

**T.C.**  
**ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY**  
**INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**MEMORY IN THE AGE OF “HEARTH AND SALAMANDER ” AND  
“MEMORY HOLE” MEMORY AND TOTALITARIANISM IN  
ORWELL’S *1984* AND BRADBURY’S *FAHRENHEIT 451***

**M.A THESIS**

**KARWAN MOHAMMED SALIH M RASHID**

**Department of English Language and Literature**  
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**Thesis Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ferma Lekesizalin**

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T.C.  
İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

**Yüksek Lisans Tez Onay Belgesi**

Enstitümüz İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Ana Bilim Dalı İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Tezli Yüksek Lisans Programı Y1412.020046 numaralı öğrencisi **Karwan Mohammed Sabih M.Rashid MRASHID**'in "MEMORY IN THE AGE OF "HEARTH AND SALAMANDER" AND "MEMORY HOLE" MEMORY AND TOTALITARIANISM IN GEORGE ORWELL'S 1984 AND RAY BRADBURY'S FAHRENHEIT 451" adlı tez çalışması Enstitümüz Yönetim Kurulunun 31.05.2017 tarih ve 2017/12 sayılı kararıyla oluşturulan jüri tarafından **başarılı** ile Tezli Yüksek Lisans tezi olarak **kabul** edilmiştir.

**Öğretim Üyesi Adı Soyadı**

**İmzası**

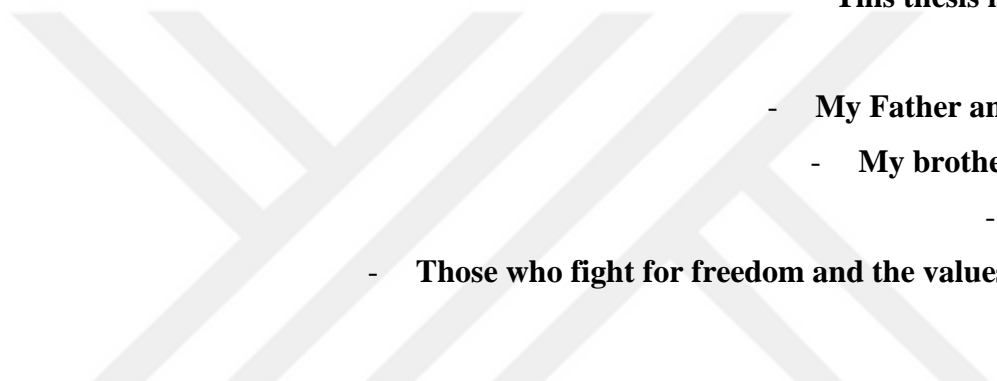
Tez Savunma Tarihi :07/06/2017

1)Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Ferma LEKESİZALIN

2) Jüri Üyesi : Yrd. Doç. Dr. Gamze SABANCIUZUN

3) Jüri Üyesi : Yrd. Doç. Dr. Özlem Gülgün CEYLAN

Not: Öğrencinin Tez savunmasında **Başarılı** olması halinde bu form **imzalanacaktır**. Aksi halde geçersizdir.



**This thesis is dedicated to**

- **My Father and my Mother**
- **My brothers and sisters**
  - **My friends**
- **Those who fight for freedom and the values of humanity**

## **FOREWORD**

Before everyone, I should express my appreciation to my teacher and supervisor, Dr. Ferma Lekesizalin, I would like to say thank you for all your support, encouragement and feedback.

I would like to thank my parents, brothers and sisters for their constant support.

Thanks to my friends for their encouragement.

My gratitude to those who have taught me a letter.

**June 2017**

**Karwan Mohammed Salih M.RASHID**

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**"OCAK VE SALAMANDER" VE "BELLEK YUVASI" ÇAĞINDA BELLEK  
GEORGE ORWELL'IN 1984 VE RAY BRADBURY'IN FAHRENHEIT 451  
'İNDE HAFIZA VE TOTALİTARİZM**

