EXTRAORDINARY RENDITIONS: REFLECTIONS UPON THE WAR ON TERROR IN BRITISH AND AMERICAN SCREEN SCIENCE FICTION

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Abstract: As the Cold War influenced forty years of screen science fiction, so the shadow of 9/11 informs popular science fiction in the early twenty-first century. The destruction of New York has recurred in such films as The Day After Tomorrow, Cloverfield, War of the Worlds and I Am Legend. Like The Invasion, the latter pair reinvent Cold War fables - Invasion of the Body Snatchers, War of the Worlds and The Omega Man - for the neoconservative age, while 28 Days Later, 28 Weeks Later, Jericho and the remade Survivors witness a resurgence in post-apocalyptic concerns redolent of Day of the Triffids. While Star Trek: Enterprise turned its franchise's traditional liberalism into an exercise in jingoistic paranoia, Battlestar Galactica (another restored relic of the Cold War) has presented a much more ambiguous and problematic vision of democracy's battle with fundamentalism. The reimagined Doctor Who and Heroes have advanced similar arguments against the totalizing pseudo-utopianism of the crusader or the jihadist and in favour of the establishment of a pluralist consensus.

Keywords: 9/11, screen science fiction, Doctor Who, post-apocalyptic concerns, jingoistic paranoia.

1. CLASHES OF CIVILIZATIONS, WARS OF WORLDS

Political situations have often advertently paralleled and exploited those of fantasy space. Both John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan recognized the power of 'science fiction' concepts (from NASA to SDI) as rallying cries during the Cold War – just as the Soviet authorities launched Andrei Tarkovsky's

Solaris (1972) as their response to Stanley Kubrick's 2001 (1968) in a celluloid version of the space race. Today, Hollywood imagineers feature on the payroll of the Pentagon, and even Osama Bin Laden (known to be a fan of popular American culture)¹ appears to have raided American blockbusters for his ideas: indeed he specifically seems to have been inspired in his apocalyptic plotting by Tom Clancy's *Debt of Honour* – a story in which a terrorist crashes a civilian airliner into the U.S. Capitol Building in Washington, DC.²

Slavoj Žižek has written of the events of 11 September 2001 as cinematic in spectacular nature³ and Bin Laden's particular debt to Clancy was acknowledged by CNN when, on 11 September 2001, the news station chose to interview the novelist as part of its coverage of the attacks on the World Trade Center. As Michael Gove wrote in *The Times* on 12 September 2001: "the scenario of a Tom Clancy thriller or Spielberg blockbuster was now unfolding live on the world's television screens."⁴ Indeed the relationship between screen fantasy and the events of 9/11 was underlined, in the most extraordinary way, by the debut episode of Chris Carter's X-Files spinoff, The Lone Gunmen which, in March 2001, had depicted a terrorist attempt to fly a hijacked airliner into the World Trade Center.

Just as history echoes science fiction, there has been a similarly strong reciprocal trend for science fiction to reflect contemporary historical situations. As far back as H.G. Wells's *The War of the Worlds* (1898) we have witnessed science fiction's expressions of urgent geopolitical angst – in this case, concerns over the sustainability of

imperial hegemony: "The Tasmanians ... were entirely swept out of existence in a war of extermination waged by European immigrants ... Are we such apostles of mercy as to complain if the Martians warred in the same spirit?" 5

Orson Welles's 1938 radio adaptation of *The War of the Worlds* famously revisited Wells's narrative to play upon contemporary anxieties about the imminence of world war, while Byron Haskin's screen version of 1953 saw Los Angeles devastated in an enactment of prevalent fears of Soviet invasion and nuclear holocaust. Half a century on, with its ravaged cities, crashed jets and underground alien terror cells, Steven Spielberg's *War of the Worlds* (2005) has updated Haskin's Cold War allegory as a fable of the War on Terror.

