

BIOPOLITICAL REGULATIONS AND BIOLOGICAL RACISM IN ANDREW HUNTER MURRAY'S *THE LAST DAY**

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Abstract

This study aims to examine the biopolitical regulations in Andrew Hunter Murray's post-apocalyptic novel *The Last Day* in terms of French thinker Michel Foucault's conceptualisation. Set in a period after the earth stops turning, the novel depicts a Britain where the government controls the population through biopolitical regulations. As Foucault puts forward, biopolitics is concerned with regulating such biological processes of population as mortality and natality. The government accordingly strives to balance these processes by eliminating the potential risk factors that would threaten the survival, well-being and improvement of the population. This process of elimination results in what Foucault calls "biological racism", which requires direct and indirect killing of inferior groups within the population, namely foreigners, immigrants, criminals and patients. They are either directly murdered or exposed to the risk of death. In this respect, it can be stated that the novel reflects biopolitical regulations and racism in modern states.

Keywords: Biopolitics, Biological racism, Michel Foucault, *The Last Day*, Andrew Hunter Murray.

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ANDREW HUNTER MURRAY’NİN *THE LAST DAY* ROMANINDA BİYOPOLİTİK DÜZENLEMELER VE BİYOLOJİK İRKÇILIK

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Özet

Bu çalışma, Andrew Hunter Murray’nin *The Last Day* adlı post-apokaliptik romanındaki biyopolitik düzenlemeleri Fransız düşünür Michel Foucault’nun kavramsallaştırması açısından incelemeyi amaçlar. Dünyanın dönüşünün durmasından sonraki bir zamanda geçen roman, hükümetin nüfusu biyopolitik düzenlemeler yoluyla kontrol ettiği bir İngiltere’yi anlatır. Foucault’nun ortaya koyduğu üzere, biyopolitika ölüm ve doğum oranı gibi nüfusun biyolojik süreçlerini düzenlemekle ilgilidir. Hükümet dolayısıyla nüfusun hayatta kalmasını, refahını ve gelişimini tehdit edebilecek potansiyel risk faktörlerini ortadan kaldırarak bu süreçleri dengelemek için uğraşır. Bu ortadan kaldırma, nüfusun içindeki ikinci sınıf grupları, yani yabancıları, göçmenleri, suçluları ve hastaları, doğrudan ve dolaylı olarak öldürmeyi gerektiren ve Foucault’nun biyolojik ırkçılık olarak adlandırdığı şeyle sonuçlanır. Onlar ya doğrudan katledilirler ya da ölüm riskine maruz bırakılırlar. Bu bağlamda, romanın modern devletlerdeki biyopolitik düzenlemeleri ve ırkçılığı yansıttığı söylenebilir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Biyopolitika, Biyolojik ırkçılık, Michel Foucault, *The Last Day*, Andrew Hunter Murray.

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Introduction

The term “biopolitics” was coined by Rudolf Kjellén, a Swedish political scientist who also used “geopolitics” for the first time (Esposito 2008: 16). Having developed the term in his book *Staten som livsform* (The State as a Living Form) of 1916, Kjellén had an organicist theory of the state. According to the organicist approach, state does not emerge as a legal structure shaped through a social contract by citizens. The state is, instead, a living organism like a human being, “*which precedes individuals and collectives and provides the institutional foundation for their activities*” (Lemke 2011: 10). The organicist theory and biopolitics were later adopted by the Nazis during the 1920s and 1930s. They believed that social and political problems could result from biological facts, and justified the racial discrimination as a result of the hierarchy of races according to their biological purity. The aim of biopolitics for the Nazis was to preserve the biological and racial homogeneity and purity of the German people by eliminating the factors threatening the health of “the body of German people”. In addition to the Nazis, biopolitics has continued to be deployed by various theorists, politicians and sociologists for supporting their own ideas. However, perhaps none of these deployments has become as influential as Foucauldian biopower and biopolitics.

