

This totalitarianism is all the more destructive as it does not culminate in a world-government, which would at least maintain a semblance of peace. On the contrary, the world remains divided into three super-powers, perpetually at war with one another, regardless of the fact that none of them can (or wants to) conquer the other. Thus Kant's utopian dream of "eternal peace" is superseded by the anti-utopian reality of "eternal (even though localized and 'controlled') warfare". As Orwell correctly notes, such a system is only conceivable if completely safeguarded by an impenetrable network of lies, in which war is transformed into "peace", torture into "love" and deceit into "truth".

"Utopia Betrayed" is what Arthur Koestler calls the communist effort to realize Marx's utopia. It is not by chance that counter-utopian visions have grown out of the disillusionment with such unsuccessful attempts. Out of the dogmatic, absolute hope and belief in the future thus emerges total and lethal despair and a rejection of that future. "God" turns into the devil, while the millennium and the theodicy give way to the "civitas diaboli" with its satanology.

The actual realization of utopia and counter-utopia in history, time and place of their appearance, their respective weight and significance are always dependent on the social scene, of which they suggest the positive and negative potentialities. The vision of utopia shines all the more brightly the greater man's affliction and misery and the clearer his understanding of his technical powers. In trying to realize his dreams, he is bound to fail. Profound disillusionment accompanies the - more or less inevitable - failure of the new order. The new rulers, however, aiming not only at consolidating their power, but also at preventing the spread of this disillusionment, willingly resort to measures of extreme terror and deception. Whereas modern utopia offers a psychological compensation for the deficiencies, the apprehensions, and the misery of the classical capitalistic society, counter-utopian visions reflect the rejection of a modern, technically perfected and totally politicized society that has failed to realize utopia and has turned into a totalitarian and terroristic system. Neither society can cope with the basic problems of the present and the future to which utopia and counter-utopia represent intimately related responses: one tries to eliminate the fears of man, the other tries to prove the vanity of his hopes.

III

Whereas utopia is considered the antithesis of the ideological hypostatization of past and present, and counter-utopia echoes the failure of the utopian dream about the future, the so-called "Passing of Ideology" is frequently hailed as the definite answer to the failures of the ideological, the utopian, and the counter-utopian approaches. Upon closer ex-