The scope of Spielberg's adaptation recalls Wells's insight that "this isn't a war ... It was never a war, any more than there's a war between men and ants."6 This is of course the reality of contemporary conflict: the current situation is one in which, as Tumber and Webster suggest, "militarily the USA is beyond challenge." This sense of disequilibrium has been palpable since the collapse of the Soviet superpower in the early 1990s - and indeed since the first Gulf War (1990-91), a conflict which, according to Jean Baudrillard, was "won in advance ... We will never know what an American taking part with a chance of being beaten would have been like."8 More recently, Aijaz Ahmad's depiction of the War on Terror has advanced uncanny echoes of Wells's interplanetary war: "Such is the asymmetry of power in our time: those who rule the universe shall be victorious against ... the most wretched of the earth." 9

Spielberg's humans start off as the victims of a surprise terror attack (like the people of New York in September 2001) but they end up as casualties of an invasion by forces whose superiority technological mirrors the overwhelming military imbalance which characterizes the War on Terror – and thus come to resemble the citizens (and insurgents) of Iraq. What goes around comes around: the imperial power becomes politically equivalent to its former Tasmanian subject. Indeed when in Wells's original novel a shell-shocked artilleryman envisages a mode of underground guerrilla warfare against the alien invaders, the scenario uncannily anticipates by more than a century the resistance in occupied Iraq. ¹⁰ Spielberg's film is one of several recent blockbusters which present the al-Qaeda attacks and the War on Terror as the defining topics of twenty-first century screen science fiction. Like *The Day After Tomorrow* (2004), *I Am Legend* (2007) and *Cloverfield* (2008), Spielberg's *War of the Worlds* depicts the destruction of the postmodern American metropolis. *Cloverfield* is particularly striking for the way in which its visual style (exclusively performed through the lens of a hand-held camcorder) recalls the shaky news footage of 11 September 2001.

Other films focus on the reactionary transformation of American society since 11 September. Set in Washington DC, Oliver Hirschbiegel's The Invasion (2007) revises the anti-Communist politics of Don Siegel's Invasion of the Body Snatchers (1956) to imagine western pluralism transformed into a fundamentalist Utopia by forces which are at once alien and insidious: a world in which the violence of Iraq and Darfur are unknown – in which "there is no other"- and in which therefore "humans cease to be human."

Even Spielberg's *Indiana Jones and the Kingdom of the Crystal Skull* (2008) draws timely parallels between McCarthyism and contemporary American paranoia; Chris Carter's *The X-Files: I Want to Believe* (2008) makes a related point when it self-consciously juxtaposes images of George W. Bush and J. Edgar Hoover – while James McTeigue's *V for Vendetta* (2006) envisages the Orwellian tyranny of a post-War-on-Terror Britain.

Even superhero flicks have examined America's continuing moral crisis, most obviously the unambiguous depiction of the arms industry's exploitation of the War on Terror in Jon Favreau's Iron Man (2008). Heralded by a poster displaying a burning city skyscraper, Christopher Nolan's The Dark Knight (2008) advances a similarly problematic perspective upon the crusade against an uncompromising and irrational terrorism in its representation of the twilit Utopia of the vigilante – a state of emergency in which civil rights are suspended and one which, the film finally emphasizes, must not be allowed to solidify into a new world order. Meanwhile, the opening of another comic book adaptation, Tim Story's Rise of the Silver Surfer (2007), sees an alien strike cause an aircraft to crash into a Manhattan skyscraper. The film goes on to critique extreme rendition: the torture of a terror suspect by U.S. agents at an isolated military base. Perhaps most problematically, Zack Snyder's *Watchmen* presents an alternative history, a dystopian and apocalyptic vision of unending war and America's remorseless struggle towards global hegemony.

2. RECONSTRUCTIONISM

These films invoke apocalyptic concerns that have lain dormant since the end of the Cold War. Similar anxieties are discernible in the CBS television series Jericho (2006-2008) and in the BBC's Spooks: Code 9 (2008) - both set in the wake of nuclear terror attacks. While Spooks: Code 9 witnesses the obliteration of London, Jericho addresses the aftermath of what it dubs "the largest terrorist attack in the history of the world" - the nuclear devastation of twenty-three major American cities. Analogous end-of-civilization scenarios are witnessed in Danny Boyle's 28 Days Later (2002) and Juan Carlos Fresnadillo's 28 Weeks Later (2007) the latter film elaborating upon this theme to address issues of U.S. military brutality in the failed reconstruction of an occupied zone, the consequent spread of rabid extremism and the eventual exportation of terror.