Although the term “biopolitics” is preferred rather than “biopower” in contemporary studies regarding politics and life, Michel Foucault initially uses biopolitics as one of the two poles of the power over life which he calls “biopower”. In the last chapter of his famous *The History of Sexuality*'s (1976) first volume, where he deals with biopower for the first time, Foucault remarks that biopower takes shape beginning from the seventeenth century as a result of various significant scientific, economic, social and political transformations such as capitalism and the rise of biology: “*there was an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations, marking the beginning of an era of 'bio-power'*” (Foucault 1998: 140). Foucault explains that biopower is a type of power “*that exerts a positive influence on life, that endeavors to administer, optimize, and multiply it, subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations*” (Foucault 1998: 137). Biopower first emerges in the form of anatomo-politics of the human body at the end of the seventeenth century, and then in the form of biopolitics of the population, which complements the former one, in the eighteenth century.

Anatomo-politics “*centered on the body as a machine: its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its*

usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls”, while biopolitics “focused on the species body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity” (Foucault 1998: 139). The objective of the anatomo-politics of the body is to control and discipline the individual body through a number of techniques related to time and space, and institutions like schools or prisons. So, it becomes a disciplinary power which seeks to make bodies more docile, more productive and more useful in order to adjust them to production and economy. On the other hand, biopolitics of the population involves regulatory techniques for the management of life processes such as mortality or morbidity at the level of the population rather than the individual bodies. Biopolitics targets the management and regulation of the population, not the discipline of the body, which leads to a differentiation between disciplinary power and biopolitics. However, Foucault notes that biopolitics

does not exclude disciplinary technology, but it does dovetail into it, integrate it, modify it to some extent, and above all, use it by sort of infiltrating it, embedding itself in existing disciplinary techniques. This new technique does not simply do away with the disciplinary technique, because it exists at a different level, on a different scale, and because it has a different bearing area, and makes use of very different instruments (Foucault 2004: 242).

Thus, it can be concluded that biopolitics and disciplines are not completely independent of each other; they are rather closely intertwined in that the population consists of the individual bodies. In this sense, as Chloë Taylor writes, “discipline is the micro-technology and biopolitics is the macro-technology of the same power over life” (Taylor 2011: 45-46). On the other hand, Foucault discusses and positions different modalities of modern power, including biopower, disciplinary power and biopolitics, complexly and vaguely throughout his career. Foucault usually considers disciplinary power, as stated above, a part of biopower, and sometimes he distinguishes biopower from discipline. He even, at times, uses biopolitics synonymously with biopower and regards it as completely different from discipline.

Before developing his ideas on power over life especially in the first volume of *The History of Sexuality* and in *Society Must Be Defended* (1997), Foucault mentioned biopolitics for the first time in a lecture he delivered in 1974, which was later published as “The Birth of Social Medicine”. While discussing the history and development of medicine Foucault

remarks that modern medicine becomes a social medicine dealing with the social body. He further argues that modern medicine emerges as a result of capitalism which focuses on the body: “*it was biopolitics, the biological, the somatic, the corporal, that mattered more than anything else*” (Foucault 2002: 137). For Foucault, this is linked to the growing significance of population as a result of the demographic increase in Europe with the effects of the Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the realisation that population is a living organism having its own biological features and processes. Like a human being, a population could keep existing or suffer and come to an end. Accordingly, biopolitics targets the control and administration of the population with various regulations, considering it a living organism.

Regulating the Population

British writer Andrew Hunter Murray’s debut novel *The Last Day* is a post-apocalyptic dystopia, set thirty years after the earth stops turning and its position to the sun is locked. Now half of the earth, the Coldside, is subjected to constant darkness and cold, the other half, the Warmside, constantly faces the sun. At the centre of the Warmside lies the Hotzone, the closest part to the sun, where it is so hot that it is not inhabitable. Britain is one of the few inhabitable countries since it is located in a small area that is “*far enough in to raise crops but far enough out to still be habitable*” (Murray 2020: 40), which causes the country to be seen as a land of hope and survival for those who want to escape from both the Coldside and the Hotzone. However, the government prefers to close the gates of the country in order to prevent those people from coming to the country for their own people’s well-being and security. Actually, Britain, although it survives the catastrophe, is also devastated by it and its consequences like floods and diseases, and the government considers foreigners a threat for the survival and improvement of the country and the population. In this sense, the novel has the potential to examine it in terms of the biopolitical regulations made and measurements taken in the name of the country’s security and the population’s well-being and improvement.

