

## The Freedom Which Is Not to Carry Is Not to Keep

Hamdi A. S. JARADA  
Istanbul Aydın University  
Turkey  
[hajhamdi@gelisim.edu.tr](mailto:hajhamdi@gelisim.edu.tr)

### Abstract

*Freedom is a desire for people who live under the ruling of dictatorship or totalitarian regimes which have stirred revolutions throughout history and continue to do so in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. However, the idea of freedom is sometimes not fathomed by the majority of people in those demeaned revolutionary masses. The corruption that ensues after revolts is the result of misinformation and misunderstanding of their basic human rights in a country. Moreover, the blind belief and naïve nature of the masses as well as their weakness of making decisions are what makes the whole country fall into the lies of colonization under the concept of liberation and freedom. In Animal Farm by George Orwell, the animals start craving a change in their life status and begin themselves to revolt after the death of Major. Similar to the aforementioned colonized people, the propaganda that is widely spread by the character Napoleon keep them worrying as well as working for the sake of the greater good of the farm, under the illusion of freedom. As much as they suffer before the death of Major, it seems the animals of the farm never learn from their mistakes and get lost in the same whirlpool of lies and fake promises made by the ruler of the farm which denotes the colonization of the minds of the animals in which the concept of freedom is still vague and alien to them. The spiral of colonization in George Orwell's Animal Farm reflects the animals' failure to maintain their sovereignty, and as a result, the fall into second slavery effortlessly, thus suggesting that the real colonization lies in the mind.*

**Keywords:** *Hegemony, Sovereignty, Domination, Slavery, mind decolonization failure ignorance, Freire's Pedagogy*

### 1. Introduction

A clear understanding of the meaning of Post-colonialism requires an understanding of the word Colonialism first. Colonialism has a close meaning to imperialism. Colonialism is the conquest and the dominance of one country by another one. This conquest involves a total control of people, government, land, and economy of the conquered country. With the exploitation of their land and natural sources, the colonized country will be left floundering in poverty, diseases, dependency and backwardness (Hiddleston, 2014). Imperialism represents the domination on a larger scale that is the ideology, whereas colonialism is the practice which involves a direct presence of the colonizer. Imperialism may continue its political and economic dominance even after the end of colonization without the necessity of direct presence. Imperialism is also associated with capitalism, as Western countries used colonialism to spread their capitalism ideologies (Hiddleston, 2014).

According to this definition of colonialism, post-colonialism means after colonialism, however, the meaning still has ambivalence. On the one hand, post-colonialism may refer to the results of the French colonization of Algeria, for example, or to the historical encounter of the Portuguese colonization of Latin America on the other hand (Hiddleston, 2014). For this reason, researches distinguished between two forms of writing: Post-colonialism with hyphen to refer to the status of a country after independence that has been gained, whereas Post-colonialism without hyphen has a larger meaning as it refers to after the independence and the elements which promoted it as well as the status of a country under colonization and its endeavours to overcome it (Hiddleston, 2014).

In his book *Orientalism*, Edward Said tackled the subject of post-colonialism. He presented the *West* as the superior colonizer, whereas the *Orient* as the inferior colonized. He explained that such classification resulted from the false image of the western poets, journalists, novelists, philosophers, economists and politicians sponsored towards the Orientals. According to Said, orient is always showed as weak, irrational and feminized *other*, in contrast to the west which is strong, rational and masculine. This image presented the orient as primitive and backboned, whereas the west is presented as civilized and advanced. This idea did not only promote the west's claiming of superiority but also was used as a justification for colonialism under the pretext of the duty to enlight (Said, 2003). Rupert Emerson also well defined the colonizer as an arrogant, who sees that his superiority, racially and culturally, gives him the right to colonise what he called the 'uncivilized one'. Under the pretext that the colonized needs to manage his affairs, the colonizer installs himself as the *master* who volunteered to enlight the colonized and rule his life (Emerson, 1969).

However, colonialism does not stop in its physical activity. Colonialism cannot be merely considered in the modern context as a relationship that exists between two nations. Also, it cannot be looked upon only as an economic exploitation or a political domination at the level of the state power. The perpetuation of various forms of power relations all over the world persuades us to consider colonialism also as a matter of psychology or subjectivity. The colonizer does not only conquer the colonized land but also his mind as well. While the first type ends with the departure of the colonizer, the second dwells deep inside the colonized mind, leaving him struggling to find his new entity. The direct end of colonialism does not mean independence or freedom. Rather, the results of colonialism stay within the colonized, affecting his life, history, and psychology (Said, 2003).

