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**ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY**

**INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

# PARANOIA, AGENCY AND STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IN SPARK'S THE PRIME OF MISS JEAN BRODIE AND BRADBURY'S FAHRENHEIT 451

**MASTER THESIS**

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**Department of English Language and Literature**

**English Language and Literature Program**

**MARCH, 2023**

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**Thesis Advisor: Prof. Dr. Arya Aryan**

**MARCH, 2023**

**ONAY FORMU**

# DECLARATION

I, hereby declare that all information in this thesis document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct of higher education. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material, which are not original to this thesis. The thesis has never been published before anywhere and it is the first time presented to the Institute of Graduates of Istanbul Aydin University. (07/03/2023)

Peshang Abdalstar Salih

# FOREWORD

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor Dr. Arya Aryan for the continuous support of my study. His guidance and feedbacks helped me in all the time of research and writing of this thesis. Besides my advisor, I would like to thank my thesis committee members, the internal examiner Dr. Muhammed Metin Cameli and the external examiner Prof. Dr. Ayşe Naz Bulamur for their valuable constructive suggestions, insightful comments, and extensive professional guidance. Finally, I would like to thank my family, especially my mother bayan and husband veysel who believed and supported me.

March 2023 Peshang Abdalstar Salih

**PARANOIA, AGENCY AND STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IN SPARK'S *THE PRIME OF MISS JEAN BRODIE* AND BRADBURY'S *FAHRENHEIT451***

# ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that Muriel Spark's *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* and Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451* reject undemocratic governments and institutions during the Cold War era. Both novels were written during the Cold War era, a period full of paranoia, loss of agency and individuality, and fear of being watched and put under surveillance. This research first provides a contextual framework for the Cold War era in both UK and USA and argues that in countries, institutions and organizations minimized freedom and seeded fear and paranoia. The novels present symbolic resistance to the Cold War suspension of democratic rights that took an institutional step and used propaganda as a tool for social control. *Fahrenheit 451* is against restricting publication and media institutions. It shows the epiphany of Guy Montag from a brainwashed firefighter who burns books to an individual who starts to realize the reality that the government has fabricated the state's history. Through the power of storytelling, *the Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* exposes the propaganda used during the Cold War and its influence on the creation of docile bodies through institutions. This thesis argues that Bradbury and Spark not only question the despotism and totalitarianism of the Communist Soviet Union, but they also castigate infringement of civil rights and democratic such as censorship under surveillance which occurred in the US and UK during the Cold War. It also shows how the two novels use fiction and intelligence techniques, such as propaganda, to counteract forces of state power and defy the generated paranoia as a result of being under constant watch. Therefore, the novels struggle for freedom, democracy, and regaining individual agency by opposing institutionalization.

**Key words**: Cold War era, Freedom, Paranoia, Foucault, Fahrenheit 451, The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie.

**PARANOYA VE DEMOKRASI MÜCADELE ALEGORISI MURIEL SPARKIN THE PRIME OF MISS JEAN BRODIE VE RAY BRADBURY'NIN FAHRENHEIT 451'INDE**

# ÖZET

Bu tez, Muriel Spark'ın *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* ve Ray Bradbury'nin *Fahrenheit 451*'in Soğuk Savaş döneminde demokratik olmayan hükümetleri ve kurumları reddettiğini iddia eder. Her iki roman da Soğuk Savaş döneminde yazılmıştır, paranoya, yetki, bireyselliğin kaybı, izlenme ve denetlenme korkusu dolu bir dönem. Bu araştırma ilk olarak İngiltere ve ABD'deki Soğuk Savaş dönemi için bir bağlam çerçevesi sağlar ve ülkelerde, kurumlar ve organizasyonların özgürlüğü azaltıp korku ve paranoya topladığını iddia eder. Romanlar Soğuk Savaş döneminde demokratik hakların askıya alınmasına karşı sembolik bir direniş sunar, yayıncılık ve medya kurumlarını kısıtlamaya karşıdır. Guy Montag'ın bir zihin yıkama ateşmeninden bir gerçekliği fark etmeye başlayan Öykü anlatma gücüyle bireye evrilmesini gösterir. *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* Soğuk Savaş döneminde kullanılan propaganda ve kurumlar aracılığıyla docile bedenlerin oluşumuna etkisini ortaya koyar. Bu tez, Bradbury ve Spark'ın sadece Komünist Sovyetler Birliği'nin despotizmini ve totaliter yönetimini sorguladıklarını, aynı zamanda ABD ve İngiltere'de Soğuk Savaş döneminde gerçekleşen sivil hakların ve demokratik usullerin ihlali olduğunu eleştirdiklerini iddia eder. Ayrıca, iki romanın nasıl hikaye anlatma ve propaganda gibi zekâ tekniklerini kullandığını ve devlet gücünün etkilerini etkisiz hale getirerek paranoya oluşmasına karşı direndiğini gösterir. Bu nedenle, romanlar özgürlük, demokrasi ve bireysel yetkiye kavuşmak için kurumsallaşmaya karşı mücadele eder.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Soğuk Savaş dönemi, özgürlük, paranoya, Foucault, Fahrenheit 451, The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie

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# I. INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with Muriel Spark's *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (1961) and Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451* (1953) and their textual influence within the context of Cold War anxieties. It explores the ways these novels treat democracy, freedom, and agency under the paranoid-driven culture of the Cold War and emphasizes the historical context that contributes to suspension of democratic and civil rights. It also examines the reciprocal relationship between the novels and the textual production and circulation after the Second World War that becomes a site of struggle between individuals and institutions. It links the events and the historical moments of the Cold War censorship with the textual production and at the same time concentrates on how the constant surveillance and propaganda generated a dystopian impulse in storytelling. The title suggests that the anxieties and struggles for freedom of expression of the cultural past requires a political interpretation that speaks to us at present. Moreover, the novels remain serious productions with social and political implications that actively participated in promotion of freedom of expression and became landmarks of symbolic resistance to authoritarian censorship in both the UK and the USA.

*Fahrenheit 451* and *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* concern with the suspension of democracy and freedom in the US and UK during the Cold War period. Through the power of storytelling, the novels emphasize the anxieties and paranoid-driven culture of the Cold War era. They help fight against dictatorship, struggle for democracy and freedom, and regain individual agency. Both show us the propaganda techniques used by the states to brainwash individuals during the period. They also reveal how it feels to be controlled, watched, monitored, and to be under constant surveillance. *Fahrenheit 451* is a critique of state-sponsored censorship and suppression of knowledge, freedom, and democracy. The novel warns against the dangers of a society where intellectual freedom is stifled and people are disconnected from critical thinking and meaningful human

connections. It emphasizes the importance of preserving and valuing history and knowledge to maintain individual freedom and cultural growth. Moreover, in *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, spark shows a black propaganda style of writing through Miss Jean Brodie, who is seemingly supporting fascism. She is functioning as a black propaganda tool for Spark to discredit fascism.

The complication begins with defining paranoia and agency that ranges from a narrow daily life use of the word to broad academic conceptions and clinical uses. Philosopher Teresa Brenan, following the consequences of the postmodern condition of suspicion, designated contemporary life as the age of paranoia. In her essay, paranoia is the condition as well as subject matter of exhaustive debates on suspicions regarding "the relation between technology and the mastery of nature and between physics and metaphysics" (Brennan , 1991, p. 20). There are plethora of debates surrounding what could paranoia mean, but when it comes to reading fiction there is one common idea that Lewis defines as "the threat of total engulfment by somebody else's system, is keenly felt by many of the dramatis personae of postmodernist fictions" (2011, p. 176). Samuel Coal repeats the idea that "the cultural status of paranoia also, appears to be very real when fictional characters reveal their conspiratorial anxieties and fears" (2004, p. 6). These conspiratorial fantasies of paranoia are associated with the ambience of global politics. As Lewis argues, "it is tempting to speculate that this began as an indirect mimetic representation of the climate of fear and suspicion that prevailed throughout the Cold War" (2011, p. 176). Lewis' definition lacks a component that leads to another strand that has been mentioned in the title as agency.

Sociologists Anthony Giddens and Phillip W. Sutton describe agency along with social structures as a problematic dichotomy since agency is often attributed to the source of the social change operation that assumes an individual who is prevented from freedom. What makes changes in the history has a self-reflexive consequence and the problem of agency remains debatable. As they conclude, "it seems unlikely that the problem of structure and agency will ever be resolved to everyone's satisfaction" (Giddens & Sutton, 2014, p. 57) . In terms of literary interpretation, agency manifests itself in a series of identity issues of authorship and readership. As Arya Aryan puts it, agency "is a sense of controlling one's own thoughts, feelings and emotions" (2020, p.

123). Loss of agency coincides with the rise of postmodernism, as Coale argues, in postmodernism "reality and the self become provisional, contingent, and uncertain. The Deification of the Western rational self bites the dust. There are no authorities, no origins, no logos, no center. Everything becomes relational: signs signifiers, signifies and images can only define on another by being different from each other" (2004, p. 3). Paranoia and loss of agency are often aspects of postmodern fiction that questions grand narratives.

There are intimate correlations between paranoia and the postmodern novel during the Cold War. Samuel Coal, who associates paranoia and conspiracy to postmodern fiction, shows the connection between fiction and loss of agency that "conspiracy locates the individual at the center of a massive but ominously anonymous master plot or scheme that is solely beyond one's control thus reproducing the existence of bottomless interpretation and ultimate insolubility that haunts the postmodern experience and point of view" (2004, p. 6). Barry Lewis insists on dating postmodern to the years of political disturbance. As he puts it, "the fiction . . . classified under this rubric emerged at around the time of the erection of the Berlin Wall in the early 1960s. By 1989, with the Wall demolished and the Cold War almost over, postmodernism had established itself as the dominant paradigm for the culture" (Lewis, 2011). Moreover, there are other labels and perspectives that date this radical skepticism to earlier times of the Nuclear War. According to Adam Piette, who considers the global wars a direct cause of the postmodern skepticism, "postmodernity was created in the military godhead's flash across Japanese skies in 1945. It gave postmodernity its nihilistic model for the destroying of all past logic, measure, and grand narrative" (2012, p. 161).

Postmodern fiction is known for its self-referentiality and self-reflexivity. The emergence of self-reflexive texts is the consequence of lack of agency that assumes there is not one reality or that reality is nothing but a fictional construct. This type of fiction is what Raymond Federman describes as "the only fiction that still mean something today is a kind of fiction that is trying to explore the possibilities of fiction" (1975, p. 7) which he calls surfiction: "I call this SURFICTION. However, not because it imitates reality but because it exposes the fictionality of reality" (1975, p. 7). The typical description of paranoid character is also a reference to the anxieties indicating lack of agency in the

individual. Lewis argues that "postmodernist writing reflects paranoid anxieties in many ways, including the distrust of fixity, of being circumscribed to any one particular place or identity, the conviction that society is conspiring against the individual, and the multiplication of self-made plots to counter the scheming of others" (2011, p. 176). In other words, in this type of writing there is lack of self-identity and a suspicion of engulfment by the other's system. However, there is also a political zeitgeist that these fictions are responding to and resisting through their symbolic power within the discourse of the Cold War.

Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451* and Spark's *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* are inseparable parts of the Cold War discourse; their narratives are demonstrations of disruption and challenge to the order of the disciplinarian authority's discourse. Giddens and Suttons define discourse as "speech or written communication such as that involved in face-to-face conversation, public debates, online chatrooms, and so on" (2014, p. 14). Moreover, Michel Foucault has a slightly different notion of the discourse which is central to the discourse analysis of power which this this. According to Gidden's and Sutton, "Foucault's central idea that discourses are disembodied and unconnected to a specific social base" (Giddens & Sutton, 2014). In other words, Foucault does not think the discourse is a reflection of any other social relations, but it is the speech act itself that power is embedded in. According to Foucault, "in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized, and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality" (1981, p. 52). The two novels are symbolic narratives that consist of speech and text, and they share the discourse of the language along with the institutions of power that controlled the discourse. The discourse consists of an institution and an individual. Institutions and individual, according to Foucault, are operating through individual's desires and institutions order which produce opposite responses to the "anxiety about what this discourse is in its material reality as a thing pronounced or written" (1981, p. 52).

Foucault himself lived during the Cold War and was under the surveillance of those institutions of power. The threat of subversive activities was responded through meticulous punishments by the state. Moreover, Foucault was aware of the institutional

surveillance on individual expression within the discourse. As he put it, "in a society like ours the procedures of exclusion are well known. The most obvious and familiar is the prohibition. We know quite well that we do not have the right to say everything, that we cannot seek of just anything in any circumstances, and that not everyone has the right to speak of anything whatever" (1981, p. 52). This statement was made during the time of his political activism, his struggle for liberation during media suppression of the Cold War.

Punishment in Foucauldian terms is not a physical torture anymore, but rather the punishment of the psyche or imagination restriction. Moreover, in the systematic development of the governmental institutions of power that regulate and execute punishment, a shift has occurred from a physical punishment of the body into a psychological one. According to Foucault discourse the social order no longer needs physical torture, but a constant surveillance. There used to be a public show of executions and torture to eliminate threats over the social and political order by implanting and circulating fear of the consequences of the deviants till the beginning of 19$^{th}$ century. Yet, "at the beginning of the nineteenth century, then, the great spectacle of physical punishment disappeared; the tortured body was avoided; the theatrical representation of pain was excluded from punishment. The age of sobriety in punishment had begun" (1995, p. 14). In the new developed system of law and order, punishment is no longer visible ceremony under the public gaze but integrated into the disciplinary system of reformation and surveillance that bears not only a definite crime against the order, but also the possibility of threats.

The new system of law and order, in Foucauldian conception, has not disappeared its punishment entirely, but rather it has been displaced and has become more hidden part of the penal system like a cure for a disease rather than a consequence of an action. This operation involves physicians, psychiatrists and teachers who are required to instruct and follow a specific pedagogy and ideology. This disciplinary shift from the physical to the bodiless reality is best shown in the panoptican prison architecture model. As Foucault argues, "this surveillance is based on a system of permanent registration: reports from the syndics to the intendants to the magistrates or mayor" (1995, p. 196). However, the panopticon demonstrates how a tower like a gaze

in the center guarantees permanent state of surveillance that automate a self-conscious confinement with ultimate power function in refining the prisoner's behavior.

Surveillance is central to the context of Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451* and Spark's *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*. It often appears as part of espionage of intelligence agencies. Moreover, the intensities of the disciplinary surveillance system reached its zenith after the second half of the twentieth century. The paranoia of the Cold War decentered the origin of the meanings from the author who created fantasies to the fantasies that create the author as a promotion to the public's freedom of speech over one authoritarian voice which in the case of this thesis both a link between Bradbury as well as Spark. This is evident in Bradbury's words that "I did not write *Fahrenheit 451—it* wrote *me*" (2008, p. 58). Furthermore, Muriel Spark was also familiar with paranoia that reflected on the individuals during Cold War that led her renounce herself as the source of meaning in her biography by Martin Stannard, when she said "there is nothing I can tell the public about my life that can clarify my books. It is rather the books that clarify my life" (2010, p. 289).

Both novels concern with totalitarianism, on the one hand and suspension of democracy and freedom of speech in the US and UK on the other hand they show, textual freedom is the only possible guarantee for democratic state and individual liberation to oppose totalitarianism. The writers of the Cold War were careful not to contribute to the binary oppositions of USSR/Anglo-Americans by rejecting all forms of surveillance, suspension of civil liberties and freedom as well as any forms of despotic policies and procedures that attempted to suppress imagination. This thesis argues that Bradbury and Spark not only questions the despotism and totalitarianism of the Communist Soviet Union, but they also castigate infringement of civil rights and democratic such as censorship under surveillance which occurred in the US and UK during the Cold War. It also shows how the two novels use fiction and intelligence techniques, such as propaganda, to counteract forces of state power and defy the generated paranoia as a result of being under a constant watch.

The following chapter deals with the historical context of the Cold War before and after the Second World War to clarify the social and political shifts and their effects on textual productions to link the discourse of Cold War to the texts of Ray Bradbury

and Muriel Spark for close reading. The chapter argues that loss of agency during the Cold War produces a mentality of paranoia of individuals to oppose institutionalization and this critique is shared by both novels. It begins with exploring surveillance and how it functions within the social relations and institutions and how the discourse imposes rules and regulations of prohibition on civilians through policies and international affairs of governments to justify and naturalize the punishments. Then it deals with other conceptions of containment policy and delves into the depth of the local procedures and international connections that intended to intercept and set limits to the expansion of the Soviet Union through promotion and exclusion of subversive activities of propaganda and censorship. For that reason, the chapter will discuss both the United States of American and UK, where the novels are set, to unpack the experience of living under constant surveillance and censorship. After discussing the conditions that jeopardized the freedom of expression in the US through strict policies and surveillance, the chapter moves on to explore the coalition of USA and Britain's resistance to the threats of the Soviet Union. It discusses the experience of author's textual production under the dramatic espionage and state surveillance. Furthermore, it integrates how the policies promoted anxiety effects on people and suppressed or marginalized authors with suspicious activity accusations.

The third chapter continues previous discussions of the Cold War propaganda and surveillance culture along with close reading of Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451.* Firstly, it explains how the novel itself was challenged by the authorial procedures for publication and how it was expurgated and censored. Next, it delves into character analysis that functions as an individual speech act that resists the power of institutions. Furthermore, this chapter discusses how the story develops from a typical image of American ordinary life under the Cold War paranoia that accepts containment culture with apocalypse of book burning then its transformation into the counterculture of resisting authoritarian policies. It discusses this epiphany of the cultural image of Guy Montag, the protagonist, from a static figure to a libertarian activist who struggles for freedom of speech and individual agency. The two sections are interrelated, and they connect the analysis of the novel with the context of the Cold War events and policies of surveillance and propaganda.