For Foucault, modern states have realised that a large and efficient population strengthens the state, which stresses the importance of the health of population. He asserts that a healthy population is closely connected to the rates about biological processes such as birth and death. Therefore, biopolitics primarily involves knowledge on birth rate, mortality, morbidity, life expectancy, longevity, reproduction, fertility, etc. It aims “*to establish an equilibrium, maintain an average, establish a sort of homeostasis, and compensate for*

variations” within population increasing life expectancy, decreasing mortality rate, lowering morbidity rate and raising birth rate (Foucault 2004: 246). Accordingly, the Davenport project in the novel, which is also called “Reconstitution”, “Regeneration” and “Great British Resurgence”, concerns itself with the regulations of people residing in Britain in order to improve the population and balance it in accordance with the biological processes such as birth and death rates. The Davenport project initiated after the Stop by Richard Davenport, who is formerly a general and later becomes the minister for security and eventually the prime minister, refers to his deeds together with his government for the sake of his country: “*they were reorganising the hospitals, re-planning the cities, starting the population programme*” (Murray 2020: 149). The regulations concerning the population mainly focus on foreigners and issues related to them. The foreigners, especially Europeans from France, Germany, Spain, etc., who are allowed to reside in Britain, have to work as serfs “*in the fields for the right to survive, cringing to make themselves useful enough to avoid eviction*” (Murray 2020: 236-237). In addition to being employed in the fields, they, except those who possess Special Skills, are also employed to do the works that generally nobody wants to do and need much workforce. It is striking that those foreigners allowed to enter the country, whose number is very limited, feel content to live in Britain despite the difficult conditions they have. Since their home countries are nothing more than a ruin, they come to Britain to survive rather than die there:

She wondered sometimes how bad it must be on the continent to prompt so many people from those areas to stay in Britain, living cramped and miserable lives of constant work without prospect of respite. Those permitted to stay were here on sufferance, as though the host notion was granting them the enormous favour of letting them work fourteen-hour days in solar fields or fertiliser pits. Nor were they secure. All it would take was a tweak of bureaucracy and the guarantees of the past would vanish like the foam lapping at the country's shores (Murray 2020: 202).

With long working hours, crowded and poor accommodation, foreigners do not have the right of citizenship, and the right of ownership as either due to the Law 12, which allows the government to seize property and forbids foreign-born people to inherit it. This deprives foreigners of any kind of guarantee and makes it easier for the government to deport them at any time. It is significant that these regulations concerning foreigners are similar to current regulations on immigrants in modern states.

Life is not easy also for the British, apart from “*the manufacturing chiefs and the senior politicians and the rest of Davenport’s gang*” (Murray 2020: 160) who live in luxurious houses in the countryside far from all crimes and problems. Most people have to live in small houses under the constant sunlight, and unfortunately, they cannot find enough food to live on healthily. There is shortage not only of food, but also of lots of other things such as water, fuel, clothes, medicine etc. Generally, the needs of people, like food, are given to them on certain rations with ration cards, which are almost always not sufficient to the extent that people often commit ration fraud. A woman who is caught committing fraud claims that it is not her fault because the government does not give her family their need: “*I got three kids. They only give us two lots of rations. I told them again and again, we need an extra ration. They told us no, that we should put our eldest in the army. But he doesn’t want to go. He’s only fifteen*” (Murray 2020: 180). However, the government does not admit that they give people insufficient rations of food because if they do, it means admitting that there are shortages the government cannot control, as well as diseases that cannot be cured, partly because of the shortage of medicine.