**ÖZET**

Pierre Nora ve Hanna Arendt'in hafıza ve totaliter yapı üzerine çalışmaları ve katkıları hususunda, Arendt hafızanın totaliter yapılar için tehlikeli olduğuna inanır. Bu sebepten egemen güçlerin halihazırdaki çıkarları doğrultusunda, kasıtlı olarak geçmişin bir kısmını silmek, bir kısmına daha çok odaklanmak yahut tamamını ortadan kaldırmak ile uğraşırlar. Nora bazı hususların hatıraları canlanılabilmek ve enerjisi olduğundan bahseder. Her iki romanda da hafızalar silinip, güncellenir ve kitap, defter, kalem, mürekkep gibi hatıralara gönderme yapabilecek hususlar otoriter rejimler tarafından yasaklanır. Totaliter rejimler toplumların mirasını dakikalar içinde yok edip, günceller. Bu çalışmada; hafıza yoluyla ulusların tarihi, bilgi dağarcığı incelenmektedir. 1984 ve Fahrenheit 451 gibi distopik kurgu eserlerdeki totaliter rejimlerde bellek, ulus kimliği ve bilinci ile ilişkili sayıldığından dikkate alınmıştır. Geçmişte olanlar totaliter rejimin arzusu olmadığından, her iki romanda da baskın güçler tarafından silinir, değiştirilir ve yerine ideolojik amaçlar doğrultusunda yeni bellekler konur. Bu yeni belleklerin uygulamaya konmasında medyanın, dilin ve teknolojinin büyük etkisi vardır. Hatıraların hafızalardaki tırmanışı, kahramanların hayatında sıradışı bir değişime yol açar.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** *hafıza, ortak hafıza, totaliterlik, faşizm, medya, geçmiş*

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**ABSTRACT**

Regarding Pierre Nora's contribution on the memory studies and Hanna Arendt on totalitarianism, Arendt believes that memory is dangerous for the totalitarian powers. That is why they deliberately tackle memory for the sake of their present interests, in the result the hegemonic powers erase some parts of the past, some are more focused and others are forgotten. Nora states that some subjects are very crucial and they have energetic power because those subjects are capable of retrieving the past memories. In both the novels the past memories are erased and updated, and the authoritarian regimes of both novels prohibited those subjects (ink, book, diary and pen). In this thesis, memory is used to indicate the past (history and knowledge) of the nations. The totalitarian regimes in both the novels in a minute by minute manner update and destroy undesired parts of the past heritage of their community. The issue of memory in both dystopian fictions is paid much consideration by the totalitarian regimes of *1984* and *Fahrenheit 451*, because it links with the identity and unity of the nation. The past is not what the totalitarian regimes desire for that is why the past is rubbed out by the dominant power in both novels, instead the original past; the totalitarian powers invent new types of memory that fulfill their ideological ends. For exposing and implementation the new memory media, language and technology have a great impact. Clinging to the past memories makes outstanding transition in the life of the protagonists.

**Keywords:** *Memory, collective memory, totalitarianism, fascism, media, past*



## **1. INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 The Significance of Collective and Individual Memory**

Over the past decades there has been a concern about memory in the fields of social science and humanities. Studies of memory have resulted in an incredible extent of remarkable works, which pave the way to establish new areas of study (Vinson 2010), (Grainge, 2003), (Hoffman, 2000), (Huysen, 2000), (Möckel-Rieke1998). Memory is a broad field of study; it concerns widespread sorts of writing such as autobiography and individual memoirs that most writers of fiction have tried. Pierrri Nora, a French historian, in his seminal work, *Lieux de mémoire*, claims that in a particular period of history memory shapes the social and cultural climate and then hides itself. Nora calls this as a turning point that the awareness of a cut-out with past involves the realization that memory and past have been ruptured, ruptured in a way to form the issue of memory. For Nora, in the modern period the real atmosphere of memory is absent; he also believes that memory as identity and as the way of self-discovering no longer exists. Instead, there are memory sites because the real atmosphere of memory no longer exists. As a result of massive influence of new memories, people do not see memory as identity. People neglect and forget their past. Nora gives the disappearance of the peasant culture as an example of the memory-collapse during the wake of modernity. His intention is to show that the only forms of the past that exist as the memory sites are historic buildings, archives, monuments and museums that have supplanted the real memories, which he calls the living memory of the societies of pre-modernity. He suspects that the reason behind modern memory sites is to compensate a deficiency of consensus and unity among the modern societies, (Nora, 1989).