## 2. The Colonization of the Mind

The mind colonization is the most insidious one because it comes from within. It is a result of believing in what had been told and taught by the colonizer in the period of colonialism. The mind colonization is fear of being different that is a choice of lemming-like rather than expressing what we really want or believe because lemming-like is much safer and common. After decolonization, the newly independent country celebrates the regaining of its territories and freedom believing that the colonizer left for good and that the only way left for them is forward, but sadly, it is not the case. Political, economic, social and cultural roots the colonizer left behind him challenges the decolonized to overcome them. In this regard, Nandy defined the mind colonialization as "*an indigenous process released by external forces. Its sources lie deep in the minds of the rulers and the ruled*" (1983). Nandy here delineated one of the postcolonial serious issues which is the difficulty the colonized faces to find his own identity without relying on the colonizer's way of thinking or style. Nandy believes that mind

colonization is a tying thread between the colonizer and the colonized, that is a continuity of the colonization which occurs in the mind of the indigenous (Nandy, 1983). In his book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Paulo Freire talked about the psychology of the colonized during and after colonization. Freire explained that though the colonized yearns for freedom, he is still afraid of it. The colonized finds himself overwhelmed with many choices he needs to make like: should he reject the colonizer's ideas and system completely or partially? Between being actors or spectators? And between speaking or staying silent?

### 3. The Colonization of the Mind in Orwell's Animal Farm

Besides its allegorical importance in reflecting the Russian Revolution in 1917 and the dictatorship of Stalin who used communism as a means to dominate the country, *Animal Farm* represents a good example of the post-colonial psychology. *Animal Farm* was written by Orwell who was born in Eric Arthur Blair on 25 June 1903, in eastern India. His father was an official in the Indian civil service. He received his education in England and later on, he joined the Indian Imperial Police in Burma, where he felt how much Burmese hated to be under the British imperial control. Feeling ashamed of his work as a colonial officer, Orwell resigned from his position and decided to become a writer. Orwell is regarded as one of the greatest political writers in English. He is famous for his views against imperialism, a fact which can be easily traced through his writings. He declared that he would not feel himself as a real writer if he did not write about politics. Serving the Indian imperial police in Burma gave his writings intense implications of colonialism and its effects.

*Animal Farm* is one of these writings which reflect his ideas about colonialism and its derivatives. It presents a deep illustration of the totalitarian system, no matter where, using an allegory of animal farm living under the human's tyranny and exploitation, rebels to gain freedom back just to fall again in another round of oppression. Even after more than a half-century past, *Animal Farm* readings are endless because of its universal ideas and values. It was published in England in 1945, as a reflection to the Soviet's revolution of 1917. However, the novel in this research is not taken from its Russian history allegory rather as a reflection of mind decolonization failure.

*Animal Farm* underwent two periods of colonization: one of Mr. Jones and the other of Napoleon. The novel starts with the Old Major's meeting with the animals to tell them about his dream but most importantly to motivate them to rebel against the tyrant colonizer, the *Human*. Thus, he describes the miserable condition to his comrades under the cruelty of the human, including hard work, shortage of ration, and exploitation of their lives. Old Major appeared to be the most aware animal of human hegemony and oppression as he expresses: "No animal in England is free. The life of an animal is misery and slavery: that is the plain truth" (Orwell, 2). The dream of decolonization is impossible to reach without rebellion, a fact which Old Major stressed when he said: "Rebellion! I do not know when that Rebellion will come, it might be in a week or in a hundred years, but I know, as surely as I see this straw beneath my feet, that sooner or later justice will be done". He did not forget also to warn the animals to neither give up their resolutions nor to trust the colonizer and his lies and he stresses that their strength is in their *Unity* (Orwell, 3). This part of the novel represents the first period of colonization.