The diseases include epidemics such as smallpox spreading with the melted glaciers in Siberia after the Stop. Though most of these epidemics are gradually brought under control, new diseases resulting from sunlight like skin cancer begin to appear much more often than ever. The number of patients with such diseases as skin cancer increases quite a lot due to unavailable drugs, many of which decay “*in long-dead factories on the other side of the earth, at the other end of cauterised supply chains*” (Murray 2020: 66), despite the government’s campaigns concerning sun protection. The government tries to solve this shortage of medicine by bringing foreign pharmacists and scientists to the country, but it does not suffice. So, thousands of people suffer from various diseases, some of which are incurable and contagious. The government regards those patients who cannot be treated as an inferior group of population that is not worthy to live and must be eliminated. Therefore, those patients are placed by the government in the “plague houses”, which are some kind of hospitals for incurables. The staffs of these hospitals, from doctors to people responsible for cleaning and other chores, are all criminals who are not transported to Europe as punishment. “*It’s an easier life*”, as a doctor on the plague house says, “*than on the continent. Most people there would trade, given the chance*” (Murray 2020: 269). When the city authorities bring such patients to the plague houses, the staff has to take the patients whether their disease is contagious or not. Although they do not manage to heal them, they try to make them feel

comfortable until they die. It is quite interesting that the government hits two birds with one stone through the plague houses. On the one hand, they get rid of the incurables, who threaten the improvement of the population because of the risk of contagion; on the other hand, they make the criminals do a work that no one would want to do, and keep them under control in a place from which they cannot escape.

Biological Racism and Killing

The regulation and treatment of both the incurables and the foreigners highlight the fact that they are considered a threat for the population's improvement and the country's security. The improvement of the population, as Foucault puts forward, requires eliminating the risks and the factors that would be a threat for the population, whether these factors are inside or outside it. Those groups within a population threaten its existence or improvement must be eliminated, must be disallowed to the extent of death, which results in racism. It is important to note that Foucault distinguishes “*modern, 'biologizing', statist form*” (Foucault 1998: 149) of racism relating to biopower from the general and broad perception of the term, which most likely appeared long before the emergence of biopower. The difference between the two is that modern racism fragments races biologically, and marks certain races as biologically superior or good and others as inferior or vile. If the elimination of a threat to the population or race, not the victory over a political enemy, is in question, then killing becomes acceptable and legitimised. Foucault claims that states which commit the most murderous actions are also the most racist ones or vice versa. Thereby, the most murderous action committed by Davenport's Britain is probably the sinkings of foreign ships and boats with millions of people inside them.

In the year of the Stop the government begins sinking ships and boats that come from the Coldside, first container ships and then passenger ships. This first phase of the sinkings is not very detailed and efficient when it is compared to the subsequent sinkings during the second collapse. When the countries in the Hotzone begin to collapse six years after the Stop, Davenport establishes a great security plan “*to protect Britain's shores from chaos*” (Murray 2020: 178). The second phase of the sinkings is well-prepared to the extent that it aims to terminate any vessels that approach the island other than those of the British navy. This plan headlined “Channel Closure and Instructions to the Fleet” suggests

the requisitioning of all civilian boats around the coast for the duration of the 'Immigration Emergency', and that the navy fit any seaworthy vessel with guns.

And it proposed that the newly engorged Royal Navy should sink any foreign vessels that entered within a ten-mile zone, irrespective of the nature of the boat. Civilian, military, industrial, trafficker, refugee. Everything. Including any boats flying colours of allies, and any non-military British ships (Murray 2020: 328).

Sinking those vessels approaching the island is, however, not sufficient for Davenport and his government to ensure the protection of the country from threats and dangers. Davenport orders the bombings of many ports in northern Europe and northern Africa, whether they are big and important like Rotterdam and Zeebrugge, or small, in order to destroy all ships and block people's escape from surviving countries in these continents. The RAF (Royal Air Force) and the USAF (United States Air Force) attack those ports in Europe and Africa and the vessels in these ports, which are all also bombed with rockets. In order "to minimise the number of vessels that would survive" (Murray 2020: 329), the attacks continue for three days without any warning to civilians about the attacks.

