name of Big Brother, the party controls people’s thoughts and ideas and also their bodies, too. The most powerful people are the members of Inner Party.
One of the members of the party is O’Brien. In fact, by means of O’Brien, we have an idea about the living conditions of the Inner Party members. Because he tortures people both psychologically and physically. Winston Smith, on the other hand, is a member of Outer Party. He is 39 years old. He works at Ministry of Truth at archive department. He changes documents to make them compatible with the ideology of the party. Even if he works at Ministry of Truth, he actually distorts the truth. He is doing just the opposite. He is an intellectual person. Winston’s act of writing actually a rebellious act against the ideals of the party. Throughout the novel, he thinks that O’Brien is one of the leading people of the Brotherhood and he feels as if they are close. One day, they will meet where there is no darkness. This place is Room 101. Another Outer Party member is Julia. She is 26 years old. She works at Ministry of Truth at fiction department. She is a member of Junior Anti-Sex League. They advocate virginity to Julia. But in this novel, Winston and Julia are addicted to sexual relationship. She is also an intellectual person. Proles are not powerful. They are in working class position. They have no idea about what’s going on in the country. They’re unintellectual. They’re not strictly controlled like the Outer Party members. Because they’re unconscious and they do not question the system. That’s why, the sexual life is not restricted for them. Winston thinks that if Proles want to question the system, they can change the system, actually. Because %81 of population are Proles and nobody can be against this power.

Ministry of Peace deals with the war. Ministry of Plenty deals with the ubiquitous poverty in Ocenia. Ministry of Love devotes itself to torture and brutality. There are some important terms in 1984. One of them is ‘Doublethink’. Its aim is to manipulate people’s ideas to control people’s mind. An example of Doublethink in 1984 is that ‘War is Peace’, ‘Freedom is Slavery’, ‘Ignorance is Strength’. Outer Party members accepted it in this way. If they question this, then they go to Ministry of Love. Their brains are washed, they are tortured in Room 101 by O’Brien or they will vaporize, they will become an unperson. Another term is called ‘New Speak’. One of the aims of the Party is to replace Old Speak with New Speak. New Speak’s aim is to lessen the number of the words. If you decrease the number of words, then you limit the thoughts. The Party is trying to disappear negative words. They use the word ‘ungood’ instead of the word ‘bad’ and ‘plusungood’ instead of the word ‘very bad’. In fact, they can not think so, they can not question the system. ‘Blackwhite’ is a term related to ‘Doublethink’. It is the belief that something is both black and white.

THE EXAMPLES OF RSA AND ISA IN 1984
It’s possible to see that there are some examples of both RSA and ISA in 1984. For example, ‘Thought Police’ is a RSA example in terms of Police Force. If you violate the rules of the system, then the Thought Police comes and turns you into an unperson. ‘Room 101’ can be thought as a prison in this novel. The people who resist or question the system are sent to Room 101 and they are tortured both physically and psychologically like Winston and Julia. ‘Ministry of Love’ is another example of RSA. ‘The war between Eastasia and Eurasia’ can be thought as an army. Because this war is ongoing and London is bombarded continually.

On the other hand, ‘Ministry of Truth’ is an example of ISA. Winston and Julia work there as we know. Winston changes the historical documents to match the ideology of the party. As a result, people believe that Big Brother is always right and they begin not to question. In ‘Two Minutes Hate’, people also show their love of Big Brother. This is an example of brainwashing. By means of ‘Doublethink’, people do not question the system. For example, they accept that two times two equal five. This can be thought as an example of Interpellation. In the entrance to the Nazi Death Camp, there is a sign which has the writing ‘Arbeit macht frei’. It means in English ‘Work makes you free’. There are two contradictory words in the same sentence. Among the ISA, as an example of Schooling, there is a ‘history book’ in 1984. Children are manipulated with the help of Schooling or books in the schools. They are indoctrinated by the principles of the system and they start supporting the system with childhood. So, when they grow old, they do not question the system. In Nazi Germany, children complaint their parents to the Nazi Police. Like this example in 1984, there is a girl who complains her father to the Thought Police. This can be described with the term ‘Spies and Youth League’. ‘Junior Anti-Sex League can be regarded as an example of ISA. Its one of the members is Julia. They advocate virginity to her. The Party does not want sexual relationship based on love and passion. The main aim of the party is just to race children who will in the future advocate the ideology of the party. ‘New Speak’ can be accepted as an example of ISA in terms of Art and Literature. The Outer Party members who work at Ministry of Truth in fiction department like Julia change the content of the novels or poems. For instance; if a person uses the word ‘God’ then he or she is sent to Room 101. That’s why, the party members are aware of the influence of literature.

CONCLUSION

As a conclusion, at the end of the novel, Winston becomes the devoted member of the party and loves Big Brother. Actually, this dystopic world will continues in this way. George
Orwell suggests that this system can not be demolished and it is actually impossible too. In the part of Appendix, in 1984, we can see this sentence: ‘’It was expected that New Speak would have substituted Old Speak by about the year 2050’’. (1984, s. 321) We can understand from this sentence that New Speak will have replaced with Old Speak but this situation actually didn’t come true. That’s why, some critics suggested that George Orwell told us that currently, there is still a hope.

BIBLIOGRAPHY