Though, unfortunately, Old Major did not live to witness his dream to come true, Snowball, Napoleon, and Squealer elaborated to organize the decolonization and their struggle to win independence proved to be successful. Mr Jones was chased out, *Manor Farm* was changed

to *Animal Farm*, and the animals claimed themselves to be indigenous of the farm. At the beginning, the idea of decolonization was not easily grasped by the animals who saw the rebellion as a threat of their stability and who preferred to keep loyalty to their Master, Mr Jones.

Their remarks, such as "Mr. Jones feeds us. If he were gone, we should starve to death" (Orwell 5) or "Why should we care what happens after we are dead?" (Orwell, 6), reflect how much they were not only physically oppressed, but also mentally. They are dependent so much that they believe living under the human tyranny is safer than jeopardizing their miserable stability by rebellion. Freire in his work *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* said that the oppressed prefers oppression rather than engaging himself in a struggle of the rebellion, whereby he does not know its consequences. Likewise, the oppressed animals adopted the situation of domination as more comfortable than what the freedom struggling risk requests. Fear and lack of action manifested twice in *Animal Farm*; one is at the beginning of the novel against Mr. Jones and the other is against Napoleon. The difference between the events was having a leader in the first and the absence of one in the second. The revolution leaders are to guide and enthuse revolters who are already aware of the oppressed situation. It is important for the oppressed to realize that being a part of the revolution is a personal struggle also because besides fighting for their sovereignty, they are fighting for their own salvation and freedom as well (Freire, 2017). Due to the inability to decide by themselves and in the absence of a leader, the animals found themselves enslaved again by Napoleon's regime. They failed to realize themselves as a unity or as individuals who deserve freedom and as a result, they lost the objective they set by themselves.

Because they are consumed by their fantasy of being free and equal, the animals believed whatever Napoleon did or said, and no matter what "Napoleon is always right" (Orwell, 17), even if they were not sure about it or their eyes were watching the opposite. The need and fear of Napoleon reflect a concept of disobedient or treachery. Napoleon embodied the revolution, thereby disobeying him would be like disobeying the beliefs they fought for. It was better to convince themselves that the pigs are the guardians of the independence and whatever Napoleon does must be right. Freire explained that the oppressed sees the oppressor as Godlike, who shoulder the responsibility for their life and destiny. As a result, any act of rebellion would be like disobeying God's will. The decolonization activist, Albert Memmi, said "In order for the colonizer to be the complete master, it is not enough for him to be so in actual fact, he must also believe in its legitimacy. In order for that legitimacy to be complete, it is not enough for the colonized to be a slave, he must also accept his role" (The Colonizer and the Colonized, 1957). Memmi asserts that the first step towards decolonization is to question the legitimacy of colonization. The colonized should question whether what he lives is justice or not, and it is only with the realization of his injustice situation that he starts to think to revolt. In *Animal Farm*, the oppressed animals failed even to recognize their oppressive status under Napoleon's regime. Animals had to confront reality that they were not free, and that they were exploited, tortured and used. The solution for Freire is to realize the reality first. Without this realization, there would be no way out of the struggle. Animals needed to realize that Napoleon was not representing what they had fought for. Fear of taking their own responsibility and fear of freedom drove animals to surrender their lives to Napoleon.

Napoleon's plan to dominate the farm is manifested since the very beginning of the novel started by taking the nine poppies to raise and use them to expel his rival Snowball and terrify

the rest. He tasked Squealer with manipulating and hypnotizing and Minimus with composing speeches, songs, and poems to glorify him. In addition, he and Squealer did not miss to use Snowball as a scapegoat. All their misdeeds were associated with Snowball since he is not there to prove the opposite. Napoleon understood the power of the physical violence as well as the mind, whereby he represented a perfect colonizer and the animals were very responsive to such stimulation. After the miserable situation which the farm reached, the animals kept believing or “tried to believe” that they are still free and equal. According to Freire, the oppressor (the colonizer) sees the opportunity in every person, object, place or occasion to be used as a means of domination. Napoleon and Squealer did not cease to make use of any incident around them. Snowball and Mr. Jones were used as ghosts, who may threaten the animal's stability and the animals thought that they have freedom and that it should be guarded. Their ignorance was also used against them, as far as they are unable to read, Squealer changed the Seven Commandments according to Napoleon's will, and his justification would be like: “*I could show you this... if you were able to read it*” (Orwell, 24).