During both the first and second sinkings and the attacks on the ports, almost ten millions of people die, one of whom is the mother of Ellen Hopper, the protagonist of the novel. Ellen's mother is a doctor and helps those people who try to escape to the north of Europe after the collapse of the Hotzone, by healing them and giving medicines. In order to return to Britain, she eventually finds a Greek-flagged ship that carries two thousand survivors from the Middle East, and that is allowed to pass without being sunk. However, Ellen's mother is never able to arrive since the ship which she gets on is probably sunk like any other foreign ship. Ellen later learns that the sinkings are originally a part of the plan that is prepared by Edward Thorne, who is Davenport's one of ex-advisors and also Ellen's tutor during her second year at Oxford University. Thorne goes to Oxford to teach geography when he is dismissed from his post in the government, and impresses Ellen as a very intelligent and successful scientist and teacher. Thorne persuades Ellen, who loses her interest in learning after she is disappointed by courses and teachers, not to leave the college. She trusts Thorne who also listens to and evaluates her theories about the currents, which may contribute to agriculture. However, when it turns out that Thorne is responsible for the sinkings, she feels a great disappointment with and rage for Thorne as her mother is one of those people who died during the sinkings. Above all, she cannot imagine how a person like Thorne caused the death of ten million innocent people. Thorne tries to defend himself explaining that it is for security of the population:

'The country was on the brink of collapse. Right on the brink. For six months it seemed probable we would be totally overrun. What do you do if you're in a full lifeboat and there are thousands more in the water?'

'It wasn't a lifeboat. It's a country. We could have taken more people.'

'I'm sorry, Ellen. I really am. But people were starving. It was the only way. If we had failed to act, the whole country would have collapsed' (Murray 2020: 330-331).

It can be seen that although Thorne is remorseful for what he did about the sinkings, he is still able to explain why he did it, and say what was done was done for the country and the population.

Indeed, the sinkings begin as a part of a project known as the "TDZ" (Tidal Defence Zone), which is "*the ring of coastline around the country, two miles out from shore*", namely a chain of barricades "*imprisoning the country – safeguarding it, as Davenport and his ministers would say, from foreign invasion*" (Murray 2020: 44). After the first ships are sunk, their wreckage is used as the first level of the barrier while the passengers and crews who board the ships are either sent to the Breadbasket or allowed to stay in the country because of their "Special Skills", if they are not dead. The government plants mines, pours concrete, and builds floating defences and platforms around the wreckage of those sunken ships. The most significant part of this chain is the "Channel Barrier", referred to as the "*great asset of the British, the great crime, perpetrated in the name of security*" (Murray 2020: 44), which is studded with jetsam and scrap. The only crossings along the TDZ are left for military ships and boats carrying crops from the Breadbasket and the Fishing Fleet. Another barrier that is built for security like the TDZ is the Roadblock that separates London from the rest of the country. The Roadblock is built when London is made the first key defence zone by Davenport after he takes the control of the country, and it is made up of, like the TDZ, different levels: "*A ragged line of soldiers at first, soon supplemented by rows of concrete blocks, mushrooming in erratic patterns to halt truck and car bombs. And then, eventually, proper brick huts, and extra concrete emplacements, and all the paranoid paraphernalia of a state in retreat from its own people*" (Murray 2020: 50). The buildings that are built for the Roadblock spread over such a large area that a distorted kind of town is formed outside London, which makes it difficult to enter the city, and easy to leave it. Moreover, there are

checkpoints at the entrances of the cities, where soldiers control people entering a city and their papers to find out if they are criminals, refugees, etc.

The criminals, prisoners, escapees are all sent to the Breadbasket, if they are not executed, to work like slaves in the farms and fields. The Breadbasket that refers to the lands in the western Europe, mainly France, is one of the greatest achievements of the Davenport project. Davenport turns these lands into some kind of colony of Britain, where the British government establishes giant farms and plantations that supply most of country's need of food. The reason why criminals and others are sent to the Breadbasket is that they pose a threat to the well-being of the population just as foreigners and incurables do, and they must be eliminated for the sake of the whole population. However, they are not directly murdered as those people are murdered during the sinkings of the ships. Foucault puts forward that "killing" in the sense of biological racism also involves "*every form of indirect murder: the fact of exposing someone to death, increasing the risk of death for some people, or, quite simply, political death, expulsion, rejection, and so on*" (Foucault 2004: 256). The risk of death for those people is accordingly increased when they are subjected to poor living and working conditions.

