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Twentieth-century Utopian literature

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Abstract

Even as breathtaking developments in science and technology seemed to place utopian dreams within touching distance, the twentieth century often felt more distant from utopia than ever. This chapter charts how utopian and (increasingly) dystopian literature responded to twentieth-century history. In the early twentieth century, social Darwinism became part of a narrative about embodiment that utopias and dystopias debated in relation to mass politics and totalitarianism. In the mid-century, dystopias cautioned about nuclear age terrors, while progressive anti-colonial and decolonization movements drew on utopian thought. By the 1970s, utopian texts were addressing limitations of the utopian tradition, and ecology became an important concern. The end of the Cold War saw a dystopian turn characterized by genre blending and postmodern strategies. Responding directly to historical events, utopian and dystopian fiction helped shape understandings of the twentieth century's great upheavals.

In 1962, Frankfurt School theorist Theodor Adorno stated that paradoxically, “numerous so-called utopian dreams – for example, television, the possibility of traveling to other planets, moving faster than sound – have been fulfilled. However... they all operate as though the best thing about them had been forgotten.”¹ The twentieth century could have been characterized by social development and scientific promise, but was instead defined by militarism, genocide, and inequality. For Adorno, the closer the “proximity of utopia” became the more people committed to keeping the world as it was, turning against utopia as an “attainable possibility.”² This chapter uses utopian and dystopian literature to unpick the tensions Adorno identifies between technological promise and material political reality. I begin by showing how developments in biological science affected changing conceptions of the body politic and embodied experience. I then discuss responses to totalitarianism and mid-century industrial warfare. Next, I argue utopian expression was important for decolonial movements in the postwar era, while self-reflexive *utopian* critiques of utopian literature’s limitations emerged in the 1970s grounded in ecological opposition to capitalism. Yet with the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, I conclude that an anti-utopian globalization narrative of individualist consumerism heralded the new digital age.

Biological Determinism

Late nineteenth-century literary naturalism emphasised detailed observation and privileged the scientist’s perspective as a (supposedly) detached observer. In *Anticipations of the Reaction of Mechanical and Scientific Progress upon Human Life* (1901) H. G. Wells used naturalist techniques to produce utopian prophecies with claims to scientific determination. In Wells’ vision an intellectual and financial elite develops to establish a rational and enlightened World State. In it the health, physical and intellectual abilities of individuals will

advance through application of scientific knowledge, via a selective breeding program grounded in the biological science of eugenics.

Wells' use of eugenics responds to contemporary social Darwinian fears about working-class "degeneration". A similar logic is at work in Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *Herland* (1915), where three men find a long-lost country inhabited by pathogenic women. As a positivist social scientist, Gilman treated her Utopia as "an entirely experimental realm—a place for creating new social conditions and for testing new ideas," according to Brian Lloyd.³ While Gilman stresses the social utility and historical necessity of female equality, she treats race as equally "natural" and necessary, pointedly emphasizing Herland women are of "Aryan stock, and were once in contact with the best civilization of the old world."⁴ Throughout the novel the binary between natural and unnatural behavior for women is rigorously maintained through a maternity cult.

Eugenics debates continued in the 1920s, grounded in colonialist white supremacy. In 1924 Bertrand Russell published *Icarus, or the Future of Science*, a response to his friend J. B. S. Haldane's *Daedalus, or Science and the Future* (1923), which had prophesized that within two hundred years *in vitro* human reproduction would be universal.⁵ Russell was more sanguine about science. He predicted the cost of eugenic improvement to average intelligence would be damage to "exceptional intelligence", and warned the adoption of birth control by "the white races" would decrease the birth rate "at a time when uncivilized races are still prolific and are preserved from a high death-rate by white science."⁶ Haldane's wife Charlotte responded with the novel *Man's World* (1926), focusing on women's future experiences of reproductive technologies. Judith Adamson argues Charlotte Haldane's "distrust of scientific hubris and her feminism turned what she had begun as a utopian

experiment into a powerful dystopia.”⁷ In it, white women are categorized by biological capability and white men are ranked by intelligence, while non-whites are attacked via race-specific chemical warfare. The novel is pointedly ambiguous about whether such genocide is desirable.