The importance of memory continues to be crucial in the postmodern period. Eva Hoffman, scholar and writer, calls our period as the era of memory, which does not mean that memory becomes influential only in this period; in fact, memory has been with humanity for a long time. What makes this age as the era of memory or in which way this

era different from previous ones? The answer may be that memory has both a cultural and a natural life. Memory arises as a problem with the period of modernity and there is a relationship between memory and modernity, as the period has been claimed for its momentous and revolutionary changes, memory has become a significant issue.

Memory basically entails a questioning of the past. The past establishes the human existence and deals with the basic facts of human understanding that leads to perceiving the world. In other words, memory and history are crucial for human beings. The chapters three and four examine the role and importance of memory in the protagonists's life in both novels. Clinging on to the past makes massive changes in both Winston and Montag's lives.

Memories of the past have a great impact on the contemporary issues as Richard Terdiman, who calls memory as the "present past" to indicate that when people talk about memory the immediate meaning of memory is the past experiences. Terdiman regards our period as the period of "memory crisis"; memory evolves into complication. The connection of the societies with their pasts goes under pressure, and a doubtful relation with the past becomes particularly severe generally in Europe. After the French revolution, memory became a crisis because the old forms of tradition --how people made meaning and how they connected with the past, present and future-- were disrupted in a massive way as a result of urbanization and industrialization (Terdiman, 1993 ).

What I discuss in this thesis is how the totalitarian states in both novels deal with personal and collective memory and why does memory matter for them; what makes memory so powerful that the totalitarian rulers try to destroy or reconstruct all the traces of their communities' past. The past has a pivotal role in establishing the individual identity and in a larger scale collective identity. The central factor for the formation of identity is the past. Linking the past memories of a group with its identity has been studied by scholars. In his theory of "collective memory", Maurice Halbwachs claims that memory works as a mechanism to unite people and cement identity. Nietzsche and Locke believe that the collective identity of a society is rooted in its collective memory. Many scholars confirm the role of the past in forming the present identity; for example, Marya Schechtman, scholar and writer, claims that the past memories are linked with individual's identity, (Schechtman, 2010). Memory is a crucial element for controlling a society, as Hannah

Arendt states “Memory is so dangerous for totalitarian rulers.” So controlling memory of people is the number one priority of the totalitarian regimes.

In both novels, the state and the party erase the past traces or update them in a systematic way. The reason behind past erasure is what Peter J. Verovšek refers to; he expresses that in each country collective memory is an essential factor for stabilization of the society. It is a source of social and political integration and also, it establishes common identity among communities. (Verovšek, 2014).

Erasing and denying the past memories can be noticed, as Uhl and Golsan Show, in different countries such as Italy, France, and Austria. They deleted or denied their past when they were in cooperation with the Nazi regime. These countries erased the dark sides of their history of violence and repression after World War II. The same thing happens in Orwell’s *1984*. When the party finds that there is no correspondance between the party lines in the present with the past, they start to change or erase the past documents in order to fit with the situation of the present. For example, Oceania and Eastasia are neighbor states and they live in peace together, but they were enemies several years ago. In the official documents, being enemy with Eastasia is denied by the BigBrother’s regime. The totalitarian regime of *1984* wipes out the events of the past on account of the fact that the past does not meet its interests of the present.

When a group of people share the same traumatic memory of the past history, it becomes a source of unity among them. The memory is rooted in the consciousness of the people and lasts forever, and it becomes a base for establishing the identity in the future. Through developing a narrative frame, memory and the past unify and integrate the community. Eyerman outlines a theory on the role of collective memory in establishing the collective identity of the African-Americans. According to the theory, the traumatic memories of the African Americans have a significant role and works as a cornerstone for the formation of their identity, (Eyerman 2004). Kansteiner mentions that studies about the collective memory present two apparently opposite interests. The first interest is that the scholars have a widespread concern about running memory crisis, so they look for the answers for the question of the social influence of speedily promoting technologies. The experts point to suspension of the collective possession including memory and past after the Cold War period and to the challenges of the traumatic events of genocide and war. The second one