Before criminals are sent to Europe in prison-like ships to work in the Breadbasket, the government brings them to centre of the city, where they are caught, and makes them march through the streets. The ceremony, which is designed by Davenport "*to keep people quiescent by reminding them what waited for anyone who committed a serious enough crime*", is called "the Winnow" (Murray 2020: 98-99). Ellen sees such a ceremony when she comes to London, but she does not understand why a group of people march in the streets under the control of soldiers as she has not seen one before. A group of almost ten people consisting of different men, women and children at various ages, with ragged and dirty clothes walks down the street without speaking. Suddenly, a boy in the group falls to the ground probably because he has not taken pills for his heart for three days according to his mother, who is also in the group. Ellen's attempts to help the boy, is blocked by one of the soldiers who warns her to leave the boy, explaining this is a matter that does not interest her. However, when she insists that the boy should be transported into hospital and wants to get some water for him, she is hit probably by one of the soldiers. Ellen does not really understand why the government makes those people march if they are transported as punishment:

'Why do they march them through here?'

'To show other crooks what's coming to them.'

'It's horrible.'

He grinned. 'You don't like it, you can join them. The foreigners all cheated their own people to get here. Left their families behind, most of them. And without them working away, you don't get your food, miss. You don't look like you refuse your bread' (Murray 2020: 99).

It is interesting that most people, even those who appear to be as poor as those prisoners, think they deserve this kind of treatment as they are criminals or foreigners, without caring about whether they are innocent or not. The government allows them to die by increasing their risk of death. Besides their poor clothes, most of them having no shoes at all, they are deprived of the basic needs such as medicines or a proper treatment, which subjects them to the risk of death.

The government asserts that the living and working conditions in the Breadbasket are pretty good despite the rumours that not only criminals and foreigners sent there but also the locals are employed like slaves, working for very long hours. Nobody actually knows anything about the Breadbasket other than what the government tells, which does not probably reflect the truth:

'Is it true about the Breadbasket?'

'Is what true?'

'They keep them working eighteen hours a day, the convicts. The locals too. And if they don't work, they get shot. That's what I heard. And when they die, they get fed to the soil, to grow the crops they've been picking' (Murray 2020: 182).

Although it is not known whether those who do not work are killed or not, it is highly likely that they are made to work too much under the constant sunlight and heat, and starve as they are not sufficiently fed with the crops they themselves raise. David Gamble, Ellen's ex-husband, who works for *the Times*, tells Ellen his experience during his visit to the Breadbasket. David with some other journalists from the other two surviving newspapers, namely *the Mail* and *the Post*, goes to a farm in Normandy following the invitation of the government in order to write how well the Breadbasket operates. David initially gets surprised to see that everything seems to be alright: *"A few farmers in their smartest clothes. Chickens around the place – scrawny but, Jesus, alive. And the farmers seemed genuinely*

proud of what they'd done" (Murray 2020: 274). They are also given information by some people working there about the scientific methods like genetic modification that enable five harvests a year, and a possible sixth one. Although David knows much of this does not reflect the whole situation in the Breadbasket, he gets hopeful that things will gradually improve, thinking "*maybe this is how we start the road back*" (Murray 2020: 274). Maybe, there will, David thinks, be enough land and enough food for everyone, not only for British but also for the continentals one day.

Nevertheless, this atmosphere of hope disappears upon seeing a skinny and exhausted child when David and other journalists are about leave the farm. This child looks "*no more than five years old. Half naked. Starving. Little belly poking out. So thin you can't tell if it's a boy or girl*" (Murray 2020: 275). Then, the child is taken back indoors by a woman, possibly the mother, who is in a worse condition than her child, looking frightened that they have seen the child. The authorities in the farm do not notice that the journalists have seen the child and the mother, and, thus, do not say anything to justify the situation. The journalists do not talk about what they have seen, and they write about the farm as they are supposed to write in favour of the government. However David says: "*it made the whole thing clear. If even the kids on the show farms look like that, firstly, where the fuck is the grain going, and secondly, what's it like everywhere else*" (Murray 2020: 275)? Even in the farm, which the government chooses to show to the journalists and tries to show off, people look starving and exhausted by overwork. It is quite likely that people in other farms are subject to live and work under worse conditions, which the government does not think to improve. The government does not actually care about the well-being of people working in the Breadbasket as these people, criminals or foreigners, do not conform to certain norms and they risk the improvement of the population.