Education is power and lack of it limits one's freedom. Throughout the novel, pigs showed a tendency to learn better and faster, whereas others were unable to learn more than three or four letters. This privilege presented the pigs as superiors, educated and power-worthy, whereas the other majority was presented as inferiors and followers. The oppressed animals believed their incapability of guidance and ruling. It was easier for them to follow rather than think and create. This degradation gave power to pigs over them. The idea is that they know nothing and they are incapable of convinced them of their unfitness to question Napoleon's decisions and fake freedom. Consequently, the fall in the second round of colonialism was inevitable.

Nothing can better justify the colonizer's privileged status than his inferiority, knowledge and power. On the other hand, laziness, ignorance and weakness do not qualify the colonized to handle any responsibility (Freire, 2017). Because of their feeling of their inability to read or manage the farm, the animals surrendered their faith to the pigs, because pigs have knowledge. Consequently, knowledge gives power. Because they believed themselves to be ignorant, the rest of the animals listened and believed anything Napoleon and Squealer did or said. Critical thinking contrasts with naive thinking, whereby Freire asserts with the absence of any critical thinking, the animals stayed imprisoned under Napoleon's mercy. Their naïve thinking kept them in the same circulation of colonization which made them easily dominated. As long as the colonized is unconscious, the domination is easier as stated by Freire. When the colonized is unaware of his condition, he is ready to accept anything. In *Animal Farm*, the animals failed in both: keeping their freedom and believing that they were still free afterwards. Animals were passive and dependent, thus lacking any act of rebellion after Old Major and Snowball have gone.

Fear, violence, and persecution are the most traditional weapons which the colonizer uses over his submissive. As Aimé Césaire stated, this situation in his essay *Discourse on colonialism* as:

*“Between colonizer and colonized there is room only for forced labour, intimidation, pressure, the police, taxation, theft, rape, compulsory crops, contempt, mistrust, arrogance, self-complacency, swinishness, brainless elites, degraded masses.”*

Mass murder, terrifying dogs, hard labour, and propaganda pressed the animals to fear Napoleon and demised any idea of protest. Silence and acceptance were safer in facing such



threats. The oppressed animals failed to recognize their power as one *unit*. Even some animals which were known to be powerful like Boxer were very far from realizing this fact.

#### 4. Conclusions

Decolonization should start in the mind, and it is important as much as having the decolonizing thinking, which should shape the path afterwards. It is only with decolonizing the mind and embracing decolonization thinking the positive change will come. To get rid of colonialism poisonous effects, the colonized should be aware of his domination and consciously consider how much he is affected physically and mentally. Ngugiwa Thiong'o, in his book *Decolonizing the Mind*, describes that the greatest weapon used by the colonizer is the identity of the colonized using what N'gugu called the 'cultural bomb':

*"The effect of the cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland."*

N'gugi uncovered the most dangerous weapon used by the colonizer, which is manipulating the colonized mind, thereby manipulating his identity. Steve Biko was a South African anti-apartheid activist shared the same idea of N'gugi's when he said: *"The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed."* From *Manor Farm* to *Animal Farm*, to *Manor* again, there is a lesson which was not grasped by the animals. Between Mr. Jones' oppression and the one of Napoleon's, there are animals that failed to assimilate the two tyrants. We learn from history that we don't learn from history!" as Desmond Tutu stated. With the absence of critical thinking, knowledge and rebellion, the animals repeated the same history twice. However, unlike the first time, they had leaders to motivate them and made them face reality, and in their second oppression, they lacked any intention to revolt. The spinning in colonization the animals suffered suggests that their minds were programmed to slavery, whereby the brain with all what it holds of fear, ignorance, cowardice and veneration of tyrants made the animals lack trust in their aptitude for freedom, good living, and inferiority.

Decolonization needs critical consciousness of colonization, since freedom cannot be simply gifted. Only revolt will bring freedom back and this revolt should not be only an idea but also an action with consistency. The oppressed should be his own example and motive even in the lack of any leader. *"Revolt is the only way out of the colonial situation, and the colonized realizes it sooner or later. His condition is absolute and cries for an absolute solution; a break and not a compromise"* (Memmi, 1992). In the revolution, the colonized finds his dignity and self-recovery. Instead of denial and accepting the dominated stability, the oppressed should fight for the complete liquidation of the colonizer to gain back his freedom.

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