Embodiment, the body politic, and mass political movements

In the early twentieth century then, inter-related developments in biology, political thinking and the social sciences led to utopian literature’s longstanding concern with embodiment becoming an obsession. In dystopias the treatment of physical human bodies was used to critique the Enlightenment goal of conquering nature as inevitably ending in the dominance of individual human beings. For example, E. M. Forster’s story “The Machine Stops” (1909) depicts a future in which “it was a demerit to be muscular”.⁸ In Yevgeny Zamyatin’s dystopia *We* (1921), appearance and behavior within the “green wall” enclosing the novel’s totalitarian OneState is tightly regulated, right down to the number of chews per mouthful of petroleum-derived food.⁹ The novel satirizes the mass production techniques of Fordism and “scientific management” pioneer Frederick Winslow Taylor, and likewise rejects Russian Bolshevism’s authoritarian attitude toward individual spontaneous action. A resistance (The “Mephi”) live beyond the wall and organize collectively in favor of freedom of movement. For David Bell, the text “rejects [the] closure” of the totalitarian “OneState” without creating its own utopian alternative in the sense of a social and political *place*.¹⁰

Karel Čapek’s four act drama *R.U.R.* (1920) critiques the post-Enlightenment nation-state from a different angle. Chiefly remembered for coining the term “robot” (from the Czech *robota*, meaning “forced labor”), in the play Rossum’s Universal Robots are put to work as cannon fodder, servants and manual laborers. While it is unclear by the play’s end whether

they will ever successfully reproduce themselves (the robotic “life” creating formula is lost during the uprising), rebellious robots do learn to form the attachments of romantic love. The ending frames two robot lovers as a new Adam and Eve.¹¹ As Alfred Thomas points out, this “ostensibly ‘happy ending’” seems to foreshadow that of Thea von Harbou and Fritz Lang’s (1927) film *Metropolis*.¹² Here, the answer to political problems of a class-based, gendered society is revealed through its epigram and final intertitle, reading “the mediator between head and hands must be the heart!”¹³ It refers to rapprochement between the city’s architect and the appointed head of the workers – that is, a mediation between capital and labor. As for the heart, the image of the body politic it recalls is folded within the visual context of a Christian symbolic schema, making it the sacred heart of Christ. Within its historical context of crisis-stricken Weimar Germany, the film favors social democratic values with an unmistakably Christian flavor.¹⁴

Through concern with embodiment, these dystopias critique the state as a regulator of life processes. This is even more explicit in Aldous Huxley’s *Brave New World* (1932), in which the World State regime reproduces its hegemony via means including eugenic ex-vitro reproduction, behaviorist psychological conditioning, and the recreational use of blissful narcoleptic drug *soma*. In Huxley’s World State sensual and sexual pleasure and the consumption of consumer goods is elevated to the status of religious practice. The state controls its population via the regulation of life processes from conception, gestation and birth, through childhood development and education, healthcare, recreation and death to produce a population of what Michel Foucault would later term “docile bodies”.¹⁵ Ronja Tripp also leans on Foucault, highlighting the “biopolitics” of control when, “actions and reactions are... regulated by the state, which has a strong interest in manipulating the body

politic into the perfect consumer, a mark of the economic totalitarianism of this society”, promoting regime stability above all else.¹⁶

The Rise of Totalitarianism

Huxley’s novel of totalitarian “stability”, was published amid the tumult of rising totalitarianism. As Andy Croft notes, “The 1930s was an especially rich period in the development of utopian and dystopian writing in Britain.”¹⁷ Gregory Claeys charts some of the forgotten chauvinist, anti-socialist and pro-imperialist British and French dystopian fictions from the early twentieth century up to WWII, but Croft argues that by the mid to late 1930s, “it was *anti-fascism* above all that informed the majority of non-realist fiction.”¹⁸ An important example of such writing can be found in the novels of Katharine Burdekin.

In *Proud Man* (1934), Burdekin reverses the usual journey of the visitor to the land of Utopia; here the Utopian comes to visit present day London instead. Burdekin’s narrator, an unnamed “Person” from a genderless and classless utopian future, travels back in time via a dream to learn about the “subhumans” who are “half conscious” and “cannot apparently exist without their societies being divided” by sex and class.¹⁹ In Burdekin’s utopian politics, heterodox socialism was a pre-condition for spiritual growth and a reconfiguration of gender and sexuality.²⁰ These commitments drive her dystopia *Swastika Night* (1937), set in a far-future world split between German and Japanese feudal empires where women are kept like cattle in cages for reproductive rape, Jews have been wiped out, Christians are racialized as social outcasts, and male homosexuality is the only form of love sanctioned. Burdekin highlights the centrality of misogyny and racial myths to Nazi ideology through conditions that produce a population not only lacking knowledge of how to resist, but also the skills and

historical knowledge to conceptualize how the world might be made differently. Only the protagonist, who learns the forbidden historical truth about the pre-Nazi past, has the imaginative capacity to conceive of femininity and female autonomy.