These visions refer us back to the eschatological science fiction of the opening years of the Cold War – Richard Matheson's novel of 1954 *I Am Legend* (which inspired film adaptations in 1964, 1971 and 2007) and John Wyndham's novel of 1951 *The Day of the Triffids* (inspired by *The War of The Worlds*¹¹ and adapted for cinema in 1962 and for television in 1981, and again in 2009). They also recall the BBC's *Survivors* (1975-77), another account of a postapocalyptic world – a series remade (like *The Day of the Triffids*) in 2008 for a post-11 September generation.

These fantastically cataclysmic tableaux are somewhat more optimistic than, say, the harsh realism of Nicholas Meyer's *The Day After* (1983) or Mick Jackson's *Threads* (1984). Like the Christian apocalypse itself, they delineate a purged world ripe for reconstruction: they represent, in Fredric Jameson's words, "a Utopian wish fulfilment wrapped in dystopian wolf's clothing." One recalls in this context Slavoj Žižek's analysis of two of screen fiction's most celebrated responses to 9/11 – Paul Greengrass's *United 93* (2006) and Oliver Stone's *World Trade Center* (2006): "they want

to read the 9/11 catastrophe as a blessing in disguise ... This utopian perspective is one of the undercurrents that sustain our fascination with disaster movies: it is as if our societies need a major catastrophe in order to resuscitate the spirit of community solidarity."13 Jameson and Žižek's interpretations expose postcatastrophic utopianism which we might also observe in Tony Blair's declaration on 2 October 2001: "The kaleidoscope has been shaken. The pieces are in flux. Soon they will settle again. Before they do, let us re-order this world around us."

Blair's geopolitical opportunism anticipates the denouement of the Hollywood adaptation of Douglas Adams's The Hitch Hiker's Guide to the Galaxy (2005) which flourishes a utopian Earth built to replace the planet obliterated by the Vogon demolition fleet. This cathartic reconstructionism adheres to H.G. Wells's argument in The Shape of Things to Come (1933) that "without the sufferings of these generations men's minds could never have been sufficiently purged of their obstinate loyalties, jealousies, fears and superstitions; men's wills never roused to the efforts, disciplines and sacrifices that were demanded for the establishment of the Modern State." Wells's Modern State is, after all, founded upon a century of war and plague which has annihilated half the human race. 15

However, Wells's totalitarian visionaries, like those neoconservatives bent upon building a new world order in the wake of 11 September, might do well to remember the eventual despair of Lionel Verney, the sole survivor of a world also ravaged by war and plague, an idealist who finally comes to recognise the futility of his own utopian ambitions, in Mary Shelley's seminal work of apocalyptic science fiction, *The Last Man*: "I smile bitterly at the delusion I have so long nourished." ¹⁶

3. SCIENCE FICTION TV IN THE USA

Much of the popular television fantasy and science fiction broadcast in the United States since the attacks of 11 September 2001 advances problematic perspectives upon the imposition of a new world order. *Star Trek: Enterprise* (2001-2005), *Battlestar Galactica* (2003-2009), *Lost* (2004-) and *Heroes* (2006-) each in their different ways scrutinize human responses to sudden and devastating terror attacks upon the modern democratic metropolis.

A restored relic of the Cold War (like *The Invasion*, *I Am Legend* and *The Day of the Triffids*), the reimagined *Battlestar Galactica* (2003-) presents a vision of democracy brought to the brink of destruction by an apocalyptic attack, struggling to survive a fanatical religious war within a political atmosphere of partisan infighting, and led, incidentally, not by a President George but (apparently in honour of his First Lady) by a President Laura.