expresses a crucial aspect of the memory study as a genuine intellectual practice. It allows experts and academics to tackle historical, philosophical and social heritage of previous century. Through the notion of memory the ways of representing the past and the power of representation are understood. What makes the field of memory study to win popularity among other fields of humanities and social science is the exceptional collection of social relevance and intellectual quest. Kansteiner suggests three factors for conceptualizing the collective memory; the first factor is culture and intellectual tradition that shape past representations. The second factor is adopting and manipulating certain traditions. The last one is related to those who consume, use, forget, ignoring and transforming memory for the sake of their private ends. He states that majority of studies about memory deal with both individual and collective memory as similar terms. The studies regard both as the same, not distinct from each. In fact, it should be expressed that collective memory refers to a collective phenomenon but its only manifestation is in the events and actions of the individuals. The role of individual memory is completely ignored by other writers. For example the most referred writer is Maurice Halbwachs and most of the scholars who study collective memory refer to Durkheim's student Halbwachs as the main theoretical reference. Halbwachs views on collective memory are about the general and common representation of past events and information. He focuses on the need of daily communication for progressing of collective memory. Durkheimians' notion of collective memory rejects role of individuals because the memory of the individual is completely dominated by social factors. It is undeniable that collective memory is concerned about distant political, social and historical events, but in most of the cases, it recognizes contemporary interests, (Kansteiner, 2002).

What people acquire from collective memory is the feeling of belonging, namely, belonging to social, political and religious groups. The past memory and history serve an illustration of the world. A common understanding of the past creates motivation among people and they act in a way that they feel belonging. The past is crucially significant for politicians, many of them have used the past to fulfill their own political ends. Tackling the past is not a forbidden issue. Trying to understand from the faults of the past is indispensable, because it may prevent those faults from recurring. What Orwell and Bradbury pointed is not handling the past for the benefit of the society. It is erasing the

past and knowledge for the interests of totalitarian power. The past of a nation with all its ups and downs must be remembered similarly because that past is the only trace of our predecessors and we must deal with it justly and honestly.

Much of consideration is paid to the representation of the past in terms of content and form; by form historical figures of the past in the form of statues, in museums and monuments are meant; and presenting those figures in the curricula of education and in historical books. By content representing a desirable (approved) narration about those historical figures and events is meant. In totalitarian regimes, most information and some events are missing from the past representation because they do not meet the will of those in power. For example, Stalin still exists in the narration of Russian, he is on the best top figures in the history of Russia. His statues are in public places.

The scholars of memory have taken into consideration those distortion, silence, omissions and denial of actual history events. They have been aware of excluding and forgetting certain people and events in the stage of collective memory, (Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger, 2010, Ben, Yehuda, 2007). The state power in both novels permanently deals with history and the past according to their present interests. When information and events are against their ends, they will be forgotten, denied and totally erased from the mind of people, whether in a way of burning and destroying knowledge of books like in *Fahrenheit 451*, or erasing people and historical documents like in *1984*.

In both novels, the representations of memory sufficiently deal with the issue of power, oppression, and authority. The identity of a nation is generally associated with the narrative of the nation's past. In fact, the past narration of a nation has never been undisputed. The past and its narratives have been always an issue in many countries. Edward Said states that memory is not an authentic mean but rather it is a useful mean, he clarifies by giving the example of the memory of the Holocaust. The Jewish community in America was not paid much attention before the war of Arab-Israel in 1967, but the conscious use of the Holocaust memory by Israel creates a national identity for all the Jews around the world. This indicates that the memory and the past of the Jewish people are useful means for establishing and uniting the identity of the Jews around the world, That is why Said calls our age as the age of roots. People start to question and search the traces of their collective memory, religion, origins of the, their history and the past of their

families. The result of the quest of memory stimulates intense debates about the past and present identity and values.