The great upheaval

Future global warfare was an object of anxiety in utopian and especially dystopian works throughout the twentieth century. Conflicts in the 1930s, from the Spanish Civil War to the Italian invasion of Abyssinia, gave a flavor of the atrocities to be expected in looming global conflict. The early years of World War II were marked by attempts to historicize the conflict in allegorical texts like Rex Warner's *The Aerodrome* (1940) and Storm Jameson's *Then We Shall Hear Singing* (1942). By the War's end, concern was with the immediate future: whether (as in Aldous Huxley's *Ape and Essence* (1948)) it would be global catastrophe and barbarism, or present opportunities for the sort of small experimental community behaviorist psychologist B. F. Skinner depicts in his utopia *Walden Two* (1948).

George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949) is a text full of contradictions, generating prodigious levels of debate and influencing wider political discourse. It is the quintessential dystopian genre text, though it employs tropes and conventions from romance, gothic and horror. The style, as Philip Wegner contends, is indebted to Wellsian naturalism, but as Patricia Rae argues, it shows the influence of literary modernism.²¹ Tom Moylan notes Orwell himself "regarded his work as a utopian attack on what he saw as anti-utopian historical tendencies," and yet "the book tends to outstrip itself in its pessimistic virtuosity."²² The book influenced a spate of notable 1950s dystopian novels. These included many that critiqued postwar consumer capitalism in the US, such as Kurt Vonnegut's critique of

automated industry, *Player Piano* (1952); Ray Bradbury's classic jeremiad against the "dumbing down" of culture and an atmosphere of anti-intellectualism, *Fahrenheit 451* (1953); and Frederik Pohl and C.L. Kornbluth's growth-limit dystopia *The Space Merchants* (1953). One nearly ubiquitous element of such dystopias (including Orwell's) is the destructive presence of nuclear weapons. Sf was a mode attuned to answer questions about the consequences of the nuclear age and the rise of the Cold War, and it began to shape wider political discourse.

The 1950s was a decade of both Western anxiety and triumphalism. Films like *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956) demonstrated this through their depictions of the "good life" and freedom embodied in the postwar order through material abundance and the heteronormative white middle-class family structure, set against the unfree regimentation of the USSR. The irony that this illustrated the paranoid "Red Scare" gripping US politics since the late 1940s did not escape writers like John Wyndham, whose post nuclear holocaust dystopia *The Chrysalids* (1955) follows a witch-hunt for mutants by a puritanical religious society. Nevertheless, American pundits and politicians alike hailed prosperity. Peter Fitting notes this was "to some extent an illusion as many citizens were excluded from the American Dream: African Americans of course, as well as women and the poor" (to which we may add groups including LGBTQ+ and indigenous people).²³ Before the end of the decade, civil rights groups were already amassing wide support, and many of the conditions that gave rise to 1960s countercultures were in place. Moylan argues "Utopian expression became a major element of the oppositional projects of the postwar decades,"²⁴ and utopianism is certainly present in Frantz Fanon's anti-colonialism, the late Pan-Africanism of Malcolm X, and the millenarian rhetoric of Martin Luther King. Yet in the same historical moment, a form of hyper-technological utopianism was central to military-industrial projects such as the Space

Race. Moreover, popular texts like Anthony Burgess's imaginative *A Clockwork Orange* (1962) continued the strong tradition of right-wing dystopias critiquing social change and social democratic politics.