Yet Battlestar Galactica blurs the moral absolutes on which it is founded to the extent that, by the start of its third season, political roles have been reversed and the heroes themselves have become the insurgents. The programme's moral compass refuses to settle: as its protagonist suggests in the 2007 episode 'Razor', "history will have to make its judgments" - echoing Tony Blair's allusion in March 2006 to "the judgment that history will make". 17 By relocating itself from the apparent future to the distant past, the finale to the series suggests an innate cyclicity of violence generated by religious difference, while at the same time offering possibilities of release from the inevitability of that cycle through consensus and ideological compromise. The very final sequence of the series, set on present-day Earth, suggests however that this cycle has not in fact been broken.

J.J. Abrams's Lost also explores the nightmarishly problematic nature of such attempts at reconstruction in the wake of the defining catastrophe of the age – the plane crash which opens and initiates the series echoes those which provoked the War on Terror. The new world, a post-historical, teleologically bankrupt desert island, on which Lost's survivors discover and attempt to reconstruct themselves, reflects that "desert of the real" with which both Žižek and Baudrillard have equated the contemporary condition of endless, pointless war, ungrounded in reason or historical logic.¹⁸

Media science fiction has always attempted to reflect contemporary events, as well as to predict future trends. The non-interventionists policies celebrated by the original series of *Star Trek* (1966-1969), for example, echoed contemporary disillusion with the Vietnam War. During the immediate post-Cold War period, Nicholas Meyer's *Star Trek VI: The Undiscovered Country* (1991) depicted the achievement of peace between the Federation and the Klingons' evil empire – after the latter

had experienced its own Chernobyl, an accident that destroys its main energy production facility. In its later seasons, Star Trek: The Next Generation (1987-94) promoted a post-conflict agenda of liberal non-intervention, using a covert mode of public diplomacy to bring about (in parallel with events in East and West Germany) the reunification of Romulan and Vulcan societies. By contrast, the Star Trek franchise's Enterprise (2001-05), which debuted a mere fortnight after 9/11, adopted a more militaristic and interventionist approach to alien Captain Jonathan civilizations: Archer's fundamentalist foes - the Suliban Cabal mirrored Kabul's Taliban in their attempts to annihilate democratic modernity and impede our heroes' crusade to construct a neoconservative universal order. The programme's third season concerned the aftermath of a massive terrorist strike on the Earth, while its fourth and final season climaxed with the establishment of an interstellar version of the Coalition of the Willing – dubbed the Coalition of Planets. It is possible that the cancellation of *Enterprise* after four seasons may have signalled a growing distaste among American audiences for its particular brand of jingoism.

It seems no coincidence that the return of the *Star Trek* franchise to the big screen in 2009 presented a sequence of catastrophic events which quite literally rewrote the course of history. This film was directed by *Lost*'s J.J. Abrams, and starred Zachary Quinto, an actor better known for his role in another science fiction epic which explores the aftermath of 11 September.

While *Enterprise*'s heroes embraced mainstream political perspectives, the protagonists of other contemporary science fiction series have assumed more ambivalent positions. This ambivalence may be seen not compromisingly liberal or pluralist, but as radically so - in an era in which ideological absolutism has so often demonstrated its dominance. One series that has strived to forge such a pluralist consensus is Heroes, a show which in its political stance (and crusading ambivalence) in many ways represents the televisual equivalent of Barack Obama. Like Alan Ball's True Blood (2008-) and Neill Blomkamp's District 9 (2009), Heroes reflect a situation in which liberal tolerance and militant paranoia vie to dominate a world rocked by a catastrophic paradigm shift. Its debut episode depicted a solar eclipse over Manhattan, one

echoing the momentary yet momentous eclipse of American hegemony in September 2001, as the smoke from the twin towers blotted out the sun above New York. Heroes argues that the only way to prevent a further devastating attack upon Manhattan, and its aftermath – a dystopian future witnessed in its twentieth episode – is for the hawks and doves of domestic politics (as embodied in the brothers Nathan and Peter Petrelli) to cast aside their ideological differences and sponsor an international consensus.