Memory studies deal with other important issues such as past, history, forgetting, remembering, and amnesia. One of the issues that relate to the content of both novels is the issue of forgetting and remembering. The very idea of dealing with memory suggests a consideration on forgetting. Forgetting is a substantial section of memory, which has mythological roots in the traditions of the ancient Greeks. People make space for a new kind of life by forgetting their past experiences; it is a source of relief from the grievous past. Forgetting has been focused by thinkers and scholars. For instance, Nietzsche recommends to acquire forgetting, because it is indispensable and leads to raise hope in the future, he calls forgetting as 'active forgetting' to indicate that forgetting is necessary for human to obtain happiness by releasing from the traumatic memories. Memory should be selected and trimmed to aid new ones to grow and develop. Augé and Baccolini focus on the significance of forgetting and consider it as a necessary mean. They claim that people need to get the way of forgetting for two overt reasons, firstly without forgetting the past there is no taste of the present. Secondly forgetting recent past memories recoup farther past memories. It is clear that forgetting does not imply a total loss of certain memories but it means opening up new possibilities to move and to change against the invented, false and abused memory. Moreover forgetting, for Baccolini, stands to serve as imagination and to safeguard memory. Natural forgetting of past memory is beneficial because it helps to embrace either new memories or more distant ones; in addition, forgetting is advantageous in several countries as it works to establish a new form of identity for the nations with traumatic experience. This is one side of the coin and the other side is that forgetting is not always helpful. Under systematic process by power states and totalitarian governments, people are affected to forget the actual reality of the past and believe the constructed reality. The process aids by power, media and propaganda. Connerton in his essay presents seven different kinds of forgetting. Prescriptive forgetting and repressive erasures are types of forgetting, they are the cruelest kinds of forgetting. These two types are common among the totalitarian governments and ruling parties, but their roots belong to the Roman empire, at that time they were sorts of punishment against those rulers and high rank people who were called state enemies. The

punishment was to destroy and remove all the images, name and statues of them. Repressive erasure breeds denying the historical facts. It can be applied on the case of Emmanuel Goldstein in *1984*. Goldstein is one of the prominent figures of the Big Brother's party, but later, the party calls him as the enemy of people because he no longer serves the favor and interests of the party. The party removes him from its history and the history of Oceania.

Repressive erasures do not always require to use force and power to make people to forget certain realities. The media with its massive impact on people plays an effective role in both of the novels to manipulate and guide the societies in the desired direction. Entertainment shows, commercials and news are very useful means for the power to make people remember and forget the desirable things that meet the interests of the power. The industry of entertainment shows in *Fahrenheit 451* influences people in a way that they neglect the actual matters of their private life and societies.

Remembering is another issue we face while we deal with memory study; it is tidily connected to the issue of forgetting. The whole idea of memory depends on the ability of remembering. Barbara L. Craig argues that remembering is the capacity of human being to recall events, words and information, then to recollect those things for observation or adjustment. That is what memory about. Without referring to how and by who, Craig points that certain parts of memory are hidden from public. Other parts of memories are remembered unselfconsciously through the memory sights. She concludes that the core idea of memory is the issue of remembering. But for Theodore Adorno remembering is a mean of resistance against all the attempts to destroy social facts, (Craig, 2002). The characters in both novels experience the problem of remembering. For example in *Fahrenheit 451*, Mildred, Montag's wife, who is in the grip of an obsession with a TV show, cannot remember one of the most valuable things in her private life. When Montag repeatedly asks his wife whether she remembers where and when they met for the first time, Mildred does not remember that. I will give more details about the effect of TV on the character's of *Fahrenheit 451*. The world that Bradbury portrays in his novel is the world of short memory. The characters do not possess long-term memories, all the memories they have are the memories that are publicized on the parlor walls. A similar problem with Winston appears when he starts to write in his diary for the first time.

Winston mentions that he cannot remember where he bought the diary and he is not sure and cannot remember 1984 is a real date or not. Worse than this is that he cannot remember what happens to his family. In Orwell's *1984*, except an "endless present" (Orwell, 99) nothing exists. The totalitarian government in *1984* alters or erases every traces of the past and that is why Winston has no memories of his family.

The same theme erasing real past and constructing a new memory that exist in these novels can also be noticed in reality. Totalitarian rulers have tried to bring out a new kind of memory of the past so as to form a new type of identity. Hannah Arndet states that the totalitarin regimes of the twentieth century took the issue of the past in to much consideration. For Arndet one of the methods of securing hegemonic power is to control the past of a nation. Stalin's forgery attempts to falsify the history of the Soveit Union is the best example. In 1938, Stalin rewrote the Russian Revolution history and it was not just a simple rewriting but it was erasing and wiping out any undesirable events and figures. Any official documents, books, authors and readers were not coincidence with the interests of the Stalin's regime came to an end by the regime, (Arendt, 1976, 411-13). In today's World, memory is deprived from its original function that is to possess and to contain, instead it faces several challenges such as using, misusing and exploiting. Scholars agree on the fact that memory and past are recoverable, reconstructed and desirable. This means that, using memory and past to meet certain objectives of specific social and political groups. Swoboda and Wiersma focus on the importance of memory and its role in present issues of the nations. They argue that memory is neither passive nor a lifeless thing, but it is an active area that certain traces of past history are preferable, then the past is maintained, fabricated, reconstructed, changed and gifted with a political purpose. For example, the memory of the Holocaust is forgotten and denied in the Arab and Islamic world due to the conflict between Israiel and Palastine. The validity of past memories depends on political issues among the states in the today's world.