Utopia, Colonialism and Decolonization

These divergent uses of utopianism point to how from Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) onward utopianism has been important to envisioning colonialism. As Sargent shows, for European colonial settlers in North America and the Antipodes migration was often driven by hardship and poverty. Colonies promised a better life, whatever their reality.²⁵ For indigenous populations, however, colonization was experienced as dispossession and even genocide. For example, by 1900 the genocide of an estimated ten million Congolese by the forces of Leopold II of Belgium was well underway, and in 1904 Germany attempted the total extermination of Hetero and Namaqua tribes in Namibia (German South West Africa).²⁶

Within Europe, the widespread Jewish experience of antisemitism in the nineteenth century, symbolized by the *cause célèbre* of the Dreyfus Affair in France (1894-1906), led to calls by an initially small number of Jews to establish a Jewish state. Theodor Herzl, who convened the first Zionist Congress in 1897, wrote the utopia *The Old-New Land* (1902). Its strange mix of "socialist and anarchist aspects" alongside classist, "orientalist and colonialist tropes" was inspirational to the fledgling movement.²⁷ In colonial India, meanwhile, the Muslim, feminist educationalist Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain (also known as Begum Rokeya) wrote the anti-colonial short story "Sultana's Dream" (1905). The material absence of the British is a pre-condition to this utopian imaginary, but the literary history of western utopias remains an important intertextual reference point. Barnita Bagchi locates Rokeya within an Indian

women's movement that fought for education, suffrage and independence. "Sultana's Dream" codes both colonialism and nationalism as masculine, and "the driving force behind the success of the utopian feminist country of Ladyland is women's education", through which the women overcome "male militarism".²⁸

Anti-colonial utopianism can be found in many texts (whether or not formally utopias) in the interwar years, from the poetry of Irish modernist William Butler Yeats (e.g. "The Second Coming" (1933)) to the didactic closing section of Mulk Raj Anand's slice-of-life novel about a Dalit teenager, *Untouchable* (1935), in which alongside independence, the importation of (existing, western) sanitation technology is touted as hastening an end to caste-based discrimination. After the War, utopian imaginaries frequently played a role in decolonial politics, and as Sargent notes "the greatest growth of utopianism... came with postcolonialism and images of independence and a better life free from colonial domination."²⁹ Nicholas Brown however cautions that these utopian impulses function critically, hinting "at an as yet unimaginable future" rather than supplying positive visions.³⁰ He reads the critical force of utopian impulses in the work of writers such as Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Chinua Achebe by placing their works in dialogue with modernists including James Joyce and Wyndham Lewis. In the US, meanwhile, musician Sun Ra starred with his "Arkestra" in the 1974 film *Space is the Place*, in which (playing a version of himself), he finds a planet on which to establish "a colony for black people... on the other side of time", a place of "altered destiny."³¹ Sun Ra is often credited as a founder of Afrofuturism, an Afrodiasporic approach to cultural production which creates, in Kodwo Eshun words, "temporal complications and anachronistic episodes that disturb the linear time of progress" and thereby resists Eurocentric historical narratives of modernity.³²

Critical Utopias, ecology and postmodernism

By the 1970s radical writers tried a variety of strategies to reclaim utopian values from the limits they acknowledged in the western utopian tradition. Ursula K. Le Guin's novel *The Dispossessed* (1974), subtitled "An Ambiguous Utopia", is set between an authoritarian capitalist planet of soaring inequality named Urras that reproduces the "three worlds" system of Cold War international relations and an independent anarcho-syndicalist settler colony on its moon of Anarres. *The Dispossessed* dramatizes the practical and political struggles of a utopian society facing resistant forces from both within and without. Tom Moylan groups it with novels such as *The Female Man* by Joanna Russ (1975), Marge Piercy's *Woman on the Edge of Time* (1976), and Samuel Delany's *Triton* (1976) in a subgenre he calls "critical utopia." These texts work through the genre's historical connections to colonialism and patriarchy, "reject[ing] utopia as blueprint while preserving it as dream."³³

Such texts typically share ecological concerns. Although there is a rich history of arcadian and ecological values in utopian literature, Lisa Garforth points out that the "green" values of pre-twentieth century utopian writers like More, Thoreau, Kropotkin and Morris do not constitute "an unbroken countermelody to modernity's technocentrism and expansion." Rather, as with Huxley's *Island* (1962) and Ernest Callenbach's *Ecotopia* (1975), "they are constantly reinvented in response to changing historical contexts."³⁴ Like much sf of the nuclear age, ecological utopias built on and subsequently informed scientific discourse. For example, Biologist Rachel Carson's bestselling nonfiction book *Silent Spring* (1962) opens with an extended vignette of an apocalyptic American landscape destroyed by the chemical DDT. The book led to a successful campaign to ban DDT, and inspired dystopias of environmental degradation.