As their names suggest, Nathan represents an Old Testament spirit of uncompromising justice, while Peter offers a New Testament vision of redemption through understanding. In the words of another character in the series, this juxtaposition of "brother versus brother [is] almost biblical." Peter is also confronted with Zachary Quinto's villainous Gabriel Gray (aka Sylar): both have the ability to assimilate the powers of others, but while Peter uses empathy, Gray employs the most violent means to achieve his ends. Gabriel is named after the angel of the Christian annunciation, the angel also who revealed the Qur'an to Muhammad; but whether Sylar represents Dubya or Osama is left ambiguous. In fact it is Heroes's Mr Linderman who represents the most dangerous form of extremism. Linderman is an idealist who believes that a cathartic catastrophe will conjure his vision of Utopia. His is the totalizing pseudo-utopianism of the jihad or the crusade, a fundamentalism echoed in Heroes's second season by Adam, a megalomaniac who attempts to release a plague to purge the world; and in its third season by Peter and Nathan's father, the supremacist and ideologue Arthur Petrelli - and ultimately by Nathan himself.

Heroes is not unique in contemporary television science fiction in its urgent warnings against such extreme solutions. Across the Atlantic, similar issues have been explored in the new series of *Doctor Who*.

4. DOCTOR WHO

The original run of *Doctor Who* (1963-1989) offers a reflection of the social and political changes in Britain between the assassination of President John F. Kennedy (the day before its first episode) and the fall of the Berlin Wall (the year of its last). Two months before the programme's debut Harold Wilson had invoked a new Britain forged in the "white heat" of a

technological revolution; exactly a year after its final story Margaret Thatcher had resigned. Its first two decades charted the diminution of traditional Britishness (in the figure of William Hartnell, an Edwardian gentleman battling Nazilike Daleks but at the same time coming to terms with the contemporary Britain of popular music, nightclubs and miniskirts), the swinging sixties (in the form of Patrick Troughton's antiestablishment protagonist) and the increasingly visible self-serving pettiness of military, political and bureaucratic authority (which infuriated constantly frustrated and Pertwee's incarnation of the Time Lord). From the late 1970s the appearance on Britain's TV screens of the BBC's rival (and resolutely antiimperialist) science fiction series Blake's 7 (1978-1981) and Tom Baker's ever more anarchic portrayal of the programme's protagonist – as well as Britain's dire economic (which could hardly situation have accommodated the prospect of global supremacy) – prompted the programme to satirize its own roots in a post-war nostalgia for imperial times. Simultaneously, however, its repeated emphases upon the Edwardian and Victorian eras – in its costumes, storylines, settings, mannerisms and patrician perspectives - revealed an intransigence and a decadence which were ultimately to prove the series's downfall (in its original form). Eventually, in its final decade – during the years of Thatcher's Britain (and in parallel to the Thatcherite call for a restoration of British influence) – the original series of Doctor Who succumbed to an incongruous, unconvincing and fatal nostalgia for Great-Britishness and for its own glory days.19

However, upon the franchise's extraordinarily successful revival in 2005, the new *Doctor Who* signalled a renunciation of its obsession with the past. It was self-consciously contemporary, set in a land of leather jackets, housing estates and New Labour politics, and overtly resolved upon "getting the tone right for the twenty-first century".²⁰

One very visible aspect of *Doctor Who*'s latest incarnation is its exploitation of London landmarks. Science fiction's use of architectural reference points – as at once glamorous and grounding, spectacular and mundane – can be witnessed in films ranging from *King Kong* (1933) and *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951) through *Planet of the Apes* (1968) to *Independence Day* (1996) and *Godzilla* (1998).