The fourth chapter deals with Muriel Spark's *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* and its relation to the Cold War condition of paranoia and loss agency due to institutionalization. Institutionalization refers to the process of establishing and embedding practices, norms, or structures within an organization or society, making them accepted, persistent, and influential. However, according to Foucault, institutionalization refers to the process by which social institutions especially in education and psychiatry institutions exert power and control over individuals, shaping their behavior, thoughts, and identities through disciplinary mechanisms and practices (1981, p. 52_53) The chapter consist of two interrelated sections and, similar to Ray Bradbury's critique in *Fahrenheit 451* of institutions, the sections interprets the novel as a critique of institutional surveillance in haunting and restricting individual freedom that resembles a carceral system. The first part argues that the novel is conditioned by the rhetoric of the Cold War conspiracy and reflects similar skepticism that policed the social relations. The narrative of *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* presents labyrinthine plots to provide multiple interpretations and doubts on how people spy on each other within the institutions. Moreover, it specifically focuses on the power of storytelling as a dangerous political act compels writers to produce unreliable narratives through an omniscient god-like voice and deliberately exposes fictionality of their works. This chapter argues that *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* is a self-aware narrative that employs black propaganda techniques for creating believable fiction. Spark uses these methods as a political and ethical countermeasure against authoritarian thought, making reality appear open to change and democratic discussion. The novel features unreliable narrators, such as Sandy Stranger, who fabricates Miss Brodie's story similarly to a black propagandist. While Miss Jean Brodie appears to support fascism, she is actually criticizing it and causing more damage to the ideology, thus functioning as a black propagandist. Spark, having worked as a PWE propagandist, recognized the dangers of the Cold War discourse and implemented the same black propaganda techniques in her writing to counteract authoritarian regimes and promote democracy. The next part delves into the narrative of accusations and pinpoints Sandy Stranger as a satirical figure who represents institutions of authorship that interprets others and justifies them through re-writing their biography within the school institution. Furthermore, this section interprets

Sandy as a complex figure that registers the discourse of psychiatry, religious and education and justifies the institutional judgments. The novel criticizes how institutions force suppresses freedom of expression and defies institutional power through employing propagandist narrative techniques.

The last chapter will restate the thesis by contending that the protagonists of *Fahrenheit 451* and *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* strive for democracy and freedom by opposing oppression and monitoring brought on by institutionalization. *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, was analyzed as an attack on Miss Jean Brodie's fascist and egoistic ideology that she represents black propaganda by supporting the ideology hence, she is inflicting more harm and discredit the ideology, it has also been examined through the lens of Foucault's theories on surveillance and the effects of institutionalization on individuals. As an illustration, Miss Brodie's teaching strategies and individualistic worldview have made her constantly paranoid about being forced to resign by the school. However, Sandy Stranger betrays her and compels her to retire as a symbol of psychiatry and publishing institutions since she writes a book and the book is about psychiatry. Similar to this, in *Fahrenheit 451*, the government filters and controls all information in an effort to silence dissenting opinions, as its states that "we all must be alike" (Bradbury, 2003, p. 58). This oppression took step by controlling publications and mental health facilities.

## II. PARANOIA AND SURVEILLANCE IN THE DISCOURSE OF COLD WAR

The Cold War commonly refers to periodization of passive yet dangerous times where humanity was on the brink of total annihilation with nuclear weapons. Cold War, if periodized, is arguably continuation of the successive First and Second World War residues, but the symptoms of this anxiety emerged during 1946-1947 with the rise of tensions between Soviet Union and United States. Hanes and Hanes periodized between 1945 to 1991 and define it as "a war of differing systems of government, of mutual fear and distrust, did not begin like conventional wars, with guns blazing. The Cold War began on the heels of World War II" (2004, p. 1). According to Medovoi "the most comprehensive framework for understanding the complexities of the Cold War era has been right under our nose, in the discourses and practices of war itself" (Medovoi, 2012, p. 163). Medovoi is referring to a specific discourse that is commonly signified as the containment culture where symptoms of paranoid self under surveillance emerged where the discourse itself echoes a story of espionage. In Foucauldian terms, surveillance as a mechanic of power through policy making turns the docile bodies into institutional utility (1995, p. 138). In other words, the policy making formulates a military organization out of ordinary citizens to both preserve internal dynamic of the discourse and watching the deviations from it. Moreover, examining the discourse of Cold War is a necessary pathway to grasp the historical context of textual production in which Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451* and Muriel Spark's *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* were written.

The historical context, if one insists on assigning a single origin in the events that could be considered a landmark of rekindling the antagonism in terms of policy making, it would be on February 3 of 1946 when "U.S. newspaper reports stunned the American people. They revealed that a Soviet spy ring had been sending secrets from the U.S.

atomic bomb project, "The Manhattan Project," to Moscow" (Hanes & Hanes, 2004, p. 5). Manhattan Project was the nuclear power apparatus that witnessed the creation and detonation of the first nuclear bomb at New Mexico on July 16 of 1945 which in consequence cost 140000 lives in Hiroshima and 70000 lives Nagasaki. After the announcement of the USSR spies backtracking the Manhattan Project by the US newspapers, Josef Stalin the head of USSR gave his famous speech 'two campus' in which declared inevitability of the traditional communist war on Capitalism. Moreover, the tensions grew more when the US Embassy Official in Moscow George. F Kennan who was in charge of US affairs in Moscow repeating anxiously the word containment many times:

> It is clear that the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies.… Soviet pressure against the free institutions of the western world is something that can be contained by the adroit [skillful] and vigilant application of Counter-force.…Soviet society may well contain deficiencies which will eventually weaken its own potential. This would of itself warrant the United States entering with reasonable confidence upon a policy of firm containment designed to confront the Russians with unalterable counter-force at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and stable world. (Hanes & Hanes, 2004, p. 5)

Historically, the zeitgeist of a new apocalypse was born into the metanarratives that assured both uncertainty and unsafety from total annihilation. During the Cold War period, the world witnesses intricate intertwining of proxy wars, espionage, diplomatic maneuvering and propaganda campaigns. Although the Cold War has been declared a closed chapter in history, much of its cultural play and repercussions still requires scholarly inquiry and evaluation. Because of the types of primary sources on which scholars rely, the available literature on the Cold War favors diplomatic, military and political history. The Cold War discourse produced a historical perception of the second half of the twentieth century as a divided world dominated by the Western capitalist

bloc, led by the US-UK alliance, and the Communist Eastern bloc, led by the Soviet Union, with the newly established People's Republic of China (PRC) being one of the world's biggest nation-members (Chen, 2020, p. 2). William A. Pelz argues that the United States and Russia did not directly engage in combat; yet, their proxy wars resulted in the death of millions in Afghanistan, Vietnam, Korea and other places (2016, p. 174). In *The Other Cold War* (2010), Heonik Kwon points out that for European and North American nations the Cold War era meant a "long peace" whereas for many new post-colonial nations elsewhere the arrival of the Cold War was synonymous with a period of "unbridled reality" characterized by brutal civil wars and other uncommon forms of political violence (2010, p. 6).

The containment strategy of UK-US ostensible goal was to restrict the spread of a totalitarian ideology of the Soviet Union and in support of freedom and liberty, it was gliding and deteriorating progressively totalitarian, creating a culture where dissenting opinions were not tolerated but censored. The threat and paranoid opinion were already shown and put into words by George F. Kennan, an article published as "*The Sources of Soviet Conduct*" and recognized by "X Article" that further reached Harry Truman's administration. Anxiety of those writings influenced the dominant policy of the time during Truman's and Eisenhower's presidential administrations. Kennan's publications and ideas helped to shape what became recognized as the "Truman Doctrine" (1947), a foreign policy designed to keep the Soviet Union from attempting to spread its ideological impact (Aryan, 2020, p. 150). Medovoi argues "the Cold War itself became understood as a politico-cultural surrogate for a race war because the enemy represented an ideological and terror-driven movement, not itself human, that in the second world created vast, dehumanized zones of life" (2012, p. 167). This conflict was in its heightened military mobilization, violent propaganda, and intense global competition and proxy battles to avoid a direct conflict with another superpower. Although neither superpower deployed military weapons or armed forces against the other adversary, this was a state-initiated disagreement that put nations on a war footing and engaged a massive arms setup and military preparations, and it affected USA and UK also other involved countries in terms of suppression of democracy (Merritt & Curhoys , 1984, p. 1).

When a democratic state integrates propaganda, it risks the individual freedom of expression in it and begins to repress the opposition with paranoia. Paranoia was intensified from this condition of propaganda when the individual recognizes the sense of engulfment that controls and channel his imagination that is not his own nor can verify his suspicion. Propaganda does not only promote what is known, but rather it creates illusions and fabricates fantasies of true meta-narratives as well. The paranoia accelerated with the television's common sense that appeared as a true friend that could numb its viewers with its delicious images from the culture industry that magnified and reinforced sex, money, power and at the same time condemn ideas and lifestyles. Moreover, Thomas Doherty mentions that by the mid-twentieth century, television was becoming a living room mainstay, triumphant not only through radio but also over motion pictures and appeared all American culture. A simple statistic illustrates the extent of the invasion; in 1949 television was an elegant luxury in one out of every ten American homes. However, by 1959, television became essential furniture in 90 percent of total American homes (Doherty, 2003, p. 4). In return to the opposition, if not eliminated they were put under surveillance and blacklisted to minimize their disruption as much as possible. Moreover, blacklisting actors, directors, journalists and authors where available strategy the accompanied Cold War propaganda. In connection with this is the FBI's expansion of influence and surveillance in artistic and literary productions which Maxwell refers to as "Total Literary Awareness" (2012, p. 23). The Hollywood blacklist, active in the late 1940s and 1950s, was established to deny anyone accused of communist associations or even sympathies access to Hollywood productions. During the Cold War, an unadorned accusation or refusal to collaborate with the FBI was enough to bar a producer, screenwriter, director or actor. For instance, the Hollywood Ten was a group of directors and screenwriters who were denied employment in Hollywood. As Aryan argues, "[i]ronically, the Cold War discourse—the containment culture—whose alleged aim was anti-totalitarian in defence of human freedom, was or became, increasingly autocratic as it created a similar condition in which the voices of dissent were dehumanized" (2020, p. 152). In other words, the democratic state that uses propaganda and surveillance turns its ideal dreams into an apocalypse of paranoia.

Cold War is the global that war never took place in the battlefields between USSR and United Stated but it was a war on imagination that television and media bombarded them. The fighting primarily takes the form of political maneuvering that led to suspension of democracy and lack of freedom because it caused many people to lose their jobs, end up in prison or be considered as spies, books were banned, writers, actors were fired and eventually it imprisoned the social communications. Beside the configuration of the technological warfare that could instantly erase population on earth, the threatening sense of erosion of democracy deteriorating to totalitarianism due to discourse surveillance that could be ranged from uncooperative to propaganda and defamation to prison and physical punishment if it was necessary. The United States and United Kingdom began to internalize the military conflict through training docile bodies to police the discourse and watch over suspicious activities.

## A. The Cold War Era in The USA

Paranoia is an American phenomena par excellence, and usually it is associated with the history of the politics of USA. Historian, Richard Fostadter, in an essay labeled *The Paranoid Style in American Politics* used Paranoia as exclusively American styles to the way events are circulated and believed by American citizens. Paranoia has been around for centuries in the United States, and Hofstadter examines various documents from the politicians' speeches, newspapers and political manifestoes at different times to demonstrate this phenomenon such as Senator McCarthy's in June of 1951, Populist party in 1895, a Texas Newspaper in 1855, and a sermon given in Massachusetts in 1798 with these fifty years of intervals Hofstadter demonstrates that there is a invisible enemy against American Unity. However, in the Cold War the enemy is visible, and its conspiracy theory is evident that is "the country is infused with a network of Communist agents, just as in the old days it was infiltrated by Jesuit agents, so that the whole apparatus of education, religion, the press, and the mass media are engaged in a common effort to paralyze the resistance of loyal Americans" (Hofstadter, 1996, p. 36). In other words, Hofstadter argues paranoia was a not a new Phenomenon in the history of US politics, since there has always been an involvement of conspiratorial interpretations

with the political discourse, but the paranoia reaches its climax during Cold War with the emergence of a visible enemy in the conspiracies of Soviet Communists.

During the rise of tensions between Soviet Union and United States, hostility towards the American Communist Party grew and become the main suspicious entity inside USA. Moreover, an anti-communism sentiment and suspicion towards the Soviet Union rose to the ideological core of American politics. The American state considered any domestic act deemed pro-communist a matter of national security rather than a political opinion. After the Second World War, the US political discourse created a new concept of the otherness. Ellen Schrecker states, "by the twentieth century, the American Other had become politicized and increasingly identified with communism" (2002, p. 13). With the rise of anti-communist sentiments in the US policy and emergence of several institutions with domestic activities, domestic surveillance and propaganda became dominant features of the era in the US which led to a paranoid fear of the communist sympathizers, also expressed in fiction during the Cold War. McCarthyism was a strategy and campaign in the USA that came to rule American legislative issues against communists amid the late 1940s and 1950s. The age of McCarthyism resulted in domestic censorship of cultural productions such as fiction and suspension of some democratic rights. The very first steps of policy making against the spread of communism, was the beginning of the disciplinary process of the Cold War surveillance in the United States.

George F. Kennan, the American diplomat who served in the American embassy in the Soviet Union, seeded, irrigated and propagated this paranoid idea, in an article known as the "X Article" in 1947. The idea found its way to Harry Truman's administration and shaped the dominant policy of the United States during Truman's and Eisenhower's presidential terms. Kennan, who was outspoken supporter of the policy of containment and a member of the group known as The Wise Men, perpetually argued that since America could not defeat the Soviet Union because it possessed nuclear weapons, they could limit, contain and prevent the spread of communism. Kennan's article and viewpoint helped shape the Truman Doctrine (1947), a foreign policy designed to prevent the Soviet Union from spreading its ideological influence and the formation of NATO in in 1949 by supporting nations thought to be threatened by the

Soviet Union (Hanes & Hanes, 2004, pp. 8-11). Moreover, USA was both dedicated to restrictions against Soviet Union internally through institutional policies as well as on international scale to contain the geopolitical spread of communists. At on historical shifts, the name of the War Advertising Council that was established in 1941 to regulate the advertising agencies was changed to a less visible, more detached title of Advertising Council and they had a conference with the White House in September of 1946 to eliminate the gap between American Politics and Media and Advertisement.

The anti-communist campaign that controlled American politics during the early periods of the Cold War beginning in 1946 lasted far longer than expected, through to the 1960s. However, Athan Theoharis argues that the mistrust and hate against communists have a deeper root. As he explains, "following the 1918 end of the war, in response to the 1917 Russian Revolution and the formation of American Communist parties in 1919, in January 1920 Bureau agents apprehended thousands attending meetings of the Communist and Communist Labor parties" (2014, p. 24). Goldstein explains that in May 1943, J. Edgar Hoover, an American politician and attorney, reports to and informs Franklin D. Roosevelt, of the FBI's discovery of a planned Soviet destabilization operation involving American Communist functionary Steve Nelson and Vassili Zubilin, the Soviet embassy's third secretary in Washington. The conversation of Earl Browder, the leader of the Communist Party in the US, was intercepted during a wiretap of the Communist Party's New York headquarters, alerting Nelson to a sensitive yet unconfirmed future operation. Based on this information, FBI agents disturbed Nelson's home in Oakland, California.

The bug recorded that on April 10, 1943, Zubilin who was a Soviet intelligence officer gave Nelson a large sum of money to place communists and the Communist International (Comintern) agents in industries engaged in secret war production for the American government to obtain information for transmission to the Soviet Union. Four months later, Hoover got an anonymous letter written in Russian and postmarked Washington, D.C. The letter informed Zubilin, eight other Soviet officials stationed in the United States and American Communist Party officials Browder and Boris Morros as spies. In response to the advanced intelligence about a planned Soviet espionage operation, Hoover authorized a massive FBI investigation code-named COMRAP

Comintern Apparatus in 1943. During this investigation, FBI agents followed Nelson and the recognized Soviet agents in addition to learning about their activities and connections. Nelson, the Soviet officials, and their discovered contacts were not only physically censored but were also the targets of wiretaps, bugs, break-ins and mail opening in most cases. Theoharis asserts that "despite the advantages of advance intelligence and the employment of intrusive, if illegal, investigative techniques, FBI agents uncovered no Soviet espionage operation (2014, p. 38). No espionage operation was confirmed by February 6, 1948; the CIA report consists of a review of the FBI's COMRAP file and a December 1944 FBI agent's report summarizing the results of the FBI's 17-month investigation. This report provided no examples of discovered espionage activity. Hence the America administration continued to insist on the potential threat of communists.

The US government took measures that were significant violations of individual rights but tried to rationalize them under national security. Moreover, American and Russian archives reveal that communists spied for the Soviet Union during WWII, they also show that by the late 1940s, forty to fifty thousand members of the relatively small and beleaguered Communist Party in the United States posed no serious threat to the country. Nonetheless, the actions taken to sabotage the party caused unnecessary harm to thousands of American people and significant damage to the nation's political fabric. The early Cold war anti-communist crusade was possibly the most comprehensive episode of political repression and violence in American history. During the Cold War, America's foreign and domestic policy created a domestic paranoid atmosphere, specifically under McCarthyism. McCarthyism, named after Senator Joseph McCarthy, was a period of heightened political repression, accusations of sabotage, treason, subversion and even persecution of those who were allegedly left-wing or linked to communism and socialism. Many of the members lost their jobs, went to jail or were harassed as a result of McCarthyism. Other cases involved people whose names were obtained on the false mailing lists or those who had wrong friends. This sparked outrage and fed a widely assumption that McCarthyism aimed at ordinary citizens. The perpetrators of political repression against American citizens justified it by claiming that as "Commies" had almost no privileges that needed to be protected (Schrecker, 2002, p.