Garforth examines reports such as *The Limits to Growth* (1972) which argue that “social and natural processes at the global scale are locked together” in closed feedback loops, and “world population and industrial systems were growing exponentially.”³⁵ These led to several global initiatives to consider more sustainable modes of living, and an expansion of the work of environmental sciences. Yet the rise of the New Right in the 1970s and application of neoliberal economics in states such as Chile following Pinochet’s 1973 coup (backed by the CIA) attacked the nation-state as a regulator for constraining growth. The ascendancy of this ideology owes much to “structural weaknesses within the global economy”, which as Alexander Beaumont notes include “the 1973 oil crisis, the near bankruptcy of New York city in 1975 and the UK’s application for a \$3.9 billion bailout from the International monetary Fund in 1976.”³⁶ Paradoxically then, structural economic crisis occurred alongside the realization that economic growth based on exploitation of finite natural resources is ultimately unsustainable, yet macroeconomic policy shifted from managed growth toward financialization.

In literature, the new critical utopian fiction acknowledged the capture and commodification of utopia itself by (neo-colonial) capitalism, while at a broader cultural level there was a shift from modernist strategies toward those of postmodernism. In the 1980s cyberpunk dystopias began to work through some of these contradictions. William Gibson’s *Neuromancer* (1984) highlights the cost of exponential economic growth through its depiction of “the sprawl” connecting cities on the Eastern seaboard of the US, a mega-urbanization trope reminiscent of the dystopian metropolis of Mega City One in the British comic serial *Judge Dredd*.³⁷ At cyberpunk’s most bombastic, Neal Stephenson’s *Snow Crash* (1992) links globalized finance and the franchise model of expansion not only to ecological fears, but successively to

organized crime, religious cults, migration fears and the AIDS crisis. Cyberpunk typically engaged with social experiences of post-industrial urban spaces of decline using hard-boiled protagonists wearing gleaming mirrorshades. But the shift to the virtual world also marked a shift in the cycle of (re-)production and consumption, and for writers like Gibson and Stephenson digital reproduction does not fulfil the promise of transcending resource limits of a finite planet.

Alongside (male-dominated) cyberpunk, feminist novels including Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985), Octavia Butler's *Xenogenesis* trilogy (1987-1989) and *Parable of the Sower* (1993) contribute to what Baccolini and Moylan identify as a "dystopian structure of feeling."³⁸ *Dawn* (1987), the first *Xenogenesis* novel, opens with the working-class Nigerian-American protagonist Lilith Iyapo awaking in a magically transformed future among aliens who have rescued her from global nuclear war. The aliens live in eco-utopian harmony with each other, but as rescuers they are no Samaritans. The novel problematizes the forced removal of a woman of color from the place of her birth, who is made to participate in an unequal "gene trade" through intrusions into her body and claims on her fertility. Using parallels with the history of American slavery, the novel deals with historical and contemporary trauma by estranging it through a future perspective.

The post-Cold War years

Observing the spread of elements of "consumerist Western culture" around the globe, in 1989 neoconservative Francis Fukuyama declared "the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government."³⁹ Fukuyama follows in the intellectual footprints of mid-twentieth century anti-utopians like Karl Popper and Isaiah Berlin, who associated the "blueprints" of utopian

visions with totalitarian violence. In the wake of the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, Lois Lowry's 1993 Young Adult novel *The Giver* follows similar logic. The novel acts as precursor to the wave of post-millennial YA dystopias that became multimillion-dollar franchises. In it, teenage protagonist Jonas' colorless world, "isn't fair" because "there aren't any choices! I want to wake up in the morning and *decide* things!"⁴⁰ His rebellion is essentially motivated by a desire for freedom to consume as he chooses. Lowry's didactic Bildungsroman exemplifies a post-Cold War approach to consumer capitalism in which choice itself becomes a political value so that paradoxically means *themselves* are the ends. The only substantive goal left for political economy under this logic is to find ways to deliver public services within a market system, where provision of choice trumps quality or accountability.

By the closing years of the twentieth century, many of the utopian technological dreams of the century's early years such as space travel, flight, and even test tube babies, had long been achieved. As this chapter has shown, the traditional form of the utopian novel had likewise been largely superseded, both artistically and politically, while utopian and dystopian ideas began to proliferate across new types of media from comic books to video games. By now dystopian and utopian literature often blended into other genres and looked beyond the limits of the western utopian tradition. Nalo Hopkinson's *Brown Girl in the Ring* (1998) for example, blends postapocalyptic sf, dystopia, magical realism and Afro-Caribbean myth in its depiction of marginalized communities in a post-collapse Toronto. The novel's resolution depicts a self-supporting community which is invested in the flourishing of all members. Looking back on the twentieth century through utopian literature reveals the shifts in dominant historical understandings of the human body, its imbrication with the natural world, science and technology, and global change. It shows us how colonial logic continued to shape

cultural production and political action. Finally, it can help to pin point how the great upheavals of an age marked by global conflict, radical economic change and aesthetic novelty were understood, critiqued and questioned in popular culture.