BBC Television's premiere science fiction series The Quatermass Experiment (1953) had climaxed in Westminster Abbey, and Doctor Who's original series had, from time to time, employed similar settings: Daleks paraded through Westminster in 1964, an evil supercomputer took up residence in the Post Office Tower in 1966, Cybermen crowded outside St. Paul's Cathedral in 1968 and occupied the grounds of Windsor Castle in 1988, and dinosaurs overtook Trafalgar Square in 1974. The new series has, however, pushed such architectural allusions to their saturation point: a Nestene beneath the London Eye; the Sycorax shattering the Gherkin (Norman Foster's iconic glass tower in London's financial centre); Cybermen in Battersea Power Station; the 2012 London Olympic Stadium emptied by the Isolus; the Webstar decimating Oxford Street; a major London hospital transported to the Moon; and both the Slitheen and the Master assuming the reins of government in 10 Downing Street. The roof of Buckingham Palace is skimmed by the Starship Titanic in 'Voyage of the Damned' (2007), and the entire building is obliterated in 'Turn Left' (2008) - while in 'The Next Doctor' (2008) a Cybergiant attempts to lay waste to Victorian London.

To some extent this interest in London landmarks can be explained by a concern for – in global sales that the uniquely (stereotypically) British character of the series may account for the programme's international success. Mark Bould sees this emphasis on the old, new and future features of the London skyline as blending nostalgic melancholy with an optimism about "modern, global Britain".²¹ However, we may imagine another, more urgent rationale behind this fixation: the al-Qaeda attacks of 11 September 2001 in New York and of 7 July 2005 in London. The series explores the perceived privileged status of its sites as terrorist targets - most obviously when in 'Planet of the Dead' (2009) the wrecking of a London bus offers an image hauntingly reminiscent of 7 July 2005m and when, in 'Doomsday' (2006) and 'Daleks in Manhattan' (2007), aliens attack the twin towers of London's Canary Wharf and the Empire State Building in New York - York - or when, again, London and New York are attacked in 'The Stolen Earth' (2008). These sites stand as ambiguous memorials for New York's Ground Zero, with the series constructing epitaphs that re-enact the events of 9/11 in an architectural prosopopoeia.

In 'Aliens of London' (2005), a Slitheen spaceship crashes into Big Ben. This outrage has been staged in order to provoke a third world war: when the Slitheen take control of Downing Street in an attempt to launch a preemptive strike against an illusory extraterrestrial threat, their leader (in the guise of Acting Prime Minister) announces that "our inspectors have searched the sky above our heads and they have found massive weapons of destruction, capable of being deployed within forty-five seconds."

The programme's head writer Russell T Davies has commented that, although these attempts at "quick satire" may be "hardly profound", he believes that "the 'massive weapons of destruction' reference ... satirises a politician on TV about needing a war; men have died for that, are dying now". 22 In a genre that generally prefers its politics at the level of analogy, Doctor Whooften Davies's proves uncharacteristically direct in its political references. Indeed, series director Graeme Harper has even reported that the portrayal of the villainous creator of the technocratic Cybermen was based in part on Donald Rumsfeld.²³

When, for example, "Homeworld Security" forces detain civilians in 'The Sontaran Stratagem' (2008) – prior to a chemical weapons attack on New York, London, Sydney, and Tokyo - the allusion to modern internment tactics is made explicit in a reference to Guantanamo Bay. At the end of 'The Christmas Invasion' (2005), when Britain's Prime Minister orders the destruction of the defeated and retreating Sycorax spaceship, David Tennant's Doctor threatens to bring her down with just six words: "Don't you think she looks tired?" At the time the British press recognized the scenario as an allusion to the sinking of an Argentine cruiser during the Malvinas Conflict, but also as a more contemporary reference to Prime Minister Tony Blair's own appearance of increasing exhaustion. Indeed, the programme's head writer Russell T Davies has commented that "there is absolutely an anti-war message" at the heart of this episode.²⁴

In 'Midnight' (2008) the paranoia which envelops a hijacked travelcraft does not evoke the heroism of the passengers of *United 93* (or for that matter of the ferry passengers in *The Dark Knight*) so much as the xenophobic hysteria of the United Kingdom's tabloid press – as its passengers, faced with an unseen threat,

conspire to cast the programme's alien hero to his death: "He just turned up out of the blue ... like an immigrant ... he hasn't even told us his name ... we should throw him out ... get rid of him now." The following episode, 'Turn Left' (2008), presents a dystopian alterity in which London has been destroyed by an alien strike. The resulting state of emergency witnesses the triumph of a military authoritarianism which leads inexorably towards the establishment of detention camps for immigrants, and a resurgence of racist nationalism: "It's the new law. England for the English." This is an alienated, but uncannily familiar, Britain, a police state militarized of refugees, unemployment, street crime, home repossession, deportation and internment.