5). In other words, many of democratic and human rights were denied to the individual if they were allegedly spotted as left-wing.

The McCarthyism cultivated an integration of generalized punishment for suspicion with crimes and attempting to not find the enemy but also to coerce docile bodies to internalize surveillance within them. Citizens were not only responding to suspicious activity but rather seeking conformation bias to get rid of suspicions around their own identity. The true battlefield was the space of the discourse where speech act defines the characteristics of the obligations and prohibitions. This battle between the United States and the Soviet Union were fought on the ideological front, democracy and capitalism against totalitarianism and communism (Senn, 2015, p. 149). Moreover, prohibitions around the true and false of the discourse came along the policy that threatened both speaking on communism as true as well as ambiguous voices that could not be registered as true or false since the policies require people to become machines of surveillance. Undoubtedly, the discourse was functioning much more meticulously than simply to law and order since the discourse was a melting pot of western, Christian, white male that circulated from education to social communications. Moreover, Alan Nadal drew from his experience the influence of Cold War that implanted anxiety, from the cartoons he watched that showed survival from nuclear weapons to adults who expressed their paranoia of being watched by the FBI (1995, p. X). Various institutions conspired with the juridical system, which had already gone beyond the policies of containing policies to disciplinary force of authority.

Among many institutions that conspired with the law and order, The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) was established in 1938 and together with the FBI under McCarthyism during the Cold War era. Schrecker argues that "the most important recruits to the anti-Communist cause during this period were former fellow travelers and ex-Communists. Some had been fairly high-ranking party leaders who were expelled from the party during the sectarian warfare of the 1920s and early 1930s, others abandoned communism for their own ideological or personal reasons. They quickly became important members of the anti-Communist coalition" (2002, p. 16). HUAC used the help of these ex-Communists to spread the paranoia contributing to the fear of the left and limiting people's freedom. The ex-Communists also set out to educate

the rest of the country about communism's dangers. As an example, Benjamin Mandel was a New York City high school teacher who became activist in the 1920s before being expelled in 1929. Later on, Mandel established himself in the United States Congress. He was to direct many of the McCarthy-era investigations and purges, first with HUAC and then as the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's long-term research director (SISS). Another example is J. B. Matthew. In 1930s Matthew was a minister, he abandoned communism and began working for HUAC, during 1940s and 1950s Matthew was supplying names and information of communists to HUAC. However, those people whose names and information's were given by these ex-communists were in danger of imprisonment, and it leaded to freedom limitation (Schrecker, 2002, p. 16). such events lead to Hollywood blacklists Within this period as Aryan states, "An almost concurrent act was the creation of The Hollywood blacklist, active in the late 1940s and 1950s, set up to deny anyone accused of having communist affiliations or even tendencies and sympathies access to Hollywood productions" (2020, p. 151).

These institutional procedures did shape the individual fantasies since the authors are always caught between the obligations and prohibitions and their texts had to go through surveillance of the mechanics of power to assure the text does not pose a threat to the discourse otherwise it is a subject of exclusion and suppression rather than circulation and popularity. Beside popular figures such as Walter Elias Disney, Ronald Regan, Elia Kazan was also on trial for having connections with a group of communists, American Playwright, Arthur Miller, was the put under surveillance for his plays. The textual production was under censorship of government's heavy scrutiny. The anxiety led to extreme distrust due to the censorship on authorship and fear of propaganda accusations. Moreover, Arthur Miller as an example of authors under surveillance was subpoenaed and questioned for his plays, the *Crucible* and *Death of the Salesman*, which were considered dangerous fantasies and under investigation he refused to abide the good citizenship ideals for simply having communist ties in the past (Bloom, 2010, pp. 10-11). The censorship and propaganda of the United States had saturated this paranoia in imagination of everyone and this was the context where Ray Bradbury came to the fantasies of bibliocide and espionage.

## B. The Cold War in UK

Policy making was not only an internal affair within the United States, but it had extended its reach to international partnership in foreign affairs especially the United Kingdom that practiced similar policies against shared interest against common enemy. Although Cold War unrest is commonly perceived between two superpowers of US and USSR, but Britain was also immensely involved against Soviet Union and its practice of surveillance had been already put into effect prior to 1940s. Although containment culture as a state tactic, not as policy, is understood widely as purely American phenomenon, but according to Erik Goldstein, containment in Britain can be dated back to nineteenth century where intermittently the antagonism between Russia and Britain were invoked before and after first World War and Bolshevik schools of revolutions (2003, pp. 7-8). The interest of Britain in this rivalry against communist ideology was against the threats on European Continent and the Western Discourse. Moreover, in response to the USSR threats on European land, three consecutive treatises that started with the leading figure Ernest Bevin who was British Foreign Secretary's policy in 1947 from grouping European security, Brussels treatise in 1948 to the NATO in 1949 treatise established a concrete policy against military and ideological threats on Europe. The development of the policy in Britain grew suspicion among people generated a paranoid atmosphere through institutionally regulating and justifying both national propaganda and surveillance as well as necessary responses to transgression and subversive activities of textual production against communist conspiracies.

The Cold War's textual production and stories explore how it would be to live under the threat and anxiety of restriction and prohibitions, and the fear of being constantly watched and spied on. Many authors express this fear and paranoia as well as the subsequent suspension of freedom and individual agency in their works. As Peter Edgerly Firchow (2002) argues that the early poetry of Auden group, which was a group of Irish and British authors of 1930s including Cecil Day-Lewis, Stephen Spender and Wystan Hugh Auden is replete with references to spies and espionage, to the point where the themes of spying have been debated as one of Auden's fascinations, and the attraction of this world was clear. However, these writers are not Cold War writers but

first World War hence the fear of being spied on and threat of censorship had been seeded since first World War and continued during the Cold War, too (2002, p. 53). When English novelist, journalist and political activist Ralph Bates arrived in the British port of Newhaven in 1936, the writings he was carrying were thoroughly checked by police, and authorities went further by sending secret intelligence agency of MI5 a list of the chapter headings in his unpublished manuscript and making sure that Spain is not mentioned in his stories in other words to censor and make sure the story and manuscripts doesn't include any political issues. As another case in point, George Orwell was afraid of deportation while in Paris, because, as he puts it, "I was already under suspicion. Some months before, a detective had seen me come out of the office of a Communist weekly paper" (2021, p. 47). James Smith in *British Writers and MI5 Surveillance 1930-1960* (2012) explains in their letters to each other, English novelist Sylvia Townsend Warner and English poet Valentine Ackland correctly presumed that secret police might have monitored and checked their communications with Tom Wintringham, who was a Marxist British soldier, journalist and politician (Smith, 2013, p. 7). Such examples prove the suspension of democracy and cause the individuals to ensure the feeling of being watched frequently.

Smith explores that The British Secret Service Bureau was founded in 1909, Its aim was to investigate and combat the wave of German espionage that was feared to be engulfing Britain. Then it gave birth to two significant services such as MI5 and the Secret Intelligence Service or MI6. MI6 is in charge of gathering intelligence outside British territory; MI5 is in charge of counter-subversion in the United Kingdom and the colonies; the Special Branch is tasked with assisting MI5 through the investigation and arrest of suspects (2013, pp. 8-10). Clearly MI5 and MI6 activities were result of the fear of the spread of communism, totalitarianism and its consequences exceeded including espionage activities to control information and singling out abnormal individual as suspects of disconformity. This is based on perception of what national security requirements for normal citizens that are threatened by abnormal intrusion. Moreover, this is the panopticon development that Michel Foucault developed on the notion of surveillance that he re referred to in the time of Cold War that "all the mechanisms of power which, even today, are disposed around the abnormal individual, to brand him

and to alter him, are composed of those two forms from which they distantly derive" (1995, pp. 199-200).

During the first decade of its establishment, MI5's activities were almost particularly reliant on identifying threat attempts made by Germany. Even with numerous reports, cases of German military espionage in Edwardian England turned out to be quite often fabricated stories. In most cases, fiction conjured up by spy novelists and populist newspapers to increase sales and publicity. Security Service of MI5 claimed tremendous success during World War I, including the arrest of the entire German network of twenty two agents as soon as the war began and sixty five agents during the war. Even though it is argued that many of these successes were contrived, the balance between MI5's success and German espionage's incompetence is also difficult to judge whatever the case, through the end of World War I, MI5 was becoming increasingly interested in the activities of the political left. Surveillance of anti-war stakeholders like the Independent Labour Party (ILP) and many other pacifists and anti-conscription organizations became increasingly concerned. Moreover, with the Russian Revolution of 1917, leading to the formation of the Third Communist International in 1919 and the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) in 1920, the British intelligence agencies were instantly confronted with a new and more long-lasting target, whose threat could irrevocably form the British government's response to left-wing culture for the rest of the twentieth century (Smith, 2013, p. 9).

Towards the 1930s, MI5 had established a "system of surveillance, assessment, and filing" that would serve as the foundation for procedures for decades to come. Whereas the idea of somebody being under surveillance stirs up either paranoid or romanticized images, MI5 officers obtained some of their information through methods commonly associated with covert spy craft. The monitoring section kept a team following key suspects and informing them of their activities and contact information. Charles Henry Maxwell Knight, well known by Maxwell Knight, was a British spymaster, naturalist, and broadcaster. He was a key figure in the surveillance of both an early British Fascist party and the main Communist Party. Maxwell Knight's division ran agent networks to infiltrate specific target organizations like the Communist Party of the Great Britain (CPGB). Due to technological advancement over the years, the

information of inbound and outbound calls could be monitored, and covert bugs installed in the CPGB headquarters made most of the discussions taking place in the Party's inner sanctum obtainable to MI5. MI5 arranged secret raids on private homes and businesses to collect information at other times (Smith, 2012, p. 11). MI5's purpose was not to review regular biographies or collect infinite documentation but instead to effectively monitor, filter and categorize massive information flow to determine if any individual in Britain was engaged with any specific organizations, whether visiting particular addresses, parties, publications, political events or security-flagged individuals which might suggest they might be a potential subversive or spy. Because MI5 was an advisory instead of an executive agency, the records managed to gather were used to notify the activities of a variety of other federal agencies (Ball, 2001, p. 6).

Smith argues that MI5 frequently obtained copies of scholarly journals like *Left Review* and *International Literature*, noting contributors, editors, financiers and shippers' names as possible security risks. Postal checks revealed names of left-wing journalists and those taking an interest in cultural activities such as literary works and theater who were actively participating in a meetings, conferences as well as the identities of the authors who corresponded with suspicious publishers or organizations while MI6 relayed information from its origins about international developments involving anarchist and abnormal writers (2013, p. 16). MI5 agents organized joint movie screenings with the presumably impartial British Board of Film Classification (BBFC), permitting them to evaluate the content of the latest propaganda films and collaborates methods of handling any films presumed to challenge a significant risk with the BBFC. Whereas the lacking nuance and frequently missing publications that literary historians would consider pivotal to the era MI5 nevertheless developed a simple system for tracing writers and cultural productions, allowing officers to assess the political standing of given writers and contextual works and Permitting officers to evaluate the political prospects of an assigned writer or recommend whether a particular organization was assumed to be under Comintern influence (Smith, 2013, pp. 18-19).

Originally, the term "propaganda" was associated with spreading the Christian faith. Pope Gregory XV 1622 coined the term to refer to the congregio de propaganda, a Roman curia organization with jurisdiction over Christian missionaries' territories. The

congregation's mission's purpose was to win back the countries lost to the Church in the sixteenth-century debacle through "spiritual arms, prayer work, preaching and catechizing" (Jackall, 1995, p. 1). In this context propaganda meant to be described as persuasion, evangelizing, or education. Sheryl Tuttle Ross argues that although the term propaganda first appeared in the sixteenth century, it was not broadly used until the early twentieth century. From mass market magazines in the 1880s to film in 1895, radio in the 1930s, and television in the 1950s, the development of various mass media provided access to an ever-increasing audience for mass persuasion. Propaganda analysis theories gained popularity as propaganda "associated mainly with totalitarian regimes and war efforts, was perceived as a threat to liberal democracies" (2002, p. 17). Alfred Lee agrees that propaganda involves persuasion but adds additional conditions that limit its scope. He clarifies propaganda as "an expression overtly set forth or covertly implied in order to influence the attitudes and through the attitudes, the opinions and action of a public" (1953, p. 18). However, this is more than just persuasion; it also includes the condition that the target of the persuasion is the general public. According to Randal Marlin (2013) the word Propaganda used by the Allies during the First and Second World Wars and described only the enemy point of view forming activities as propaganda however, these enemy activities mostly poised of lies. These practices made a strong description for the word propaganda as strongly negative implications. In the literature on propaganda some authors try to naturalize the word neutral usage (2013, p. 4). hence, these negative connotations are so firmly ingrained, and the term propaganda is emotionally charged with negative connotations, that it is commonly used as a verbal weapon to challenge the viewpoints or arguments one opposes or wishes to demonize as not being rationally convincing in result "[t]hese strong negative connotations attached to the word propaganda imply that such discourse is both unethical and illogical, The ethical aspect implies intentional deception and manipulation of a mass audience" (Walton , 1997, p. 384).

Smith defines propaganda "most basically as any presentation of information designed to sway a recipient to a certain viewpoint" (2013, p. 23). In that sense, propaganda is as old as human interaction itself, authors, reader, critics are interwoven to circulate and participate in propaganda and become generators for circulating power.

However, as technological advances enabled the rapid flow of information, such as through television, radio, magazines and comic books that in mid-1930s government strategic planning of the wartime media grew increasingly advanced and advertising methods were integrated with political aims. Britain's most well-known wartime propaganda agency such as the Ministry of Information (MOI), since mid-1930s, was responsible for a wide range of functions, including control of information and press restrictions in the United Kingdom, broadcast policy to affiliated and neutral countries and domestic publicity and information in the form of movies, broadcasts, journals, books, artworks and booklets designed to improve motivation (Smith, 2013, p. 24).

Although the MOI captured the public's attention in Britain by controlling information and press censorship, several other more delicate and more sensitive agencies were involved in Britain's propaganda campaign. organizations such as Electra House (commonly known as Department EH), a Foreign Office department involved in activities such as pamphlet drops into Germany throughout the early years of the Second World War. These were the agencies that carried out grey and black propaganda, composing material depends on deformations and making it appear to come from an unidentified or third-party source "grey propaganda tended to be anonymous, black propaganda tended to be faked" (Smith, 2013, p. 25). Propaganda can be classified to three categories white, black and grey. White propaganda is based on facts and truth hence showing some parts of the facts and not concentrating on other sides according to its goal. The British Government's policy has always been for its white propaganda to be backed up by facts, not essentially the whole facts, but that never lied on purpose. White propaganda included the British Broadcasting Corporation's foreign language broadcasts to Europe and the millions of leaflets dropped by Royal Air Force aircraft; both the broadcasts and leaflets clearly stated where they came from and what they were for in terms of its purposes. On the other hand, black propaganda is information disseminated by an opposing government or institution disguised as coming from a reliable source. Moreover, black propaganda is narrated in a way that can be the most believable and persuading hence it is fake information mixed with some facts. Black propaganda claimed or led the audience to assume, it to be something it was not. Christian Mull and

Mathew Wallin define black propaganda as "Black propaganda is falsely attributed to a source other than the true originator. It also describes the use of disinformation which spreads false information as truth to an audience with intent that the audience does not realize it is being propagandized" (2013, p. 3). Black propaganda was permitted to deceive and lie on the contrary, "just as the best white propaganda is based on the truth, so the same applies for black. It is often the truth or partial truth in a more palatable form" (Richards , 2010, p. 3). Gray propaganda can be labeled as information at the opposite end of the spectrum. It is propaganda that appears to be portraying valid arguments with no hidden agenda; however, the origins of the knowledge, or even the names of the groups releasing it, are often not correctly accurate or sourced. Although it is frequently unfounded, a source may be mentioned from time to time. Gray propaganda is considered a mild form of invitation to ideological submission, and it is less dangerous to subvert the dominant discourse.

Beatriz Lopez describes the Political Warfare Executive PWE as "secret service created by Britain during the Second World War with the mission of spreading propaganda to enemy and enemy occupied countries" (2020, p. 969). The PWE was in control of creating black propaganda, evidence of disputable credibility originating from an unidentified or falsely credited authority. PWE later and most successfully managed the British secret propaganda campaign. The PWE was launched in 1941 a clandestine organization that produced and disseminated black and white propaganda. The PWE orchestrated BBC broadcasts into surrounding countries. The broadcasts were widely accessed even though listening to them was forbidden by the Nazis. During Second World War They also conducted black propaganda operations ranging from faked German radio programs to disinformation booklets thrown from the airplane into occupied Europe. According to senior PWE officer Reginald Leeper, the goal of this activity was to "strike at the roots of totalitarianism with individualistic sentiments and poison the souls of individual Germans by guiding their attention . . . to the pleasures and benefits of avarice, crime, greed, the lusts of the flesh, and all the rest" (Smith, 2013, pp. 24-25).

In Foucauldian conception of Bentham's prison architecture, the surveillance must have the principle that "Power should be visible, and unverifiable"

(1995, p. 201). This principle was how the governments functioned within institutions to visibly formulate solidarity and at the same time fabricate the representation of the enemy. Moreover, during the Cold War, especially by the mid-1950s, what seems to have changed was MI5's fear that communism had gained attention as an unknown enemy that could not be verified by people among themselves. *Encounter* magazine was a literary magazine in United Kingdom, launched in 1953 and continued until 1991, it was associated with the anti-Stalinist, communist, etc. Alongside Special Branch's continued anti-communist paranoia, this went so far as to accomplishing reports speculating on whether or not Encounter was a secret communist front. However, it was not reasonable to believe that someone who has sympathy with leftist might be part of some plans that include espionage, addressed by a foreign government to release propaganda, and devoted to the powerful overthrow of the British state, because MI5 was able to pinpoint and monitor each "active Party member, particularly the covert ones" (Smith, 2013, p. 29).