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¹ "Something's Missing: A Discussion between Ernst Bloch and Theodor W. Adorno on the Contradictions of Utopian Longing," in Bloch, *The Utopian Function of Art and Literature*, 2.

² 'Something's Missing', 4.

³ Brian Lloyd, "Feminism, Utopian and Scientific", 95.

⁴ Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *The Yellow Wall-Paper, Herland, and Selected Writings*, 55.

⁵ J. B. S. Haldane "Daedalus, Or science and the Future". 41-2.

⁶ Bertrand Russell, *Icarus, Or the Future of Science*. 49, 46.

⁷ Judith Adamson *Charlotte Haldane*, 55.

⁸ E.M. Forster, *Collected Short Stories*, 124, 109.

⁹ Yevgeny Zamyatin, *We*, 21, 102.

¹⁰ David M. Bell, *Rethinking Utopia*, 4.

¹¹ Karel Čapek, *R.U.R.* On gender and sexuality in the play, see Alfred Thomas, *The Bohemian Body*, 142-52.

¹² Thomas, *The Bohemian Body*, 146.

¹³ Fritz Lang, *Metropolis*.

¹⁴ See Paul March-Russell, *Modernism and Science Fiction*, 4-5 & 79-80.

¹⁵ Babae et al, 'Manifestations of Biopower in Aldous Huxley's Brave New World', 289, 490.

¹⁶ Sonja Tripp, 'Biopolitical Dystopia: Aldous Huxley's Brave New World (1932)', in *Dystopia, Science Fiction, Post-Apocalypse*, 37.

¹⁷ Andy Croft, 'Worlds Without End', 186.

¹⁸ Gregory Claeys, *Dystopia: A Natural History*, 7; Croft, 'Worlds Without End', 186.

¹⁹ Katharine Burdekin, *Proud Man*, 17.

²⁰ See Elizabeth English, *Lesbian Modernism*.

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- ²¹ Phillip E. Wegner, *Imaginary Communities*, 189; Patricia Rae, “Mr. Charrington’s Junk Shop,” 196–220.
- ²² Tom Moylan, *Scraps of the Untainted Sky*, 162, 163.
- ²³ Peter Fitting, “Utopia, Dystopia and Science Fiction”, 142.
- ²⁴ Moylan, *Scraps of the Untainted Sky*, 68.
- ²⁵ Lyman Tower Sargent, “Colonial and Postcolonial Utopias”, 200–201.
- ²⁶ See Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold’s Ghost*; Jeremy Sarkin, *Germany’s Genocide*.
- ²⁷ Sonia Dayan-Herzbrun, ‘Palestine: Land of Utopias’, 96.
- ²⁸ Barnita Bagchi, ‘Ladylands and Sacrificial Holes’, 171.
- ²⁹ Sargent, ‘Colonial and Postcolonial Utopias’, 215.
- ³⁰ Nicholas Brown, *Utopian Generations*, 22.
- ³¹ John Coney, *Space Is the Place*.
- ³² Kodwo Eshun, ‘Further Considerations of Afrofuturism’.
- ³³ Tom Moylan, *Demand the Impossible*, 83.
- ³⁴ Lisa Garforth, *Green Utopias*, 17.
- ³⁵ Garforth, *Green Utopias*, 33.
- ³⁶ Alexander Beaumont, ‘Dystopia and Euphoria’, 273.
- ³⁷ Created by John Wagner and Carlos Ezquerra, *Judge Dredd* began life in British comic *2000 A.D.* and appeared as a comic strip in *The Daily Star* from 1981. It has been the basis of two feature films and many graphic novels.
- ³⁸ Raffaella Baccolini and Tom Moylan, ‘Introduction. Dystopia and Histories’, 4.
- ³⁹ Francis Fukuyama, ‘The End of History?’, 3.
- ⁴⁰ Lois Lowry, *The Giver*, 127.