By the start of the new series of Doctor Who the protagonist's home planet has been annihilated in an apocalyptic conflict referred to as the Time War. In its second episode, 'The End of the World' (2005), the new Doctor Who depicts the eventual destruction of the Earth in a solar fireball. The following year, and again the year programme presents a that. the reconstructed New Earth—and the city of "New New York." The series offers the possibility of reconstruction, of the creation of a new world order, of the survival of civilization after the holocaust, after 11 September and the War on Terror – after the destruction not only of the Earth but also of the protagonist's own planet. Yet, interminably new name suggests, New York's relentless reconstructions imply a sequence of catastrophic annihilations that echo endlessness of the War on Terror itself.

On 23 June 2007, the Doctor's arch-enemy (and fellow Time Lord) the Master (John Simm) became the Prime Minister of Great Britain only to be defeated by David Tennant's Doctor (in broadcast terms) the following Saturday. In between those two events, on 27 June, Tony Blair relinquished the British premiership. This coincidence of dates underlined a point about the United Kingdom's political leadership that the British press noted at the time: as The Guardian reported on 26 June 2007, "Tony Blair may be leaving office, but he will be remembered by fans of Doctor Who ... after being immortalised ... as the Time Lord's evil nemesis." It seems difficult to see the John Simm's hypnotically charismatic Prime Minister as anything other than a palimpsest of the presidential premier Blair: *The Sun* newspaper announced that "*Doctor Who*'s creator ... admitted ... the Master is partly based on Tony Blair". ²⁵ Indeed even *The Daily Telegraph* recognised the similarity between Simm's Master and Tony Blair. ²⁶

Simm's villain attempts to rebuild a lost empire, to appropriate the protagonist's role as the saviour of humankind and of his own people. Yet his vision is absolutist and uncompromising: his plan to reconstruct the detritus of his own lost civilization creates a dystopia redolent of other attempts at postwar reconstruction in Afghanistan and Iraq.

The programme's spin-off series *Torchwood*, expressly targeted at an adult audience, has been afforded an even greater licence than *Doctor Who* to explore the underbelly of this darker universe. 'Sleeper' (2008) depicts the interrogation, torture, and execution of a member of a cell of alien suicide bombers – while the following episode, 'To the Last Man' (2008), sees the protagonists knowingly send a young soldier to his death, while reports from Iraq play in the background on TV.

5. UNTIL THE END OF TIME

This account of the ideological focus of popular film and television science fiction may seem somewhat at odds with the genre's reputation for adolescent escapism. Is screen science fiction, then, a site of futuristic and fantastical imaginings, or of contemporary politicohistorical commentary? In his celebrated study of utopian and dystopian science fiction, Archaeologies of the Future, Fredric Jameson suggests that "our most energetic imaginative leaps into radical alternatives [are] little more than the projections of our own social moment and historical ... situation."27 Or, as Freud wrote at the end of The Interpretation of Dreams: "By picturing our wishes as fulfilled, dreams are after all leading us into the future. But this future, which the dreamer pictures as the present has been moulded by his indestructible wish into a perfect likeness of the past."²⁸

From H.G. Wells to Douglas Adams, science fiction has traditionally offered itself as an allegory or satire upon urgent contemporary concerns; but it may be that, at the extremes of history (when history is at its most extremely historic, or when history is at its own extremes, at its borders with the fantastical, the post-

material, the virtual) the fantasy space itself becomes almost indistinguishable from the historical – in that history's intensity historicizes its fantastical counterpart, or in that history's near post-historicality blurs into the fantastical. History is always, of course, at its own extreme: the present is the very edge of history; and, insofar as this is always inevitably the case, science fiction offers an only-slightly-less (or only-slightly-more) real vision of that extremity in its own most extraordinary (and thereby inherently mainstream) renditions.

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