Britain already had a variety of propaganda agencies that started their activities from the first and Second World War and continued during the Cold War too. Agencies, whether the conspicuous British Council or the more shady Cultural Department of Public Relations, the information, on the other hand, had the most influence. The Foreign Office's Research Department (founded in 1948) that, despite the government's public description of it as supplying mundane, research reports served as a grey propagandistic agency tasked with counter Russian propaganda and conducting anti-communist operations, beside from its primary purpose of supplying restricted briefing information to reporters and foreign contacts. The Information Research Department (IRD) intervened in the domestic and global publishing trade in a variety of ways. Including approaching editors to publish on specific topics, contracting sequence of educational books, and purchasing foreign distribution rights for works of literature presumed to be ideologically valuable. All of which took place while using cover business names such as Ampersand without formally declaring the British government's involvement (Wilford , 2013, p. 197). This section of the thesis does not attempt to summarize the history or background of organizations and agencies that participated in spreading propaganda in the Cold War era instead; it

attempts to demonstrate the effects they caused that resulted in lack of democracy and suspension of freedom among the people while generating conspiracy interpretations against communists.

It is important to mention that the authors were victims of Cold War era because of the constant monitoring and suspicions of posing ideological risks. As a result, the relationship between the 1930s generation of left-wing scholars and the secret state was more than just a total surveillance gaze disciplining those it watched. Provided that the IRD not only courted and supported specific ex-radical writers but that "the British Society for Cultural Freedom also appears to have engaged in covert, political warfare against communism, including the surveillance of communist or suspected communist-front organizations" (Wilford , 2013, p. 197). The Cold War strategy and policies of surveillance turned the population into spies watching and denouncing each other for suspicions not only against the state but also for their own safety from getting involved and becoming infamous threats. The relevant example that surprisingly echo ambivalence is George Orwell's reputation that is not clear whether he was a spy and working for government against Soviet Union since early his career or he was a libertarian writer as some writer privilege him for his books, or he only participated in giving lists of names to the secret agencies like an ordinary citizen who turned against his early comrades (Smith, 2013, pp. 111-112). The context of which is immersed in such suspicion is where Muriel Spark's text immersed and there is a similar suspicion in her texts and especially her novel *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*.

# III. SURVEILLANCE OF THE DISCOURCE IN BRADBURY'S *FAHRENHEIT 451*

Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451* was the product of the gradual deterioration of the Cold War mayhem that resuscitated antagonism of ideological warfare. The cultural influence of the novel continued through cultural productions with resistance to the prohibitions of authoritarian surveillance policies and advocacy of individual freedom in the USA. The novel is a warning and a reminder of both the horrors of the past and the possibilities of their recurrence due to residues of the World Wars and the new horizon of totalitarian state surveillance. *Fahrenheit 451* echoes the resistance to that excess of culture industry and the hard conditions of policing and disciplining social relations as well as institutional surveillance on the discourse of textuality. *Fahrenheit 451* set in the Cold War era, critiques authoritarian repression, surveillance, and censorship while advocating for individual freedom and meaningful human connections. The protagonist, Guy Montag, develops from a book-burning fireman to a questioning, free-thinking individual, symbolizing resistance against state control. The novel explores the loss of individuality, the impact of mass media on critical thinking, and the importance of memory and knowledge under dictatorship. It highlights the consequences of state surveillance and propaganda on society, and the significance of storytelling and literature in regaining individual agency and freedom. Fahrenheit 451 serves as a cautionary tale that urges the protection and promotion of intellectual freedom. This chapter explores how surveillance and propaganda during the Cold War generates an atmosphere of paranoia towards citizens and books. It also examines how individual agency is lost under surveillance but can be regained in the act of storytelling, because Guy Montage starts as an ignorant person like everyone else in the society, but thanks to other characters such as Faber and Clarisse, he hears stories of the past and gains some knowledge of history. Moreover, Montag's initial transformation and awareness starts when he realizes that the state forbids different opinions and fabricates history. This chapter will emphasis the importance of storytelling in *Fahrenheit 451* to fight against a

totalitarian state and regain individual agency and freedom, and shows Guy Montag's transformation and journey toward freedom.

Bradbury was acutely aware of how surveillance functioned in circulating the echoes of propaganda to suppress imagination. His experience in relation to governmental institutions demonstrates the anxiety in power circulation that extended to apocalyptic fantasies of individuals. Fearful events that culminated in *Fahrenheit 451* already existed in his previous writings that gradually concretized in the novel. This fiction took several years with respect to the hardship of publishing one exquisite novel that could be identified publicly. In a short story, entitled "Bonfire," Bradbury had imagined how books are banned in a town while the whole citizens knew Shakespeare's name and many other literary figures. Bradbury figured out book banning comes along people who know about books, not illiterates. Moreover, he changed of the title to "Fireman" which subsequently appeared in *Fahrenheit 451* as the helmet men such as Guy Montag. Furthermore, he began to brood over individual freedom when he was stopped and questioned by the police for strolling down on a road. During the Second Red Scare and the McCarthy era, there was also censorship on circulation of texts. As Bradbury puts it, "I had immense difficulty selling, for it was the time of the Un-American Activities Committee, run by J. Parnell Thomas, long before Joseph McCarthy arrived on the scene with Bobby Kennedy at his elbow for further hearings" (2008, p. 57). If one is interrogated for being a pedestrian and their publications are intercepted, then this madness of the containment culture requires an epiphany of escapist fantasy through counterculture.

## A. Containment Culture of Storytelling

*Fahrenheit 451* is not simply the story of struggle between bibliophilism and bibliocide, but it is an ambivalent encounter about what the texts are to civilize the social animal. Books are the site of practice of discourses that social and political institutions are operating on and attempt to achieve continuation of its order. They are not entirely innocent means but can also be dangerous weapons in the hands of an authoritarian regime. Guy Montag, the main character of the story who is addicted to burning books, appears like a celebrity figure immersed in male-erotic activity that had been familiar to the Cold War culture. He describes his sexual pleasure of burning books as he says "it was Pleasure to Burn" (2003, p. 3). The imagery of destruction of libraries arises from an unfamiliar origin of otherness, the enemy of the state, the intruder or the condemned. After publication, the novel was the subject of expurgation for 10 years because of school policies. According to Joseph Kampff, a Ballantine published version of *Fahrenheit 451* was expurgated during 1969-1979 for explicitly narrating about drugs, sex, and drinking to become suitable for schools with conservative pedagogy to fit its aims in shaping students and it remained as the only printed edition for 6 years (2014, p. 72). Eller argues that in 1973,"[f]or the next six years no uncensored paperback copies were in print" (2015, p. 204). In the story, Guy Montag is the representative of this conspiratorial anxiety towards books. He is a typical American cultural figure who enjoys the endless pleasure of excess, and condemns seriousness against flamboyant American lifestyle, while at the same time he recognizes the madness of state of affairs if close attention is not paid to the political stakes in book prohibition.

Bradbury himself was already familiar with prohibition on books as he goes on mentioning incidents of condemning and burning books in 1934 in the Nazi Germany, and intense censorship on books under Stalin in the Soviet Union (Bradbury, 2008, p. 58). The American people were familiar with such stories on book burning, banning and cesnsoring such as Fyodor Raskolnikov, who was a journalist and a Russian bolshevist politician in USSR. In an open letter to Stalin in 1939, he accused Stalin of reviving the Medieval practice of burning books and the Nazi's (Raskolnikov, 1939). Moreover Bradbury himself grew up and spent most of his time in libraries, while he was very

young he was very influenced by "burning of the ancient library at Alexandria" classic books that nowadays we only might know them by names as its stated that, "Bradbury virtually lived in the public libraries of his time, and came to see the shelves as populations of living authors: to burn the book is to burn the author, and to burn the author is to deny our own humanity" (Eller, 2015, p. 185). Montag is a figure, like the docile bodies that were exercised by the institutions, who not only performs a task but believes that there is pleasure in burning books. The smile of using the brass nozzle while his eyes glittering wearing a symbol on his helmet Fahrenheit 451 is an extreme fascination with the governmental institutions to become a zealot or a hero, whose task is to protect the political order through eliminating the threatening texts to achieve total control. Mastering the discourse through surveillance during the McCarthyism was in the air shaping imagination, in United States, as Bradbury himself puts it, "no one wanted to take a chance on a novel about past, present or future censorship" (2008, p. 60). In other words, the authors had fear to write about censorship because it might lead them to be under investigations and surveillance.

Montag is not an ordinary fireman putting out a fire to save lives and protect population on the demands of the government's services, but he is a controlled body that performs multiple tasks without reflecting upon them in other words he is a brainwashed individual. This topsy-turvy condition occurs in a setting where the two atomic bombs have already been used by the government in a distant future, and Montag is the point of view in the time of Cold War but cognitively estranged as a fictional character. According to Jack Zipes, Montag is more than a fiction with his resemblance to the repressive espionage agencies that functioned under McCarthy policies like FBI and CIA (2008, p. 5). The pleasure would be pointless, unless it accompanies the 451 symbol on the helmet that stands for paper burning degree as Eller states, "Bradbury already knew he wanted a title that would allude to the temperature at which book paper burns" (2011, p. 336). Since these two are juxtaposed, they indicate an institutional satisfaction for burning books. Moreover, the juxtaposition of institution and the pleasure is the practice of power over the object of desire. As Foucault argues, "discourse is the power which is to be seized" (1981, p. 53). The pleasure gives an identity and pride to Montag since it is a way of seizing the discourse and exerting

control by fulfilling it in the form of instructions given by an authoritative voice. Montag participates in the ritual and finds pleasure performing tasks based on written instructions to preserve social and political security until the subversive voice of Clarisse McClellan emerge. Before Clarisse, Montag blindly obeys the law and order, the sacred commandments that preserve the institutions, which as a master narrative aims to give validity and legitimizes those in power. His sets of instructions are:

1. Answer the alarm swiftly.
2. Start the fire swiftly.
3. Burn everything.
4. Report back to firehouse immediately.
5. Stand alert for other alarms. (Bradbury, 2003, p. 35)

Clarisse is a voice of dissent emerging from outside the institutional hierarchy. She is neither unrecognized nor disciplined. She intrudes the operating sphere of Montag's like an encounter between the civilized and the primitive over the story that institutions operate with. Clarisse is the resistance or a disruption to the already familiar pattern of instruction that Montag considers to be the one and only truth later on during the novel he is considered as a paranoid character who tries to gain agency over his life, and think for himself unlike everyone else who think the same. According to Zipes, "the first phase of Montag's learning experience is initiated by Clarisse McClellan, who makes him wonder why people talk and why he does not pay attention to small things" (2008, p. 6).

The initial role play begins with demonstrating identities that Clarisse is the subject of investigation and Montag is a detective, a spy with disciplinary questions of background. Moreover, Montag begins with questions of identity such as "what are you doing so late wandering around? How old are you?" (2003, p. 6). These are not socialization questions but suspicious questions of possible criminal detection. Moreover, Clarisse is a historian. She appears as a deviant teenager who criticizes the educational institutions. She is the voice who clear things out and bring the truths and history back. According to Jack Zipes, Clarisse means clear, clarify or illuminate or enlightening figure (2008, p. 6). Furthermore, Clarisse is the one who opens Montag's eyes and reminds him of the function of this suppressive system she constantly connects

the past with the present and critically questions the status quod. She acts like a paranoid figure that is not satisfied with simple answers but looks forwards beyond the limited horizon. In the beginning conversation, she points out that firemen used to extinguish fire, but now their duty has turned into burning books. Burning books is linked to eradication of historical memory, the novel is a struggle to prevent burning and destroying books because having books is important to prevent a total loss of memory as Erika Gottlieb states, "*Fahrenheit 451* is a society that denies its past; it has no records of past events, no books, no documents, and as a result, no framework for personal memory" (2001, p. 89). Clarisse stands in contrast to Montage's wife who appears as a short-living organism that lives on instincts without memories of the past. She is a passive figure whose favorite entertainment is "the parlour walls" entertainment talking to the walls and enjoying watching the TV. She represents the life of hedonism ad ignorance sanctioned by the government. Her ignorance and escapism are suggested by taking pills and sleeping long hours, being absent from reality.

One crucial distinction between Mildred and Clarisse is their social spheres is where stories pass around verbally in Clarisse's home while Mildred does not socialize and she never does any different activity rather than watching the screens due to lack of story circulation. The function of storytelling is clear, it unravels the threads of past and stitches them to the present to prevent material reality or to prevent death of the reader. However, Clarisse continuously prolongs the life of Montag as a figure who needs stories, she asks questions and need answers unlike others. The hectic life that made the billboards larger in size and vehicle driving faster is a mortality control strategy that Clarisse shows Montag are hidden from Mildred who is sedated within an enclosed space of the television stimuli that lead her to suicide attempts figuratively signifying lack of stories and reduction to her material body.

The billboards and TV are not simply fictional elements to the hectic life presenting advertisement, but rather deliberate propaganda that persuades people to avoid curiosity and only consume. The same propaganda occurs with the oblong object of the TV when Mildred is watching cynically and is unable to remember the few lines she has written while spasmodically getting suicidal due to insufficient stories to ward off her death. The TV is more than a technology; it is a political warfare where the

docile bodies trained and exercised on regular basis through entertainment. At one point, when Clarisse talks about socialization, she refers to herself as antisocial. She criticizes school as a disciplinary institution that functions similar to the TV propaganda of the containment culture:

> I don't think it's social to get a bunch of people together and then not let them talk, do you? An hour of TV class, an hour of basketball or baseball or running, another hour of transcription history or painting pictures, and more sports, but do you know, we never ask questions, or at least most don't; they just run the answers at you, bing, bing, bing, and us sitting there for four more hours of film-teacher. That's not social to me at all. (Bradbury, 2003, p. 29)

The mechanisms at work here evidently show the fantasy of transformation of educational system into a panoptican imprisonment that trains the body. The function of school is not liberation through training questioning and critical minds or socialization process. Rather, it works to turn children into spies, and suppress their awareness in the name of civilization. According to historian Lawrence Cremin, from 1940 to 1953, significant attention was given to schools to make people believe it is progressive by integrating entertainment into pedagogy in the USA. education beyond 1945 is characterized as a rapid decline of progressive education with a large amount of pamphlets, articles, televisions series that saturated within the pedagogy so it can bridge the gap between the institution of school with parental role in upbringing children which was jargonized as Teacher-people relationship, meaning the teaching is more than kids but a society (Cremin, 1964, pp. 328-333). The purpose of education in Bradbury's fictional world is the mass production of docile bodies saturated within radio and television programs with no communication abilities or interests in socialization. It rather formulates solidarity and individual rivalry with violent activities. Captain Beatty, who is the main antagonist and the chief of the fire station, believes in the application of competition and individual rivalry in upbringing children. He gives a speech that echoes monolithic function of education. As he puts it, "we must all be alike. Not everyone born free and equal, as the Constitution says, but everyone made equal. Each man the image of every other; then all are happy, for there are no mountains to make" (Bradbury, 2003,

p. 58). This is not quite far from the witch hunts of the early modern period (1450 to 1750) in school institutions. Similarly, the McCarthy era was fraught with the propaganda of generating and manipulating fear through news and documentaries about a potential nuclear explosion and of making the Soviet Union as the common enemy of the world. Among many other things, in the novel nothing can be more obvious in indicating how such entertainments and propagandas controlled people when Clarisse says to Montag that people do not talk at all in the sense "they name a lot of cars or clothes or swimming-pools mostly and say how swell! But they all say the same things and nobody says anything different from anyone else" (Bradbury, 2003, p. 31). In other words, entertainment and the mass production of thoughtless citizens fit the late capitalist ideology of creating a consumer society where shallow and materialistic are constantly entertained and consume to death without having self-consciousness and awareness of their existence due to their lack of thinking and information. The novel is an attack on both the Soviet Union and the US policies within critique of the capitalist US and its people.

Clarisse implies the idea of consumption. She hints at the function of propaganda that integrates lifestyle into a commodity system. Moreover, propaganda is flooding people through advertisement. It is not only a call for products but it invades private lives with fantasies that are irresistibly attractive. Integration does not necessarily recruit soldiers to participate in wars but keeps them submissive and reminds them of the consequences of disunity and treason, Submissive as much as the numb condition of Mildred when Montag enters the house and finds her engrossed in the voice of propaganda through her electronic bees moreover, The main aim of such propaganda is to produce a submissive mob. Bradbury's use of estrangement science fiction technique of "electronic bees" or "Parlor" are not so much for a headphone or television as the object itself but to the addictive media culture that engulfed imagination that perpetually reduced the culture to the instincts of eating and addicting on rush of filmic images and weakening the family bonds as Margaret Atwood states, "In the early 1950s television was just rolling forth, and people sat mesmerized in front of their flickering sets, eating their dinners off TV trays. Surely, it was said, "the family" was doomed" (2015, p. 285). Mildred does not need another wall screen television as a necessary object as it's

mentioned "soon to be four walls and the dream complete" (Bradbury, 2003, p. 46). She wants to have a fourth screen wall based on her self-destructive cultural desire that seeks nothing but consuming that came along the propaganda to pay less attention and remain more obedient. During the Cold War, advertisement was not only used to promote products. It also served the agenda of reinforcing the patriotic of the individual against Un American's. According to Dawn Spring, advertising had already existed for centuries, but it was in 1940s that the permanent relationship between government and advertisements established (2011, p. 10). The discourse of advertising had already played a role in gravitating the individual desire, but the Cold War cut the long road short to integrate political fantasy with the individual imagination.

