

reproduce the private fixities defined by the state but to open negotiation for communities, to destabilise the representative structures of the state, either their rhetorical strategies or their reified objects: the strategies and images that construct ideology as ethos. But also, the artist or writer is necessary to the state to provide ways of representing, building or constructing acceptable ideology, to provide places where people can agree about evaluation. In doing these things the writer is externalising or articulating the activity of any individual's negotiation between personal memory and public history, which is precisely what concerns many of the novels of the thirties. But also the articulation acts as a focus for making these voices heard; Orwell's novels are exercises in the evaluation and placing of the 'many' voices; they are illustrations of the near impossibility of maintaining a continual assessment of them, or even at all, without a supportive community.

What is interesting is to watch Orwell begin to transfer this theorising out to a global politics; even in 1940 he understood the inevitability of global economics. In 'The Lion and the Unicorn' he looks at the way that 'nations' are becoming important for their cultural identity within global politics (p. 75). It is one step from this recognition to national cultures becoming important because they are being targeted as markets within transnational economy.²⁵ Again, the commodification is seen as necessary to those markets because it stabilises 'audience' demand. This of course is part of recent economic theory and is not discussed by Orwell, who was still, in 1940, hoping for a non-capitalist socialism. But what he does perceive is that an arbitrarily defined national culture, like the banal commodification of the individual, is not helpful. It leaves a set of pluralist voices within the global, the multinational dream where those who lack power are simply cut to the cloth of those with power: the ethnocentric bazaar that replicates the frustration of enfranchised individuals within a state where all are equal but some are more equal than others.²⁶

On the other hand, a responsively constructed national culture, here of course Orwell's socialist revolution of 'The Lion and the Unicorn', could act as the check on the increasingly authoritative tendencies of the corporate power of global agencies. Orwell argues in the essay that 'war' in the context of the Second World War could make this possible in England as nothing else (p. 117). Possibly in an optimistic transfer of his experiences of the Spanish Civil War, and possibly in a propagandic move against the brutalism of the forties' experience of war, he suggests that this 'kind of war' breaks down the notion of private comfort and security, and instead of merely legitimising violence, can be used to get people to commit themselves to work on community. Of course, this 'kind of war' cannot happen, and we have watched time and time again the potential events for political focus fail to draw people together. But the awareness of national culture as

civic discourse, not populist, that Orwell's exemplary mode suggests, is vital to the critique of transnational ethos. This is particularly so for the nineties because transnational ethos is not yet formulated or understood, and is already being taken for granted in for example post-materialist economics. Without ways of articulating an awareness of its constructed devices, nations run the risk of the intolerable half-awareness of doublethink erupting through cultural commodity into racism and war.

NOTES

1. Peter Davison, to whom all writers interested in the thirties and in Orwell are indebted, alerted me to the existence of this archive.
2. Edward Said's Reith lectures cover some of this ground from a contemporary point of view, but with the same emphasis.
3. From the political exegesis offered by both Plato and Aristotle on the kinds of agreement that can be made (see especially Aristotle's *Topica*), to among many others D. Beetham's recent account, *The Legitimation of Power* (London: Macmillan, 1991), these three modes recur continually.
4. L. Hunter, 'Ideology as the Ethos of the Nation State', *Rhetorica*, Summer 1996.
5. H.-G. Gadamer, *Reason in the Age of Science*, trans. F.G. Lawrence (London: MIT Press, 1981).
6. See L. Hunter, 'Remember Frankenstein', *Rhetorica*, IX (4), Autumn, 1991.
7. See T. Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism* (London: New Left Books, 1977).
8. B. Anderson discusses nation-states and forgetting in *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1985); see also T. Eagleton on capitalism and forgetting in 'Nationalism: Irony and Commitment', *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature*, intro. S. Deane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990).
9. See W. Rowe and V. Schelling, *Memory and Modernity* (London: Verso, 1991).
10. L. Hunter, *Rhetorical Stance in Modern Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1984), Chapter 3.
11. On the technological control of the media, see among others A. Giddens, *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism* (Aldershot: Gower, 1981).
12. L. Hunter, 'Bodily Functions in Cartesian Space', in S. Chew (ed.), *Borderline Papers: Essays in Canadian Poetry and Poetics* (Edinburgh: Quadregia, 1996).
13. See E. Gellner, 'Nationalism and the Two Forms of Cohesion in Complex Societies', *Proceedings of the British Academy LXVIII* (London: Oxford University Press, 1983); for a response, see also J. Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity* (London: Macmillan, 1991).
14. G. Orwell, *Burmese Days* (London: Penguin 1934; 1969).
15. G. Orwell, *A Clergyman's Daughter* (London: Penguin 1935; 1983).
16. G. Orwell, 'The Lion and the Unicorn' (1941), *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, Vol. 2, ed. S. Orwell and I. Angus (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982).

17. See L. Hunter, *Outsider Notes* (forthcoming), part 3, for a fuller account of personal and public memory.
18. G. Orwell, *Keep the Aspidochelone Flying* (London: Penguin, 1936; 1975).
19. The notion of 'personal' identity was a central concept in L. Hunter, *George Orwell, the Search for a Voice* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1984).
20. G. Orwell, *Coming Up for Air* (London: Penguin, 1939; 1983).
21. See B. Balibar and I. Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London: Verso, 1991).
22. G. Orwell, 'Inside the Whale' (1940), *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, Vol. 1, ed. S. Orwell and I. Angus (Penguin, 1982).
23. G. Orwell, 'The Frontiers of Art and Propaganda' (1941) and 'Literature and Totalitarianism' (1941), *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, Vol. 2, as above.
24. 'Literature and Totalitarianism', pp. 163-4.
25. See P. Hertzner and G. Jones (eds), *Multinationals: Theory and History* (Aldershot: Gower, 1986).
26. R. Rorty advocates this in *Objectivity, Relativism and Truth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 209.

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