Davenport's government plans to take maybe a more murderous action than all of these in the name of the population's well-being: to kill all people in the Coldside who are said to have survived the catastrophe. In 2044, Edward Thorne, a major figure in Davenport's government then, and five fellow scientists produce and send a satellite into space, aimed for civilian benefits, by keeping it a secret from everyone but themselves. While moving across the earth, the satellite takes photographs of numerous areas with lights scattered across America and Asia, the Coldside, which reveal human activity. The scientists think that the lights might survive after all people died, yet it is seen that the pattern of the lights changes between the photographs taken from different angles at different times. According

to the scientists, there might be also other human settlements underground whose lights are not visible to the satellite. They assume, according to the estimations, that there might be tens of millions of people living in these settlements. Actually, these results of the satellite's movement across the earth are quite striking in that they reveal the existence of millions of surviving people, or survived until fifteen years ago, in the Coldsides, who are believed to be dead. When Davenport learns the results he fires all of the scientists including Thorne and people working under them as he cannot take the risk of revelation of this secret among the British people, among the Americans and other people in the world. The truth revealed by the photographs taken by the satellite conflicts with the whole myth created by Davenport's government that Britain is the only strong surviving country. Davenport plans to murder all those surviving people with nuclear weapons which he would take from the Americans, who reside in the southern counties of Britain, as a consequence of an agreement.

A group of Americans migrate to Britain from the USA, where only “*a slim crescent of New England would remain just about lit by a weak sun*” (Murray 2020: 122), which is not sufficient for survival, when the scientists discover, before the Stop, the parts on the earth that would constantly face the sun and those that would be left in constant darkness. In return for a part of Britain where they can settle, the Americans have to make some sacrifices like leaving the control of their navy to Britain. Their ships, damaged too badly to be repaired, are sunk and contribute to the TDZ while the rest of their forces suffice to make the British navy stronger. However, the real reason why Davenport accepts giving some counties to the Americans, and why he later tolerates their existence in the country and does not invade those southern counties where they reside is most probably “*their enormous stockpile of nuclear weapons, shipped over with great care, complete with the capacity to launch them*” (Murray 2020: 124-125). Although the Americans refuse to hand the nuclear weapons over to Davenport's government for years, now they “*are caving, at last. They must be starving. We guessed they were pretty hungry for a few years, but it must be much worse than we thought*” (Murray 2020: 239). They are about to sign the agreement with Davenport's government that includes the handover of Americans' nuclear weapons, with which Davenport will “blow up” the Coldsides:

‘Why else he would he want them? You said it yourself. As soon as he gets them, he could use them, or as many as he needs to. On the Coldsides.’

‘He wouldn't. He'd have to be mad.’

'Why not? He carried out one genocide thirty years ago. He must have been negotiating to get those weapons for decades. He must spend all his time worrying the survivors on that side will arrive here, or the truth will come out somehow.'

'And this way there would be nobody left to arrive' (Murray 2020: 384).

It is obvious that Davenport does not want any more survivors to come to Britain, and tries to eliminate them by simply murdering them with nuclear weapons without letting anybody else learn about the truth. Nevertheless, Americans find out that there are many other survivors in the Coldside at the end of the novel. It is very likely that Americans will cancel the agreement with Davenport, and they and other people both in Britain and in Europe will riot when all the murderous actions taken by Davenport are proven.

Conclusion

Inspired by such dystopias as *The Handmaid's Tale* by Margaret Atwood and *The Children of Men*, Andrew Hunter Murray admits that he was also influenced by the Brexit process while writing *The Last Day* (Barry 2020). However, he also adds that he did not intend the novel to be a simple allegory reflecting the exact picture of current Britain. Even though the novel is not a mere portrait of the whole current Britain or world, it seems to concern itself with the issues related to the real world as it deals with migration restriction, ecological problems, and oppressive practices. It is possible to state that Murray and writers of *The Handmaid's Tale*, *The Children of Men* and many post-apocalyptic novels, where *"the aftermath of the destruction of the world as we know it is preponderantly dystopian"* (De Cristofaro 2018: 243), comment on and criticise the social, political and economic conditions making such novels a form of critique of any malfunction within society or vices and follies of human beings, and *"a means of denouncing social and economic injustice"* (Hicks 2016: 14). Leading readers to think about the current issues like environmental and migration problems, *The Last Day* asks *"questions about who we are and what we are willing to do when the end of the world arrives, and we are offered a chance of survival"* (Endacott 2020). As a response to such questions, Richard Davenport with his government, through all these years, has seen all foreigners as the risk factors who have the potential to threaten the well-being of the nation and improvement of the population, and has made every regulation necessary for eliminating, getting rid of these risks in terms of Foucauldian biopolitics.