Paranoia is the result of surveillance and a reflection of the Cold War policy of containment domestic surveillance in the US which leads to a loss of control and agency in the individual, towards a disintegration of the self and it reflects in fictions of the period. Aryan states that paranoia is an indication of fear … sign that you are constantly under scrutiny, always watched and monitored" (2020, p. 163) and he continues "The fiction of the period experiments with what it feels like to live under the threat and paranoia of the Cold War. "the paranoia of being constantly spied on and monitored" (2020, p. 153). The diverging point for Montag is when he responds to Clarisse's voices of dissent, symptoms of paranoia emerge. He begins to experience cognitive dissonance where he splits within multiple voices. At one point, Montag goes back to the firehouse, he becomes less responsive to the co-workers. The narration centers on his paranoia that "a radio hummed somewhere . . . war may be declared any hour. This country stands ready to defend its " (2003, p. 32). This is not a simple expression that resonates individual fantasies only but also a historical inscription of the real collective anxiety about the possibility of an imminent nuclear war that might lead to ignite the Third World War. The self-engulfment that arises from suspicion is madness and leads to question the discourse of power to retrieve validity of its reason. Moreover, Montag does question the institutional instruction when the history of its foundation is invoked by Clarisse that firemen used to put out fire. This is the moment that provokes the history of book burning. The madness accusation is similar to the treason accusation since individuality and the individual desire is a threat when it violates the institutional

discourse. Montag realizes the fictional truth of the fireman instructions when he sees the humane desire burning along the books, when Montag questions about the owner of the book who has been taken to asylum and Beatty replies "Any man's insane who thinks he can fool the Government and us" (2003, p. 33). In other words, mutual madness is not so much a disease diagnosed by psychiatrics, but rather an agent will that actively poses a threat to the authoritarian institution.

This madness of the old woman reader who cuddles the books is justified with the discourse, rules history and instructions written to demonstrate the validity of its reasons and its truth. Beatty obliquely implies that insane people are those who reject the superstar heroic image of Montag in the very beginning when he appears like a typical American celebrity TV figure who has been engrossed in erotic pleasures of holding a brass nozzle and laying kerosene with a big grin on his face. Moreover, the culture industry does not circulate questions, like schools but rather heroic myths about certainty and exclude skepticism. Furthermore, Montag as an American idol, superstar figure is only an initial portrayal. The narrative is characterized with a radical transformation from a static figure protecting the dominant discourse of power to a paranoid figure whose suspicion leads him to interpret everything dubiously starting from disappearance of family institutions, neighborhood, to the co-worker, familiar individuals, rumors gossips, into the confidential files about the supposed enemies.

The central idea of surveillance is not restricted to social relations' speech, but it extends to put the bodies into industrialized forces often by imprisoning them. Moreover, this strategy of putting bodies into utility is nothing new but has been in practice throughout history of architecture. However, Bradbury's narrative estrangement occurs when Clarisse begins to give a history lesson on architecture. She says "the architects got rid of the front porches because they didn't look well. But my uncle says that was merely rationalizing it; the real reason, hidden underneath, might be they didn't want people sitting like that, doing nothing, rocking, talking; that was the wrong kind of social life" (2003, p. 63). This was already familiar in the history of urbanization of the world specifically after the industrial revolution. Yet, during the Cold War Soviet Union come up with fantasies of reducing the arches to a cheap sort of post-and lintel and the whole building with monolithic shapes to maximize its utility. Eller states that

"Bradbury had been openly critical of Stalinist Russia for years, and would always oppose dictatorships of anykind" (2011, p. 330). Cahrine Cooke affirms that Russian society were not content about the rapid decline of architecture in the 20th century and they conceived it as a break from spirit of culture (1992, p. 665). However, the shape of architecture in the USA opposed the solid figures and they were more flued and ornamented complex figure which the novel remains loyal to and opposes solid architectural designs. The novel is an attack on both the Soviet Union and the US policies simultaneously, the fear of changing architecture in USA is obvious, which lead to cutting social relations and removing parts in the buildings that neighbors can communicate.

The building without the porch functions as a panopticon prison. Its inhabitants reside in the surveillance towers and watch, record, and register each other's activities. Under constant surveillance, individuals become paranoid and suspicious. Montage expresses his suspicion as he thinks no one can be trusted, not even himself. Since the beginning, the anxiety centered on not what other characters were engaging in, but what was Montag doing within the social relationships. It becomes obvious that he himself was a spy, a docile body that is involved in espionage and collects information on others. This is clear in case of Faber; Montag spied and collected information on an English professor of literature, Faber. As the narrator puts it, "Montag went to his bedroom closet and flipped through his file-wallet to the heading: FUTURE INVESTIGATIONS (?). Faber's name was there" (Bradbury, 2003, p. 75). This initial stage of Montag represents the McCarthy forces within institutions. However, Montag goes through a transformation from a degraded reality of surveillance into a more ambivalent, and paranoid experience against the containment culture. The climax of this paranoid suspicion occurs after the firemen witness a suicide by an old woman, a bibliophile who refuses to leave the books and commits suicide along the book flame which eventually sparks curiosity of Montag. Bradbury depicts individual will to freedom that begins resistance against the institutional prohibition. This is the new paranoid Montag who is suspicious of the institute and often quite romantic about books, because he thinks its books they need in order to be free and regain their individual agency, however, Faber

enlightens him by telling him it's not the books we need it's what it used to be in the books, "the awareness" (Bradbury, 2003, p. 82).

Captain Beatty sybolizes the totalitarian authority. Moreover, best way to describe Beatty is a propagandist who controls the means of hsitory and circulation of stories as well as making policies out of them. Peter Sisario draws upon Captain Beatty as, "it is crucial that beatty wears the sign of pjoneix on his hat and rides in a phoenix car. He has a great knowledge of the past yet ironically and tragically doe not know how to use his knowledge tearting it only as historical curiosity" (1970, p. 202). Captain Beatty is a counter argument to the suspicious mind of Montag when the skepticism arise from the events of book burning. Destruction of the books by the firemen after their invension of the fire-proof houses originates from a history that Beatty lecture the firemen to supress the voice of dissent and discipline them to formulate a unity in the counter argument against books. The voice of Beatty resonates a familliar voice to the culture industry, an advocator of the society of the spectale that consumes without reflection. He also resembles the American officals who set the policies of surveillance and control hoistory of knowledge. The firemen according to Beatty are the peace keepers who bring happiness to the state and prepare necessary responses to subversions. When Montag reaches the apogee of the paranoia and suspicion about their activities as peace keeping after he steal a book and keep it in his house, and pretend that he his ill. Beatty visits Montag, he responds like a rhitorician to convince him with reason and like a politican to threat him with consequences. Montag is full of fear because he keeps a book in his house and Beatty seems to be aware of it because he says, "we dont get overanxious or mad. We let the fireman keep the book for twenty four hours" (Bradbury, 2003, p. 62). Beatty seems as an eye who moniters and watches Montag's actions and behaviours. This investigation and surveillance on Montag resembles the House of Un-American Activities when they investigated authors and cultural figures. Foucault's aim in his *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* is to show the difference between prison and power usage in ancient times and modern days. Here Beatty symbolize the power and he discipline through surveillance mechanisms as Abhishek Pundir states, "Foucault reflects on the contemporary nature of power: power no more attempts to be unapologetically authoritative; it rather disciplines, governs and conquers through its

softer tools" (2017, p. 174). However, the modern prison is to punish the soul of the individual not the body, as in the novel it cleared out if someone is against the authority they would consider her/him as crazy and insane and send it to mental hospital (Bradbury, 2003, p. 33).

Captain Beatty reasons with Montag while lecturing him to continue with the profession and obey the governement by justifying that books are useless and dangerous objects. According to him, the danger of books is in generating utopian fantasies and producing a dilemma of thinking which leads towards pessimism and madness. In Beatty's view, social order depends on the unanimity of voices where there has to be only one voice to harmonize and strenghten its identity. Based on such fascist mentality, the order of the state has to be preserved against writers whose artistic productions pose a threat to their legitimacy and validity. According to Beatty, writers are full of evil ideas, and their books are loaded weapons grouping people against their own hapiness (2003, p. 58). Beatty recalls his expreince with books and states that "the books say nothing! Nothing you can teach or believe. They're about non-existent people, figments of imagination, if they're fiction. And if they're non-fiction, it's worse" (Bradbury, 2003, p. 62). It is evident that fiction specifically resembles madman's speech that poses a danger to the totalitarian authorities.

### B. Epiphany From Containment Culture

Bradbury delineates a nostalgic return of Guy Montag once Montag realizes the panopticon system of surveillance that engulfs everything from his profession, family, country, imagination, and the history of his identity. At one point his curiosity centers on the question of American identity and history. As he wonders, "I've heard rumours; the world is starving, but we're well-fed. Is it true, the world works hard and we play? Is that why we're hated so much? I've heard the rumours about hate, too, once in a long while, over the years. Do you know why? I don't, that's sure!" (Bradbury, 2003, p. 73). When he attempts to answer these with Mildred, he realizes the most valuable relationships have been debilitated by the institutions of power. In the novel family values are lost, *Robin Anne Reid* draws upon Mildred as, "Mildred, Montag's wife, is addicted to the televised mass culture provided nonstop; she sees the characters in her programs as more

real than her husband however, her unacknowledged unhappiness with her life is shown by regular suicide attempts" (2008, p. 75). Mildred is brainwashed completely by culture industry and disciplinary system to the extent that she has no memory which makes her lethargic not to bother to question, for example in the beginning of the novel Mildred is overdosed with sleeping pills and she is not in a healthiest shape, however next morning she doesn't remember anything about it and when Montag is trying to ask her if she meant to commit suicide she would be surprised and deny it, however she convinces herself that they had a party last night as she asks "[d]id we have a wild party or something? Feel like I've a hangover. God, I'm hungry. Who was here?" (2003, p. 19). She doesn't bother to seek to know what actually happened. Moreover, when Montag asks her if she remembers when and where they had met she doesn't remember and it doesn't pass through her mind why she doesn't remember, she replies, "[i]t's been so long." (2003, p. 43) However they are married only for ten years. Pundir states that, "the institution of family is distorted beyond recognition, and marriage is another make-shift-arrangement devoid of love" (2017, p. 176). More importantly to be mentioned is that its Mildred who tells Captain Beatty about Montag's suspicious actions and his involvement with books because Mildred considers the authority and people in the parlors as her family, as she mentions the parlors and puts, "that's my family" (Bradbury, 2003, p. 49). Bradbury fiction is the paranoid interpretation of the sheer mass conspiracy that no one can be trusted including family members. The horizon of the conspiracy required according to Montag is more interpretation when he says, "maybe the books can get us half out of the cave" (Bradbury, 2003, p. 74). Pundir draws upon this and states, "Ray Bradbury projects a society where books are cause of sorrows and hence be burnt to ensure happiness. The idea behind book burning is to drain people of thinking ability" (2017, p. 175). In other words, the cure for the plethora of suspicions which cause him a free-floating paranoia requires interpreting conspiracies on everything that is embedded in the culture.

Beatty's words express the dominant view of the books that they contain nothing except evils. This is similar to Plato's banishment of fiction from the republic as they are nothing but a bunch of lies, twice removed from reality. Beatty appears like a critic who, despite familiarity with a broad range of literary works, prefers the culture industry and

advocates social order rather than a romantic view of texts that end up with bottomless interpretation in a symbolic order. Beatty has a very literal interpretation of literary texts. He alludes to many literary figures and works. This shows his knowledge of texts. Beatty is not only an individual but someone who expresses multiple voices that resonate exhaustion within texts referencing to authors and other texts when he addresses the Romantic Montag who intends to start off the same journey. This is clear when Beatty plays cards with Montag. Beatty makes references to Alexander Pope that a little learning is dangerous or Dr. Johnson that this is a journey from certainty to uncertainty (Bradbury, 2003, p. 106). Beatty reminds him of the dangers of book reading and consequences which affects the mental health of the reader as in the past when readers had been taken to asylum for not taking sides with the authority. Although this has taken Beatty to end up on the side of a totalitarian government, and believes that books are an imminent danger. However, this is quite opposite of Professor Faber who implants suspicions, questions and answers in Montag regarding unknown possibilities and potentials of books as Reid argues that, "[o]ne of the main functions Faber serves in the novel is to answer some of Montag's questions" (2008, p. 75)

Montag is experiencing an ongoing war between the voices of majority and minority, between Faber and Beatty, two experienced educators and opposite poles that struggle for power to liberate or to subjugate imagination respectively. Moreover, Beatty is not illiterate, but an intellectual who has been motivated with political ideology to function in certain ways. He is a military figure dedicated to preserve the dominant discourse of power. He is the mouthpiece of a propaganda agency. For Beatty, as for the regime, books are the enemy of the state; they are understood as forces which conspire against the government. His words express the US policy of containment. As he puts it, "if you don't want a house built, hide the nails and wood. If you don't want a man unhappy politically, don't give him two sides to a question to worry him; give him one. Better yet, give him non" (Bradbury, 2003, p. 63). In other words, Beatty insists on blindfolding the population, bombarding them with televised images to the extent that they cannot think; and he make sure to prevent thinking process.

While Beatty stands for the suppressive regime and a strong propaganda tool, Montag represents the obedient citizen who has been doing his job dutifully and

punctually. He performs the espionage activity within social relationships. He is a role model for the rest of the society. Moreover, Beatty characterizes relationship between them, the firemen team that perform the night operation of burning books, the Happy Boys because along the performance they normalize the punishment with enjoyment. Montag is a happy clown of the ritual who stands against the depressed sensation that originates from the library especially when Beatty refers to their relationship with respect to their profession when he states "we depend on you. I don't think you realize how important you are, to our happy world as it stands now" (2003, p. 62). In Foucauldian conception, the disciplinary force does not target the physical body just like how the entertainment target the imagination and mood of the spectator. At one point, Beatty Justifies their activity to Montag how the punishment is not for the body but rather for the bodiless reality or the soul when he characterizes book as only things when he says "You weren't hurting anyone, you were hurting only things! And since things really couldn't be hurt, since things felt nothing, and things don't scream or whimper" (2003, p. 37). This justification entails the political stakes of erasing identities and preventing freedom of expression. On the other hand, the propaganda Beatty advocates engages the spectators directly and conditions their state of mind with ludicrous confusion of non-stop images and voices that does not allow reflection at all to make people feel unhappy. Beatty's favorite book example that leads to exhaustion is what common sense does not accept which is the Tower of Babel that represents all the books in the world the way books work he attempts to convince Montag about textuality's exhaustion that "[n]one of those books agree with each other. You've been locked up here for years with a regular damned Tower of Babel" (2003, p. 38). Bradbury's metaphor refers to the infinite relationship between the texts and languages that intertwine and originate within each other. Furthermore, Tower of Babel is the desert of the real an empty textual production that refers to other texts without any objects since the signifiers create an autonomous reality of their own and the human disappear within this web of infinite web of signification.

Despite the immense confusion that Montag gets from Beatty's referential voice full of other texts, Montag gains a hopeful impulse that books are not so despotic nor evil that way Beatty characterizes them, but they are eye opening. Montag's idea of

books hinges on Faber, like a visual capacity to help him recover from blindness when he tells him "[y]ou're the only one I knew might help me. To see. To see…" (2003, p. 81). The analogy is like an oculist who could restore the visual capacity that once Montag had but this analogy is dedicated to the books like a return to the repressed, the trauma of the past like an enlightening discovery. The metamorphosis in Montag takes a nostalgic mode to resurrect the past of the present against the propaganda of culture industry as well as the will for suppression. The cultural condition of the Cold War is clear in the narrative when Montag visits Faber to discuss the problem before his metamorphosis with curiosity.

The Cold War is depicted as the paranoid lifestyle Montag was having under the obedience of the Law and TV culture that flooded them with fantasies and restricted them from having individual expression that resulted in disappearance of the humans. Montag refers to the hallucinations, the schizophrenic behavior patterns that repeatedly occurred to him and Mildred when he says "I can't talk to the walls because they're yelling at me. I can't talk to my wife; she listens to the walls" (2003, p. 81). The implication is not the talk to the walls but the sense of alienation of the social bond between people and the decline of trust and authenticity in their communications since Cold War is period of distrust at best it can be framed as an espionage story. Moreover, despite the fact that they possess all the commodities to be happy, Montag believes the missing object is the books. In response to this ideal though that existence of book like objects in reality can bring happiness, Faber assumes this idea of books is either hopeless romantic or in case of seriousness, it is quite zany since Faber tells Montag the following:

> It's not books at all you're looking for! Take it where you can find it, in old phonograph records, old motion pictures, and in old friends; look for it in nature and look for it in yourself. Books were only one type of receptacle where we stored a lot of things we were afraid we might forget. There is nothing magical in them at all. The magic is only in what books say, how they stitched the patches of the universe together into one garment for us. (Bradbury, 2003, pp. 82-83)

What Faber is telling Montag is not anything he does not know, similar to the snobbish talk of Beatty, the books are not what Montag is looking for, but he is looking for a lost agency to control the events of his life, freedom of expression and thinking also revealing the lost history. There is the element of fantasy that encounters the imposed truths of the law and order that each recognized by majority and minority. Moreover, Faber does not represent a particular fascistic figure or communism, but he resembles social activism for freedom of choice for not an absolute agency but a possible individual freedom that starts off with giving opinions rather than imposing metanarratives on others. The difference between Faber and Beatty lies in the gap of knowledge that Faber suspends judgements due to uncertainty while Beatty insists on giving orders that carry implications of knowledge and appear as truth. Contrary to Beatty, Faber does not constrain imagination of Montag with answers, nor bring boundaries for his romantic fantasies with options to interpret reality, but rather let Montag decide on his anarchic imagination based on his own desires. What motivates Faber to plant the seeds of Books is not political agenda in the absolute sense of Beatty but rather the freedom of individual expression per se.

The relationship between Faber and Montag appears as treason to the discourse of power, and this is especially true since Faber is not teaching anything other than telling details about the relationship between textuality and power. Moreover, Montag as a curious figure wants to learn the structure of the discourse, of speech-act, his curiosity is the driving force that subverts to break free from institutional registers that dictate his life. According to Foucault, "social institutions control the discourse to avoid the material reality in its overarching aim, while the realm of individual desire and institutions remain in the speech act resistance" (1981, p. 52). Montag's paranoia leads him to bring fundamental questions regarding textual production along his transformation and change in his way of seeing things, especially when Faber tells him about a paradigm shift that books saying in other words the "awareness" and self-consciousness that books teach someone rather than the books' themselves (Bradbury, 2003, p. 82). What the books say is the discourse of power that has become increasingly the danger of manipulation through scholarly techniques, this is historically correct for the time of Cold War. Furthermore, Richard Hofstadter has commented on the intense

detailed works of politicians during the Cold War that resemble heavy scholarly techniques that does not leave gaps nor infallibilities for instance Senator McCarthy himself wrote pamphlets with more than three hundred footnotes (1996, p. 37). Eventually after meeting Clarisse and Faber also the woman who prefers to burn with her books, Montag reconsiders his beliefs. He starts to have questions and feel paranoid and suspicious about the whole information he and everyone else have about their history. Montag goes through an individual transformation, from an obedient person who obeys the authorities without thinking to someone who is rejecting the institutional authority that attempts to control lives. He starts to ask questions; Montag is willing to learn the lost history of the state. Faber gives three key ideas to Montag's curiosity not to break free from the discourse but realize what is missing from the totalitarian regimes that Libertarian Governments have it.

Faber gives three reasons why books are different in terms of quality of information, leisure to digest it and "the right to carry out actions based on what we learn from the inter-action of the first two" (2003, p. 84). Faber's reasons are also motivations for freedom of expression as a form of activism. Firstly, he refers to books as having a quality, and then he produces a web of textual dictionary references to the same word, such as texture, by which he means pores. He further explains that quality means literary. In other words, Faber continues tilling a long story with textual references all the way through etymologies to Greek mythological figures to demonstrate the western discourse that has diversity of textual differences that systematically can function to operate a liberal state. Secondly, Faber points at the propaganda of the culture industry when he mentions the moderate pleasure of books in comparison to the excessive pleasure of the technology of consumer society that leads to self-destruction. This is a criticism of the lavish, shallow and violent American lifestyle as propagated in TV and advertisement during the Cold War. Thirdly, the combination of moderate leisure and quality produces a resistance in a fair battle of reason with discussion that brings oscillates with uncertainty about its fruition rather than extreme totalitarian unreason that give certainty.

Faber is not remotely distant from the Cold War, but he exorcises the Cold War anxieties with books like a remedy since the danger of Cold War is not in the enemy

alone but also in the US state policy that increasingly mirrors dictatorship with all the conspiracy theories and rumors. However, the counterculture and liberationists of the 1950s protested against radical censorship and began the motion towards freedom. According to Alan Nadal, the magazines in 1950s began featuring figures like Jack Keroua, Alan Ginzberg, Gregory Corso and many other critics of the cold war counterculture (1995, p. 142). Montag's transformation from an official government employee turns to a counterculture hippie who listens to everyone regardless of their authorial positions and rejects obedience to hierarchical bodies of government. The story also follows this transformation of Montag from being like everyone else accepting tyranny of majority without being aware of it, to a self-conscious rebellion individual. especially after he speaks up against the visitors of the house who are immersed in culture industry and brainwashed with the screen's hectic imagery and advertising propaganda who consequently denounce him like spy citizens for speaking his mind regarding the taboos. The containment culture produced multitude of espionage out of social relations that depended on ordinary citizens to whom the pathos of poetry and drama posed a threat. Montag reads "Dover Beach" not exactly out of curiosity of resurrecting the past, but because the act per se demonstrates freedom of choice. In other words he is not the old Montag who used to burn blindly, as his transformation had been guesses "his mind would well over at last and he would not be Montag any more" (2003, p. 102) moreover, the storyteller continue to show his journey from an ignorant obedient member of the society to a self-conscious individual who tries to regain agency and freedom, "one day he would look back upon the fool and know the fool. Even now he could feel the start of the long journey, the leave-taking, the going away from the self he had been" (2003, p. 103). However this journey to freedom isn't easy and without consequences as Eller states that, "[t]his reading would become the pivotal point of no return for Montag, who will be betrayed by his own wife for giving voice to the forbidden words" (2015, p. 186).

Suspicious death of Clarisse remains interpreted as conspiracies of governmental secret operation. Bibliophiles like Faber and Montag remain anti-war activists and liberationists who planted the seed of thought to resist surveillance and disciplinary forces. One of the events of the novel illustrates typical American drama, the detective

story of hunting the criminal, the madman, or the traitor who has stood against common sense of the American Law and Order. The American common sense is not in how reasonable it is, but rather how well they justify it. Moreover, this is the case of fabricating the innocent citizen captured through high-technological advancements that American Citizens take for granted as the means and ends of justice. Gottlieb states that Bradbury, "draws attention to the power of the media not only to lie but also to fake events as a means of state propaganda" (2001, p. 90). Montag transforms from someone who enjoys his job as a fireman who burns books and says, "it was pleasure to burn" (Bradbury, 2003, p. 3) to a rebellious individual who asks questions and look for answers. Montag is the figure that fights against undemocratic state and looks for awareness. Pundir states that, "Montag draws immense pleasure from burning the inner walls of his house which were TV screens propagating state agenda" (2017, p. 178). It's possible to consider that Montag's journey officially starts from meeting Clarisse and Faber, moreover it continues when he meets the people outside of the city. Each one of them became an oral book, by memorizing the books in order to keep hold into the history and knowledge that exists in the books. Montag becomes part of these people who counts as rebellion against a society that leads the people to be ignorant and work against freedom and individuality. This journey to freedom starts by Montag's rejection of being a part of any institution, finally the discourse of speech is not under institution's suppression, moreover, this is when the paranoia of being watched and controlled, fighting against dictatorship ends, agency is regained when people are free to think, ask questions and talk.

# IV. THE CARCERIAL APPARATUS IN SPARK'S *THE PRIME OF MISS JEAN BRODIE*

The Cold War espionage fantasies were not restricted to Americans, but they traversed beyond a transatlantic horizon including Britain and Europe. Similar fears of losing sovereignty that shaped imagination in the United States also haunted people of British culture that had already led to similar policy makings against the freedom of cultural expression. This Anglo-American coalition was responding to larger threats on the European Continent, and at the same time they vibrated similar cultural anxieties. The cultural influence of Bevin's policies in Britain against Soviet ideology was not dissimilar to the Truman doctrine and McCarthyism. The scope of surveillance during the Cold War period in Britain is unimaginable and remains hidden since still national security depends on these archives. In 1997, it was revealed that Britain national security had case file information on two million citizens and this was only a fraction of the image of how surveillance worked in Britain (Smith, 2013, p. ix). Moreover, among the consequences of surveillance, authorship becomes the most dangerous function that modifies and circulates power of the political discourse through storytelling. British government relied on authors who maintained the anti-communist discourse through textual practices. Authors in the Cold War come across the critical task of making not only personal judgments through texts but rather making up juridical judgments. According to Lyndsey Stonebridge, the question of what kind of juridical imagination can rekindle the trauma of past at present for Muriel Spark is lying within the power of fiction-making itself (2012, p. 102).

Muriel Spark's *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (1961) is a self-conscious and paranoid narrative aware of its art of surveillance. Lopez discusses how Muriel Spark uses techniques similar to those in WWII black propaganda to create believable fiction in her novels by incorporating elements such as "deployment of verifiable facts, evidence, precise information, appropriate tone, narrative coherence, targeting, covert

motives, chronological disruption, and repetition to construct the key elements of fiction in her novels" (2020, p. 971). She contends that these literary techniques serve as a political and ethical countermeasure against authoritarian thought by depicting reality as inherently subject to change and, as a result, open to outside challenges and democratic discussion. In the novel, Spark makes unreliable voices, as Sandy Stranger, who rewrites Miss Brodie's biography, seem like a black propagandist who fabricates Brodie's story; as David Lodge argues "the key here is the character Sandy Stranger, Shrewdest, the most complex and the most interesting of Brodie, who is also the principal point of view character in the novel. Not only do we see most of the action from her eyes, but many of the authorial comments are in effect comment on Sandy and her perception" (1971, p. 127).

Moreover, Spark shapes Miss Jean Brodie as a protagonist and a likable character seemingly supporting fascism. However, her words and actions do more damage to, instead of supporting, fascism. In other words, what separates white propaganda from black propaganda is that white propaganda directly attacks to promote an ideology (Richards , 2010, p. 3). However, black propaganda style looks as if it is supporting an ideology but in reality it is a critique of that ideology, hence the outcome is more damage and criticism to the ideology. Similarly, Miss Jean Brodie functions as a black propagandist. Muriel Spark, once a black propagandist for the PWE, recognized the perils posed by the restrictive nature of the Cold War. In response to the use of black propaganda by the United States and the UK, she identified methods to counteract authoritarian regimes. Spark observed the absence of democracy and the curtailment of freedoms in the Soviet Union, the UK, and the USA. Consequently, she incorporated into her fiction the same tactics she employed as a black propagandist in her writing for the PWE as exemplified and articulated through Miss Jean Brodie.

Literary scholars, namely Victoria Stewart, Adam Piette, and Marina Mackay, have accommodated more robust research and analysis of how Spark's participation in black propaganda shaped the representation of themes in her literary works, including treason, secrecy, and misinformation. According to Mackay, Spark's interest in treason is intractably real-world and historically traceable to her Political Warfare Executive (PWE) work and concern with 'the illicit acquisition and deployment of information is a

critical theme in her early writing and She states that, "for Spark, treason is always associated with forms of political and social creativity" (2008, p. 507). Mackay convincingly contends that Spark's fiction-making represents political treachery inherently as both resist "consensual and monolithic understandings of what constitutes the real" citing Spark's work with PWE as the source of her skepticism toward unconditional national loyalties and analyzing how much skepticism is deployed particularly in *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (MacKay, 2008, p. 520). PWE agents were assigned to make credible narration able to engage people's willingness to believe in harming German morale. Therefore, the incorporation and use of facts that could be verified were critical to their propaganda work. They frequently found it hard to find reliable and up-to-date intelligence at the start of the war, having to rely on the press and radio to craft their civilian-focused black propaganda (Cruickshank, 1977, pp. 60-61). Sefton Delmer was a British propagandist and journalist during the Second World War. His intelligence cooperation with the Admiralty, which Spark worked for, possession of a Hell-Schreiber receiving set recklessly left behind by the Deutsches Nachrichtenbu ro (DNB, German News Agency) London correspondent, and questioning of prisoners of war all significantly improved the flow and quality of information (Delmer, 1962, pp. 73-90). Propagandists understood that access to the German state of mind and the most recent news items from Germany was an essential requirement if they were to succeed at all. In other words, during the second world war black propaganda policy was used against Germans, yet this policy and practice continued during the Cold War era.

Much of the background of Muriel Spark is mystified or unreliable to the extent that her biographer, despite her vocation as a journalist, says "her reputation was that of recluse: a mysterious figure whose biographical file was anorexic" (Stannard, 2010, p. xv). Moreover, there is an uncertainty about Muriel Spark's reclusive nature that she kept vague and uncertain from the public. According to Stannard "[a]ll could she offer was the authenticity of the fact while simultaneously hinting that, "reality for her lay elsewhere, somehow connected to these data but in a fashion about which she considered it inappropriate to speculate in non-fiction, when she did wish to speculate the only legitimate field for this was her fiction" (2010, p. xviii). According to Aryan, Muriel Spark had been concerned with two major issues of authorship and women

liberation during the Cold War, along with Sylvia Plath and Doris Lessing (2020, p. 112). In other words, Spark's novels were responses to the authoritarian forces that attempted to restrict individual agency through storytelling.

According to Marina Mackay, all the novels of Muriel Spark share one central theme of disloyalty that transcends the boundaries of moral comprehension and makes sense within socio-political history of her time (2008, p. 506). Moreover, this massive suspicion on behalf of Spark can be traced back to the social conditions of the Cold War distrust and her active years of journalism and the nature of her job for PWE which involved deliberate deception and misinformation as well as art of fabricating and maneuvering the public through narratives. Her boss, Delmer, emphasized the importance of accuracy in making propaganda, saying, "we must never lie by accident, or through slovenliness, only deliberately" (1962, p. 92). His team meticulously scoured German newspapers for the names and addresses of real people, compiling a 'file of personalities' that will provide the 'characters' to initialize its deceiving narratives (Delmer, 1962, p. 67). Correspondingly, Muriel Spark described how she prepared a list defining the characteristics of her characters to assist her in developing their personalities in her novels. Her fiction becomes the site of espionage self-conviction to how the discourse of power imprisoned the public like psychoanalytic personality interpreting the conspiracies around them due to loss of agency and rise of institutionalization. Spark's novel *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* echoes the paranoia of fabrication and deception of storytelling and at the same time it resonates critical views about how the social relations increasingly become a carceral apparatus for the discourse of power over madness.

## A. Rhetoric of Conspiracy and Propaganda

The *Prime of Miss Jean Brodies* is a multilayered voice story, beginning from children's univocal story of that is taken for granted and easily believed to uncertain and unverified mature multiple voices. It is about a teacher, Jean Brodie, who is dedicating her career to educate girl students at Marcia Blaine School in Edinburgh. She has both institutional and private relationship with them to take care of a group of six girls who stand out, known as "Brodie set," including Monica Douglas, Rose Stanley, Eunice Gardiner,

Sandy Stranger, Jenny Gray, Mary Macgregor. However, Miss Jean Brodie is forced to retire for accusation raised by her own students regarding her support and promotions of fascism. In the novel, Spark employs the same rhetoric of black propaganda of the Cold War and the anxiety of storytelling. Drawing on the experience from the autobiography and archives of Muriel Spark, Beatriz Lopez argues that "Spark constructs plausibility with the methods of WWII black propaganda in order to test the boundaries between reality and fiction" (2020, p. 986). The novel resembles the rhetoric of the post-war animosity that continues to haunt people with invisible eyes rather than visible enemies. Employment of Cold War rhetoric follows the question of how the narrative is nested to show the unreliability of the story to bring about provisional interpretations.

Spark deliberately plays with the narrative and produces unreliable labyrinthine plots and stories within stories. Furthermore, Lopez notes that early critics were more concerned with the ontological dimension of Spark's writing, which was often framed as Catholic satire rather than its historical and political perspectives (2020, p. 970). In the 1990s, Ian Rankin claims that Spark's intelligence job proved crucial to her career as a writer, because her novels employ "forgeries and fakes" and depict their mythmakers as "images of the novelist" (1993, pp. 45-6). However, not much concentration was paid to the effects of such elements in her fiction. The unreliability of the story remains within a network of voices of interpretation that subverts the order of the univocity of the totalitarian discourse that emerged from her early engagement in Cold War rhetoric. Moreover, the novel offers two accounts, one by Jean Brodie and the other by Sandy Stranger who is re-writing those stories again and again. In other words, most parts of the novel are narrated by Sandy about Brodie although everything sandy is narrating is through her interpretations and possibly fabrications too. This method for reading the novel was the discovery of David Lodge's close reading that the book is open to endless interpretation. Lodge gives an example of approving or disapproving Brodie, and the answer is to both accept and disapprove her or to do none of them (1971, p. 127). In other words, the book remains either to be read as a story of Jean Brodie who seems to support fascism to discredit the ideology and she is betrayed by her students or a paranoid author Sandy Stranger who is fabricating stories about Brodie. This paranoid

and deceiving style of fiction resembles the rhetoric of the Cold War and its propaganda of fabricating stories.

Spark had written stories during her involvement in PWE from 1944-1945 as a propagandist. According to Lopez "she took the details of the bombing, and the number of planes that had gone out and those (not always all) that had returned and passed them on to black propaganda boss Sefton Delmer" (2020, pp. 969-970). Moreover, this profession as a propagandist for Spark was internalized, became a lifestyle and was expressed in her writings. This propagandist writing style was incorporated into this imaginative work that made it appear suspicious as conspiracy theories. *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* does not have a stable point of view. Nor does it have coherence since it is a narrative of conspiracy devoid of certainty about the interpretations. The conspiracy theory begins with the question of narration that disappears eventually in *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*. According to Lodge, Spark utilizes "the privilege of authorial omniscience to give away in advance the surprises and the reversal of her plots and admit into the later a degree of what by normal aesthetic criteria looks like calculated irrelevance" (1971, p. 123). In other words, there is a chronological disruption in the narrative to confuse the reader deliberately. This is especially accurate when the narrative becomes a series of voices while nothing is resolved at the end, and the reader remains disoriented about the truth and reality of the story, in other words to understand this paranoid fiction and be able to decide if miss Brodie is a fascist selfish teacher or accept Sandy as a black propagandist writer who fabricates her story based on reality. *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*'s multiple maze-like story techniques about conspiracy plots remains a self-reflective fiction about plotting itself which had been the argument of Barry Lewis that "postmodernist writers proliferated plot, as if to prove through zealous mastery that they were free of the straitjackets of control by outside forces" (2011, p. 177).