Biopolitics has actually become a popular field of study in various disciplines, from philosophy to sociology, especially with the works of contemporary figures such as Giorgio Agamben, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, who are all influenced by Foucault (Campbell, Sitze 2013: 4). Foucault states that biopolitics regards the population as a living body or organism that consists of a multiplicity of individuals and has its own biological processes, which are crucial for its survival and wellness. Biopolitics aims for the management of the population through various regulations in accordance with those processes. Regulating the population is crucial in order to establish a balance, by increasing longevity and natality and decreasing mortality and morbidity rates, and to maximise the forces of the population. Foucault asserts that the wellness and welfare of a population are related to the concept of racism, which becomes “*fundamental to the operation of the state*” (Mills 2018: 17). Racism posited here is different from the general understanding of the concept, and is called “biological racism” by Foucault. It concerns itself with eliminating the groups of people that biologically threaten the population, directly killing them, exposing them to death or increasing the risk of death for those groups. Foucault says that those threats for the population do not have to be people from a different race, as in typical racism; rather, they may be any type of group of people like homosexuals as they may form a risk for reproduction and therefore survival of the population.

The Last Day by Andrew Hunter Murray presents biopolitical regulations in order to control the population, and forms an example of the concept “biological racism” and how modern states perform the right to kill. The British government, in the novel, under the prime minister Richard Davenport performs this right with regulations that would ensure the elimination of such groups either by directly killing them or disallowing them to live to the extent of death. Since biological racism “*is not limited to skin color and can include sexual orientation, level of ability, socio-economic status, and even political persuasion*” (Stone 2013: 365), those inferior groups in the population who are considered unworthy to live are foreigners, criminals, prisoners, escapees, the incurables and immigrants, except the Swiss and Americans with their weaponry. The government has treated foreigners like they are the greatest risk for the country since the Stop, and has made every regulation necessary for eliminating, getting rid of this risk. In order to prevent foreigners from coming to Britain, their ships have been sunk, and millions of them, also including many British citizens, have been killed aboard. So, the government, on the one hand, seeks to protect the country and its sources from foreigners to the extent that they are directly murdered, which is justified as

one of the “*sacrifices have to be made for the survival of the group*” (Murray 2020: 391). On the other hand, foreigners, mostly Europeans who struggle to survive in the ruins of what once were their home countries, are lured to the country to work like slaves. Most of them are sent to the Breadbasket and employed as serfs working very long hours and starving.

Criminals, prisoners and escapees are also sent to the Breadbasket as punishment after they are marched through streets in a ceremony called the Winnow. Some of the criminals who are not sent to the Breadbasket are employed in the plague houses, where patients with contagious diseases or those who cannot be cured are taken care of. As those patients form a great threat to the health of the population, the government eliminates them by confining them to the plague houses, where they are unable to leave until they die if they do not heal. Doctors and the rest of the staff are exposed to the risk of death since they, namely criminals, are one of the inferior groups in the population who are unworthy to live, and are used for a dirty work, which no one would normally do. The immigrants who are allowed to reside in Britain are also used in bad jobs, being employed in fields and fertiliser pits. They typically live and work long hours under poor conditions being deprived of the citizenship right. It is significant, though the novel depicts a fictional world, how much Britain in *The Last Day* with its biopolitical regulations of the population resembles modern states where it is possible to see numerous cases of immigration restriction, for example, or racist actions. It makes the reader think about current regulations in their own countries, and question whether these are simple rules made for the sake of population or they are examples of racism.

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