*The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* is about plots, which Lewis associates with postmodern novels with plots with several meanings of a small location, a conspiracy scheme and a plan of literary work (2011, p. 176). To be specific the plot is the art of deceptive rhetoric of the Cold War surveillance between Sandy Stranger and Miss Jean Brodie. This is widely associated with detective stories that there is a crime to be

investigated while in this novel the crime is questioned itself. For Marina Mackay, the novel investigates an ontological question, and the question of treason is no longer a moral question but a socio-historical one that surpasses ethical dimension to the political context of Spark herself (2008, p. 507). The verbal struggle between the characters shapes the way they are identified rather than having permanent identities that Brodie the teacher is not committing any act of treason in any obvious sense, nor this is the case of any of the Brodie Sets, but they assess each other suspiciously based on how they narrate the events and fabricate fiction with the influence of political context. Thus, the novel is a warning about how dangerous interpretation is and at the same time how propaganda works in rhetoric of romanticizing stories.

In the beginning, Miss Brodie tells a story to the students about her ideal romance with Hugh who dies in the war. Spark exposes the fictionality of the stories by disrupting the chronology of the narrative especially her account of Hugh. Moreover, the story is disrupted by two other accounts, that of Mary McGregor and Rose Stanley. Rose becomes famous for sex and Mary dies at 23 in a hotel, these disruptions keep going during the novel and it causes the reader to be interrupted from the story. David Lodge contends the following passage about two main characters Jenney and Sandy in the novel is a deliberate disruption of the reader since subsequently the narrator does not return to this episode and therefore it is a hidden possibility in all things left to the reader reflecting on it rather than a theme of sexual discovery:

> I feel I'm past it," said Jenny. This was strangely true, and she did not again experience her early sense of erotic wonder in life until suddenly one day when she was nearly forty, an actress of moderate reputation married to a theatrical manager. It happened she was standing with a man whom she did not know very well outside a famous building in Rome, waiting for the rain to stop. She was surprised by a reawakening of that same buoyant and airy discovery of sex, a total sensation which it was impossible to say was physical or mental, only that it contained the lost and guileless delight of her eleventh year. (Spark, 1984, p. 85)

Lopez draws upon Spark's interrupted narrative and she states, "to convert motives, Spark's disruption of normal chronology through flashbacks and flash-forwards contributes to the disorienting nature of her writing. Mirroring black propaganda storytelling" (2020, p. 978). In other words, Spark is using the technique of black propaganda in her novel and for the same reason she uses flashback and flash forwards as example in the beginning of the novel the reader is informed that Brodie had been betrayed which is explained later on in the novel with its reasons for the betrayal. However, Lodge concentrates on two interrelated comments on the novel that the omniscient voice that guides the narrative keeps going back and forth in time and "it is a mistake to look for one single, simple meaning in this book" (1971, p. 127). What Lodge refers to is the shape-shifting point of view in the novel since there is not a single narrative that readers could trust but the multiplicity of voices. Moreover, the story evolves into complicated details of Brodie and Hugh's romantic story which remain unresolved. The story of Hugh is believed in the first part within the school as it is told by Jean Brodie that Hugh dies. However, Sandy and Jenny rewrite the story differently that Hugh never died in the war and a telegram was received which shows he is alive (Spark, 1984, p. 24). A third account is also available as Sandy reaches a totally different conclusion that it is a metaphorical code used by Brodie to his secret another co-working teacher who seems to have an affair with her. On one occasion Monica Douglas mentions that she saw Miss Brodie and the art teacher Mr. Lloyd kissing. Sandy investigates her to observe every single detail of the situation as "when? Where?" how … did they kiss, as Spark narrates that Sandy started "the role of cross-examiner" (Spark, 1984, pp. 52-53). Also, as the narrator in many conversations, Sandy tells the reader that Mr. Lloyd is portraying the girls as Sandy and Rose but all of his portraits look like Miss Brodie, as she states, "the portrait was very like Miss Brodie" (Spark, 1984, p. 105). Consequently, the narrative at these interpretations ends with parallel and possible meanings about Brodie and leaves the reader baffled, questioning what the signifier of Hugh in the book is which is a postmodern technique to reject singular meaning in position and oppose propaganda. According to Aryan, parallel ending gives simultaneous existence of the possibilities equally (2020, p. 146).

The narrative arouses suspicion as to the authenticity of each account and consequently suspends the judgment through manipulating the omniscient voice of the narrator and turning it into a paranoid voice in order not to give one solid interpretation and deviate from the story and proliferate interpretations. Moreover, this paranoia splits itself into multiplicity everywhere resembling the Cold War surveillance. According to Aryan, such experimentation of paranoia is the anxiety of how life under the Cold War condition of suspicion is that anyone can be a spy of Communist Soviet (2020, p. 153). At one point, the novel's character accusations create a free-floating paranoia in the narrative between students, friends, and co-workers; especially the school principal is trying to find something to accuse Brodie to resign. As Miss Brodie tells her set, "I have to consult you about a new plot which is afoot to force me to resign" (Spark, 1984, p. 5).This very accusation of treason is the rhetoric of the Cold War for invisible enemies intermingled within the social relations to confuse interpretations and justify them. Moreover, there is no certainty about the validity of the accusations since they are all based on subjective conjectures of the fragmented narration. In other words, the tone, style, and writing techniques are the Cold War rhetoric manipulated and fictionalized to persuade the reader about treason.

The narrator implants the idea of treason like an internal incoherence between the group of girls and their teacher herself that "they had no team spirit and very little in common with each other outside their continuing friendship with Jean Brodie. She still taught in the junior department. She was held in great suspicion" (Spark, 1984, p. 2).This voice of the omniscient narrator triggers suspicion in the reader about the story of Brodie without mentioning any definite crime or cause of the suspicion. This fragmented suspicion runs along the vagueness of Brodie identifying herself with as someone in her prime. The word prime is a signifier that does not lead to any clear meaning, but it only contributes to invoking the existence of a decentralized text. In the middle of the narrative, the pursuit of the signifier is exposed to have an ontological question when Eunice Gardiner within a chronological shift talks to her husband, telling him about the death of Brodie who taught them about prime, her husband asks "prime what?" and Eunice answers "her prime of life" (Spark, 1984, p. 26).

Brodie tells stories and others listen carefully and reach different conclusions or add more or less to it. Moreover, the students register the private life of Jean Brodie. Brodie is aware of the investigation that she is resisting resignation unless she is assassinated like Julius Caesar (Spark, 1984, p. 6). At one point, Mary McGregor spies on Brodie and concludes that teachers are having sexual affair. Later on, this evolves to erotic relationships between teachers and students. Furthermore, these stories are complicated by the endings when nothing can be verified between accusations of Jean Brodie and Sandy stranger whom the narrator deceives the reader not clarifying the accusations but giving their dubious words and keeping their words against each other. Brodie is guilty of a vague treason however; this is negated when one realizes it is Sandy Stranger who intrudes into the biography of Miss Brodie. Similar to the rhetoric of the Red Scare, in the novel everyone is paranoid, fanaticizing and fabricating stories, assumes ominous danger from others and plots against each other as in the case of Sandy and Brodie, as example Brodie thinks that sandy can be a great spy, moreover Sandy believes that Brodie is a dangerous woman who betrayed her students for years. And she talks about her with the headmistress as "She's a born fascist" (Spark, 1984, p. 134). However, Miss Jean brodie is doing more damage to fascism ideology than supporting it by her actions.

The end of the book brings the shock of uncertainty to the reader when it reveals an alternative version of truth quite contrary to the one offered at the beginning of the book. Sandy is registering the private lives of others and suspecting that it is not sex she is looking for but politics. Moreover, Sandy fabricates the fascistic nature of Brodie and says "I'm not really interested in world affairs…only in putting a stop to Miss Brodie" (Spark, 1984, p. 134). Other accusations such as Brodie's sexual affair or other student's affair are classified under her interpretation since these accusations are not a part of Brodie's resignation but only small talks in the form of libel which takes a political appearance of fascism. The rest of the students' stories include motivating Joyce Emily to go to war in Spain and fight for fascists, or Mary McGregor who dies on her way to the war. These stories are all encompassed and contained within how Sandy manipulates the story and rewrites it. Her final shocking comment that she becomes famous cast a doubt on the whole story when she is an author of a psychology book with the name of

"The Transfiguration of the Commonplace" (Spark, 1984, p. 136). The elevation of libel from ordinary communication to espionage activities is the nature of Cold War rhetoric that everyone is under surveillance and this cannot be verified which ultimately points at the systematic organization of power of the discourse. The agency of the ultimate voice of the omniscient narrator gives freedom for interpretation, but at the same time it shows the danger of storytelling in social control of the bodies

## B. Docile Bodies of Marcia Blaine School

The narrative is scattered around the Cold War rhetoric of suspicion and plays discursively with the uncertain possibilities of interpretations. However, the one possible idea that the fantasy that Spark hinges upon is the disciplinary force in educational institutions that regulates the power of the discourse which is the authorship of Sandy. Moreover, Lodge argues that beyond the detailed uncertainty of the suspicions, the novel is about "education" and "religion" (1971, p. 127). The narrative is about how social relations have been transformed into institutions functioning over individual bodies of students, teachers, and principals of schools under the institution of authorship or Sandy who resembles a psychoanalyst. This imagery of institution is not unfamiliar to the previous discussion of the suspicion of the Cold War rhetoric but rather it is a complementary that adds up to the rudiment of how the discourse of power leads towards creating docile bodies of schoolchildren and civilians through authoritative institutions which dominate them through the power of storytelling.

The narrator describes Marcia Blaine School metaphorically as a penitentiary system for juvenile delinquents. As the novel reads, Emily Joyce "had been sent to Blaine School as a last hope, having been obliged to withdraw from a range of expensive schools north and south of the border, because of her alleged delinquency which so far had not been revealed" (Spark, 1984, p. 124). The description of Marcia Blaine deliberately conveys the image of a prison where docile bodies are shaped with mild correction mechanisms by educationalists and psychiatrists. In *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie,* the two figures of the novel, Sandy, who symbolizes psychology author, and Jean Brodie, the teacher figure, are critiquing the danger of docile bodies inside education institutions. Sandy believes that her teacher Brodie, doesn't give the students

freedom to think or decide, however, she seems to give them freedom but in her own fascist way. Moreover, Brodie believes that the school system and lectures doesn't expand the student's minds or teach them new things. She is criticizing the school system for making only docile bodies.

To Foucault, school is where the carceral system functioning to regulate bodies was historically progressed and "made the educational space function like a learning machine, but also as a machine for supervising, hierarchizing, rewarding" (1995, p. 147). The initial tension that arises from the novel is on the idea of pedagogy of the method and material for educating young girls from junior to senior school education. The idea of how to educate girls is questioned, satirized and problematized as the narrator emphasizes it as the central issue of Marcia Blaine school that "they had been immediately recognizable as Miss Brodie's pupils, being vastly informed on a lot of subjects irrelevant to the authorized curriculum, as the headmistress said, and useless to the school as a school" (Spark, 1984, pp. 1-2). The question invoked in the previous line highlights the issue of school as a state apparatus and a means of correction and performing mastery of power on individuals under the danger of transgression. As Sandy criticizes Miss Brodie's teaching, "She's not supposed to give us freedom, she's supposed to give us lessons" (Spark, 1984, p. 24). At the same time, Brodie appears as a fanatic of a specific ideology, suppressing students' freedom and teaching fascism in two instances. Firstly, she chides Mary McGregor and suppresses her freedom, when she reads comics, she doesn't let her to read what interests her moreover she prevents her from reading it as its shown in the novel, "Miss Brodie looked at the colored sheets, 'tiger Tim's forsooth', she said, and threw it into the waste-paper basket" (Spark, 1984, p. 8). Paulo Freire believes "the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing" is a condition that "mirror oppressive society as a whole" (2005, p. 73). Miss Brodie is trying to make her students "la crème de la crème" in her words as the best of the bests, by teaching them irrelevant information to the education system for example telling her love stories and travels instead of teaching, and seemingly giving them freedom to think and see. However, Miss Brodie ends up making a copy of herself from the students and dominating her personal beliefs. She decides what is right or wrong subjectively. As she once asks the students "who is the greatest Italian painter?" one of her students answers

it is "Leonardo Da Vinci Miss Brodie" and in response Miss Brodie, indicating her stubborn fascism, answers "that's incorrect. The answer is Giotto, he is my favorite" (Spark, 1984, p. 8). Secondly, the narrator shows Brodie teaching fascist ideology that "these girls were discovered to have heard of the Buchmanites and Mussolini, the Italian Renaissance painters, the advantages to the skin of cleansing cream and witch-hazel over honest soap and water, and the word menarche" (Spark, 1984, p. 2). However, Miss Brodie is shown as a likeable character who support fascism but instead she is a critic to the ideology. Freire states, "the teacher cannot think for her students, nor can she impose her thoughts on them" (2005, p. 77). When the students are asked to choose modern or classical education most prefer modern because Miss Brodie prefers it. In addition, Miss Brodie tells them "you must make your *free* choice" (Spark, 1984, p. 64). However, Sandy as the narrator tries to show the influence and power of Miss Brodie on the girls mind, actions and way of thinking. Moreover, Miss Brodie is criticized by Spark as representative of a totalitarian system and institute the way the UK used propaganda to vilify communists and fascists alike. According to Foucault, the institutional apparatus that functions as a means of correction, "instead of bending all its subjects into a single uniform mass, it separates, analyses, differentiates, carries its procedures of decomposition to the point of necessary and sufficient single units" (1995, p. 170). In other words, school as a disciplinary apparatus does not leave out, nor outcast anyone but it keeps them under surveillance of permanent registration of the state apparatus to produce young obedient docile bodies of civilians strictly objectified to the insurance of the authority.

The prominent figure that gained political power in the context of the Cold War to perform the hypnotism of coercing the bodies is the author of psycho-analytic interpretation, whom Sandy represents. There is a strong relationship between the anti-psychiatry movement and the novel in the context of the Cold War that highlights the central character of the social control by the psychiatrist Sandy. The anti-psychiatry movement of the 1960s in Europe and the United States rejects practices of traditional psychiatry during the Cold War. According to Mervat Nasser, "the beginnings of the movement can be traced back to the writings of Jacques Lacan who was probably the first to glorify madness and regard it as the road to freedom" (1995, p. 743). There are

many figures that attacked the validity of psychiatry during the Cold War period. However, according to Nasser, it is Lacan who first launched an attack on psychiatry citing political implication. As he puts it, "madness is not an insult to liberty but follows liberty like its shadow" (1995, p. 743). Moreover, other prominent figures who questioned the legitimacy of psychiatry in the 1960s are Michel Foucault, R. D. Laing and Thomas Szasz. The Scottish psychiatrist, R. D. Laing was one of the most influential pioneers of the movement in England with his book *The Divided Self and Politics of Experience* in the 1960s doubted the pathological symptoms and their confusion with ontological experience. According to Nasser, Laing "regarded madness as a product of a struggle between the repressive society and the individual who is seeking to escape its repression" (1995, p. 744). In other words, the anti-psychiatry movement exposed the element of social control in what the practice of psychiatry had formulated as a response to political dissent. For Foucault, this practice of psychiatry was a part of the examination mechanism of the discourse from prison house to school pedagogy that had developed with the surveillance and discipline methods, since the mad was not listened to nor considered till the psychoanalyst recorded his speech and examined it (1981, p. 53). The novel presents the possibility of Miss Brodie as a mad teacher who is being under constant examination by Sandy, the psychoanalyst practicing social control through recording, and listening to her and finally justifying her resignation as a danger to society through re-writing her biography. It appears to be Sandy confuses ordinary experience of a human with mental issues of a teacher for political reasons and rather than considering a politically different individual she concludes a mad individual.

Miss Brodie appears to put experienced heads on the girls' shoulders when she romanticizes the idea of storytelling to young girls while what she does is repeating the same sentence many times during the novel, "give me a girl at an impressionable age, and she is mine for life" (Spark, 1984, p. 6). The tension is about who educates them or who repeats the compulsion to condition the children from an early age to mold them. Brodie stresses the hierarchy within the school that headmistress, Miss Mackay, is the liaison between school system and the state apparatus especially when Brodie gives irrelevant material to the children. Moreover, Brodie is not very fond of the curriculum;

nor does she want the girls to adhere to the orthodoxy of the school but to lavishly enjoy the time having fun with fascistic culture she glamorized for them through innocent romance. She is contrasted in both curriculum and method to the other teachers, while they are not paying attention to her methods. She finds a way to subvert the educational system within the education itself. She is in a rivalry with other teachers and compares her position often with resentment while the structure of the school hierarchy is already familiar that she is working under the commandments of the principal. The disagreement of curriculum priority to Miss Brodie has deep roots in the counterculture of experimental science, specifically scientism when she tells the students "art is greater than science. Art comes first, and then science" (Spark, 1984, p. 24). The evident suspicion of the sciences at this point is not rejection of science but to scrutinize and pay attention to how the humanities is laying the foundation of the building blocks of history rather than ignoring it for blind and inhumane experiments that could lead to detrimental consequences. Brodie has prioritized the subjects to the school pedagogy when she says "art and religion first; then philosophy; lastly science. That is the order of the great subjects of life, that's their order of importance" (Spark, 1984, pp. 24-25). This is in sharp contrast to the war-like-pedagogy that attracts Sandy in the science classes of Miss Lockhart, of which later on influences her considering psychology scientific facts and ignore individual experience of freedom.

The contrast between art and science in the novel point to the fear and paranoia of the Cold War science experiments and catholic background of European nationalism, Miss Brodie believes that science is dangerous, and this occurs to Sandy who subsequently follows the scientific justification for psychiatry in experimenting on biographical interpretations. At one point when Sandy goes into the class of science, she hears Miss Lockhart's words "I have enough gunpowder in this jar to blow up this school" (Spark, 1984, p. 79). The recurrence of the situation of science and religion is pervasive in the novel in contrast to Brodie's skepticism on the scientific rigor, Sandy as the narrator sanctify the science teacher "she established a mysterious priesthood" (Spark, 1984, p. 79), indicating scientism of Lockhart as fanatic of bomb-powder in catholic religion which attracts Sandy as a fanatic of science and religion. Moreover, Mackay stresses the importance of Spark's catholic background while she associates the

science and art class rivalry between Brodie and Lockhart with the conspiracy of English Catholics in 1605 called Gunpowder Plot by Guy Fakes, and Mr. Lockhart chooses Lockhart who can make the Gunpowder like transforming to Catholicism (2008, pp. 518-519). Moreover, transformation of Sandy to Sister Helena also hinges upon the background shifts to Catholicism that emphasizes the religious background of Spark of which McKay formulates her conception of treason that "catholicism is treason in the more literal sense that to become a Catholic in this novel is to embrace what the novel explicitly presents as foreign and alien" (2008, p. 519). This is set in contrast to Brodie's curricula and method of teaching that astounds her with different results of which she considers treason. The sense of treason to Brodie is specifically bound to anyone who become catholic since her Brodie Set are familiar with sciences and suspicious of religion and this capsizes when she learns about Sandy's transformation to Catholicism:

> A few weeks before she died, when, sitting up in bed in the nursing home, she learnt from Monica Douglas that Sandy had gone to a convent, she said: "What a waste. That is not the sort of dedication I meant. Do you think she has done this to annoy me? I begin to wonder if it was not Sandy who betrayed me. (Spark, 1984, p. 66)

Treason appears as a satire of how social relations are transforming into war of culture and gossip. However, the story is a warning of such innocent implications and naive romance of telling stories. Brodie is an attractive figure who seduces people with her methods. As Mackay argues, she "represents the attractive side of internationalism, a cosmopolitan freedom from narrow-minded nationalisms, but in another she evokes the more sinister transnational ideologies of old (Roman) and new (Fascist) imperialism" (2008, pp. 519-520). However, the complexity of the novel is not simply going away with the surface of the story since the omniscient point of view hinders certainties and the focal point does not simply give one intentional meaning.

The shift of meaning through the novel has already been discussed in the rhetoric of the Cold War that it is a postmodern novel with multiple meanings and Lodge indicates that this complexity is traced back to Sandy Stranger. According to Lodge, "the key here is the character Sandy Stranger, Shrewdest, the most complex and the most interesting of Brodie, who is also the principal point of view character in the novel. Not

Only do we see most of the action from her eyes, but many of the authorial comments are in effect comment on Sandy and her perception" (1971, p. 127). Lodge contends the uselessness of forming judgments about character since they are all illusory fabrications of Sandy's gaze and her interpretations. Moreover, Sandy Stranger performs the mastery of interpretations by examining and refining stories about Marcia Blaine School. Although this psychiatric profession is not mentioned in the novel explicitly, there are two major indications for Sandy as a psychoanalyst to make the narratives unreliable. Firstly, she reads the novel of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Kidnapped,* and not only talks to fictitious characters but also integrates her life through interpreting it especially with "Alain Breck" a character of Stevenson's novel (Spark, 1984, p. 37). Secondly, there is a reference to her interpretations that involves moral judgment on behavior analysis when her treatise is mentioned that "the higher journalist ladies and the academics who wanted to question her about her odd psychological treatise on the nature of moral perception" (Spark, 1984, p. 35). This is a satire on psychiatry institutions and their presumably connections with politics in the name of science by confusing moral and science together. According to Aryan "Anti-psychiatry was a key reference point of the countercultural critique of institutionalization, instrumentalisation and scientism" (2020, p. 94). This rejection of institutionalization in Britain in 1950s and 1960s was the rejection of making a concentration campus through psychiatry. According to Oisín Wall, "the Wilson government was looking for excuses to treat British hippies as the 'new Jews' in an obvious reference to the Nuremburg Laws; and the British education system was accused of providing an incomplete education and so risked producing a generation of 'Nazi scientists" (2018, p. 135). In other words, Sandy Stranger is a satire of the Cold War institutionalization and oppression against individuality and freedom of expression.

Sandy and Brodie are parodies of the school apparatus. They represent the absurdities of the government's efforts to social control through institutionalizing the social relations. The student-teacher relation is concretized in the schools with specific orientation that leads to suspicion and hostility among themselves. Although Brodie appears to be the most important figure in the novel, it is Sandy who operates like an observer, conceives everything and puts pieces and parts together to form a coherent

narrative about Marcia Blaine and Brodie to uncover secrets and conspiracies. Sandy takes both the traditional role of a detective and at the same time a psychoanalyst. Lodge says "half-way through her novel, Muriel Spark throws the element of suspense. The interest of the reader shifts from whodunit to how did she do it" (1971, p. 129). The second part of how Brodie does it is when Sandy gains control over narration. Moreover, Sandy begins to make amendments, highlight unmentioned parts as well as making up other details about the novel such as the ending of the novel when the narrator tells a conversation about the time when Sandy was sixteen and Brodie told her "Sandy will make an excellent Secret Service agent, a great spy" (Spark, 1984, pp. 116-117). This is deliberately mentioned at the end of the novel to highlight that Sandy takes the roles of author, spy and propagandist like an omniscient eye and omnipotent author who is functioning like a dangerous institution that should not be relied upon.

The novel gradually unfolds suspicion from itself, and the figures and identities change beyond the second half of the novel. The name of Sandy Stranger changes into Sister Helen that indicates a shift to a different identity and Jean Brodie from a naïve teacher into a definite fascist whose aim was to brainwash students. Sandy's treatise at the end gives a self-conscious illumination which is titled "Transfiguring of the Commonplaces," in which Sandy responds to the question of inspiration and ironically, she responds that it was "Miss Jean Brodie in her prime" (Spark, 1984, p. 137). This late irony casts a doubt on every detail of the novel because she has control over the narration, and she hints at the title of the book itself. As an author of a mixture of moral and psychological treatise, her duty is not to diagnose a disease, but to form a verdict to the legal system based on the potential dangers and political assessment of personal biography. This biographical examination, according to Foucault, "establishes the 'criminal' as existing before the crime and even outside it. And, for this reason, a psychological causality, duplicating the juridical attribution of responsibility, confuses its effects" (1995, p. 252). Sandy's evidence for the danger of Brodie consists of fragments of information loosely connected to the events to give coherence to her judgments on social control in the position of Brodie and Sandy herself.

Miss Brodie of what Sandy is accusing is not a specific treason, but there are several suspicions following her position as an irresponsible and dangerous

educationalist. According to Lodge, Decisive evidence for Sandy is that "Miss Brodie is irresponsible, egotism is out of hand and must be prevented from further damage" (1971, p. 134). Firstly, Sandy uses Brodie's fascination with European fascism as an initial entry to her suspicion. Secondly, she connects the death of student Joyce Emily to go to Spain to war for Franco due to Miss Brodie's effects on her. Then, what Lodge connects the problem of Sandy who in retrospect formulates the accusation when she becomes Sister Helena and she assesses the danger of Brodie based on her non-Catholic Roman and secular preferences (1971, p. 142). Finally, Sandy justifies betraying Brodie after leading her to resignation with a self-reflexive sentence indicating the danger of both Brodie and herself as well when she says, "if you did not betray us, it is impossible that you could have been betrayed by us" (Spark, 1984, pp. 135-136). Sandy believes it doesn't matter that she betrayed Miss Brodie because, Miss Brodie had been betraying the students for years by not teaching them anything that she should be teaching, moreover she pretended to be giving them freedom and choices to think but she took away their freedom and suppressed them with her strict ideas and believes. In other words, it's recognized that, the danger of education where everything is defined under the paranoid condition of a carceral system of surveillance.

Finally, the stories of suspicions of Marcia Blaine and its educational conspiracies get reduced to the solipsistic fantasy of one single author, Sandy. It is Sandy who records the private life of her teacher and her colleagues and eventually tells readers about the resignation of the Brodie figure. The most crucial moment in the novels unfolds in the last line when Sandy as an author is questioned by a journalist "what were the main influences of your school days, Sister Helena? Were they literary or political or personal?" and Sandy's answer is "Miss Jean Brodie" (Spark, 1984, p. 137). Spark on purpose shows the rivalry of Author-critic during the Cold War when mentions literary inspiration to be the source of her seemingly psychology book. According to Aryan, "authorship at this historic moment as in Foucault's author function exists in the context of the rivalry between the writer and the critic which culminated in the mid-twentieth century as a result of the institutionalization of literary studies in producing an ontological anxiety for the writer concerning identity and being" (2020, p. 162). In this instance, one reads the hallucination of Sandy, a character who is writing

about psychology at the same time mixing reality and fantasy together. In other words, *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* is a story that can serve as an example of the Cold War frame of mind, about an author who has written a book and suffers from anxiety of losing agency under surveillance of institutionalization. Muriel Spark's *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* is written in the Cold War era and is entangled with treason, the power of storytelling and being watched constantly, as Miss Jean Brodie is been watched by Sandy who represents a propagandist institution hence Miss Jean Brodie character is also embodies the propagandist more importantly black propaganda, because she is seemingly supporting fascist ideology and teaching her students about fascism however, she is not a good example and she doing more damage to fascism instead of supporting it in a likable way.

# V. CONCLUSION

This research examined Muriel Spark's *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* and Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451*, and their textual influence within the context of the generated anxieties and paranoia of the Cold War. It revealed how these novels tackle themes of democracy, freedom, and individual agency in the face of a culture dominated by paranoia. Additionally, it highlighted the historical backdrop which contributed to the suspension of democratic and civil liberties. Using Michel Foucault's discourse analysis, it examined the dynamic relationship between the novels and the literary production and distribution following World War II, viewing it as a battleground between individuals and institutions. The study also drew connections between censorship and the creation of literature during the period, highlighting how constant surveillance and propaganda led to an increase in dystopian storytelling. The study argued that the anxieties and struggles for freedom of expression depicted in these cultural works continue to hold relevance today. It also emphasized the significance of these novels as productions with political and social implications that actively advocated for freedom of expression and served as symbols of resistance against authoritarian censorship in both the United Kingdom and the United States.

In both novels, the characters grapple with the concept of freedom and democracy in an environment of constant state surveillance and suppression. They reflect the paranoia and fear that were commonplace during the Cold War era. The Cold War period, often considered to span from the 1940s to 1991, was a time of high tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States and a pervasive fear of nuclear annihilation. While the Cold War is officially over, its cultural and political effects continue to be studied and analyzed. The period is marked by proxy wars, espionage, diplomatic maneuvering, and propaganda campaigns, which are all also prevalent in the novels.

The Cold War was a global conflict that primarily took place in the realm of the imagination, fueled by the portrayal of events through television and media. While there were no direct military battles between the Soviet Union and the United States, the fighting was primarily in the form of political maneuvering that led to suspension of democracy and civil liberties. This resulted in people losing their jobs, being imprisoned, or accused as spies, censorship of books, and persecution of writers and actors. One example of this was the Hollywood blacklist, a group of screenwriters, directors, composers and actors and actresses who were banned entry to the industry. This practice denied individuals suspicious of communist ties or leftist sympathizers the ability to work in the Hollywood film industry in the late 1940s and 1950s. This blacklist was enforced through denials of employment, and it often did not require formal proof or evidence; an accusation or non-compliance with FBI investigation was enough to ruin the career of a filmmaker, writer, director, or actor.

During the Cold War, America's foreign and domestic policy, specifically under McCarthyism, created a domestic paranoid atmosphere. This was a period of heightened political repression, accusations of sabotage, treason, subversion, and even persecution of those who were allegedly left-wing or linked to communism and socialism. Many members lost their jobs, went to jail, or were harassed due to McCarthyism. Other cases involved people whose names were obtained on false mailing lists or those who happened to have the "wrong" friends. This flashed outrage and fed a broad assumption that McCarthyism was aimed at ordinary citizens. Since America could not overthrow the Soviet Union because it possessed nuclear weapons, they could evade the spread of communism. Therefore, the foreign policy of the United States became that of containing the spread of communism both on its soil and outside. These institutional procedures did shape the individual fantasies since the authors are always caught between obligations and prohibitions, and their texts had to go through surveillance of the mechanics of power to ensure the text did not pose a threat to the discourse; otherwise, it would be subject to exclusion and suppression rather than circulation and popularity. Authors were put under surveillance because of their writings. The textual production was under the censorship of the government's heavy scrutiny. The anxiety led to extreme distrust, censorship of authorship and fear of propaganda accusations.

The Cold War's textual production and stories explore how it would be to live under the threat and anxiety of restriction and prohibitions and the fear of being constantly watched and spied on. Many authors express this fear and paranoia as well as the subsequent suspension of freedom and individual agency in their works.

Similar to the USA during the Cold War, state institutions in Britain such as MI5 and MI6 created a culture of paranoia and fear and limited individual freedom. This was driven by the fear of the spread of communism and totalitarianism and included activities such as espionage to control information and the singling out of individuals as suspects of dissent. The concept of national security was used to justify these actions, which were perceived as necessary to protect citizens from abnormal or subversive influences. Propaganda, information used to influence or manipulate public opinion, also played a significant role during the Cold War. The development and widespread of mass media, such as magazines, film, radio, and television, provided an increasingly large audience for mass persuasion. However, in the Cold War, a specific type of propaganda called black propaganda was used. Black propaganda is characterized by misleading or fabricated information mixed with some facts to make it more plausible and conclusive to the audience. It is often presented in a way that leads people to believe it is something other than what it is. However, while the (Ministry of Information) MOI gained public attention through its control of information and press censorship, several other more secretive and sensitive agencies were involved in Britain's propaganda campaign. The Political Warfare Executive (PWE) was a secret service created by Britain during World War II to spread propaganda. It was in charge of creating black propaganda, which is false or misleading information presented in such a way as to appear credible and originating from an unknown or falsely credited source. The PWE was also responsible for managing the British secret propaganda campaign. This study highlighted the negative impact that these efforts had on democracy and individual freedom in the UK and the US, as well as the proliferation of conspiracy theories against perceived communist threats, as best expressed in the two novels.

Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451* is a product of the societal tensions of the Cold War era, which reignited ideological warfare. The novel has had a lasting cultural impact, particularly in its resistance to the repression and surveillance of authoritarian

policies and its advocacy of individual freedom in the United States. It serves as a warning and a reminder of the dangers of past atrocities and the potential for their repetition, fueled by the lingering effects of the World Wars and the rise of state surveillance. The novel critiques the excesses of the culture industry and the harsh conditions of social control and institutional surveillance of authorship and speech. In *Fahrenheit 451*, books are banned. The state forbids not only books but anything that can help people to think freely. The protagonist, Guy Montag, transforms from a blindly obedient fireman who burns books to someone who starts questioning, thinking, and seeking answers instead of simply accepting the government's propaganda. Montag becomes a symbol of resistance to undemocratic state control and represents the struggle for awareness and freedom. The novel delves into how state surveillance and propaganda during the Cold War generated an atmosphere of paranoia and mistrust toward citizens and books, quite similar to the societal conditions under the Soviet Union. The research showed that the novel also examines how the loss of individual agency is regained through storytelling. As Montag learns to read and think for himself, he learns to question the oppressive system, censorship, and surveillance and becomes an activist for promoting freedom.

This thesis analyzed Muriel Spark's *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* and its relation to the Cold War condition of paranoia and loss of agency. It interpreted the novel as a critique of institutional surveillance in restricting individual freedom. The novel reflects the same cynicism that governed social connections and it is influenced by the rhetoric of the Cold War conspiracy. It has a maze-like narrative style that evokes the paranoia and deception of storytelling through Sandy Stranger and Miss Jean Brodie whom both symbolizes propagandists. The narrative presents complex plots to provide multiple interpretations, doubts, and accusations on how people spy on each other within the institutions. Spark's novel responses to the authoritarian forces that attempted to restrict individual agency through storytelling. Even though, Brodie appears to be the most important figure in the novel, it is Sandy who functions like an observer, conceives everything and puts pieces and parts together to form a coherent narrative about Marcia Blaine school and Miss Brodie to uncover secrets and conspiracies. Sandy takes both the traditional role of a detective and at the same time a psychoanalyst. Muriel Spark's job in

PWE as a black propagandist writer and its effects on her writing style is expressed and practiced in the novel. Sparks propagandist job shaped and mirrored black propaganda which is presented in her novel. For instance, Sandy investigates and interprets her friend's and teacher's actions with suspicion, and Miss Brodie who apparently endorsing fascism and teaching her students about the ideology hence, she is causing greater harm to it because her role is to discredit the ideology in a black propagandist way. Furthermore, this thesis focused on the power of storytelling as a potentially dangerous political act that compels writers to produce unreliable narratives. Therefore, most parts of the novel are narrated by Sandy about Brodie. However, everything Sandy narrates is through her interpretations, and possibly fabrications. The accusation style of the narrative identifies Sandy as an ironic figure who represents institutions of authorship that interprets others and justifies them through re-writing their biography within the school institution. Also, the novel imitates to criticize the Cold War and its propaganda of fabricating stories. This thesis interpreted Sandy as a complex figure who registers the discourse of psychiatry and education. She justifies the institutional judgments. Correspondingly, this research explored how the novel criticizes the way institutions suppresses freedom of expression and defies institutional power through employing propagandist narrative techniques.

In conclusion, both novels *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* and *Fahrenheit 451* serve as cautionary fictions about the importance of preserving freedom and democracy in the face of external threats. They remind us of the dangers of allowing institutions, whether they be educational or governmental, to have too much control over the lives and thoughts of individuals, and the importance of cultivating a sense of individuality and resisting the temptation to blindly conform to oppressive systems. These themes continue to be relevant today, as surveillance and oppression remain ongoing issues of concern. Both of the novels strive for democracy and freedom by opposing oppression and monitoring brought on by institutionalization. They emphasize the importance of freedom, democracy and individual agency and how brittle they are. They warn us against the potential suspicion of all these rights and that surveillance in democratic countries could lead to the rise of totalitarianism and that storytelling could be a powerful tool to fight against it.

# VI. REFERENCES

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