Memory entails another important issue, which is narrative. Narrative is one of the ways that nations have utilized it when they deal with their past and it has a vital link with memory. Memory makes and enlivens narrative, when we deal with memory, specially the autobiographical one, we deal with narrative. Narrative is a means of dealing with memory and constitutes the main method of recording memories. Memory becomes a



discourse or a story about past experiences (Orr, Smith, and Watson, 2003). For Gheith, narrative is the construction of personal and national identity. Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger discuss the power of narrative and its role in history. Since memories are the constructions of past history, they need to have a narrative construction. Narrative construction means that certain type of information about historical events and figures. Some are privileged more than others and some are erased or falsified, forging a new form of narrative about the past.

## **1.2 Totalitarianism: “Present Past”**

### **1.2.1. Stalinism**

The term is used by Terdiman to indicate the existence of the past memories in today's life and how the past memories affect the political and social issues among the countries. In this section, I focus on how Germany and Russia deal with their totalitarian past because it is closely relevant to the background and the content of the novels. Nazi and Soviet Union are the most studied totalitarian regimes. Unlike Germany, Russia has not done much about memorialization of its traumatic and upsetting history during Stalinist regime. Over sixty years have passed from Stalin's death, but still there is not a foremost memorial for the victims of his terror state. What is more alarming, in 2008, the Russian Academy for science made a project under name of (The Name of Russia) to nominate the best historical figure in Russia. TV channels that owned by the state broadcasted this project. Among five hundred candidates, Stalin came in the third position. A man as Stalin caused death to millions in "joy camp" of Gulag. During his period of power Russia suffered a terrible famine in 1932 to 1933. Great purge was a massive eliminating, organized by Stalin aiming at his opponents from armed forces, the Communist Party members, government officials and even high commanders of the Red Army. In this process, millions in the Soviet Union were regarded as "the enemy of people" or "the enemy of society" and their destiny were imprisonment, execution and exile. It could be perceivable that in today's Russia there's no blackout on Stalinism and totalitarianism memories, in opposite an intense of traumatic memories such as historical documents testimonial memoirs and dairies exist, there are much of them available if one searches on the Internet. There was a process of de-Stalinization and rehabilitation of the victims of the Soviet

Union in 1956 by Nikita Khrushchev who was Stalin's successor. Huge amount of considerable literature that attentively praise Stalin made him a Historical hero in Russia (Paperno, 2006). This becomes questionable why instead of having legitimate process for official condemnation and recognition Stalin's atrocity as a crime against humanity, still he is one of the top Russian figures. Much has been done by the scholars and historian regarding this issue. Tumarkin, who is an independent scholar clearly expresses that in today's Russia both the culture and process of forgetting and remembering traumatic past exist together in a complicated and confronted way. The quest of converging the Soviet Union rehabilitation and all powerful testimonial still not solved. Two processes are headed to make this predicament possible; the first one is disremembering in a systematic way and a deep-seated forgetting. Deliberate reflection on specific segments of the totalitarian past and entirely abandon the atrocities and humiliation of millions. Concentrating on war and triumphs in conflicts only linked with Stalin's figure. The narrative of war and victories role as a mask to conceal Stalin's painful memories. Political repression and mass murdering of people are less ascribed to Stalin, on contrary the more attention has been paid to his victories and achievements, (Tumarkin 2011). Victory narrative about Stalin is not the only reason for Stalin's existence in today's Russia. Another reason is what Alexander Etkind names it "hard memory" of the oppression. He makes a difference between two distinct types of memory; hard and soft memory. Soft memory indicates personal memories in the form of memoirs, dairies and testimony texts, but the hard memory refers to the firm material signs that fixed steadily in the public places such as monuments and memorials. Etkind realizes that the culture of memory in post Soviet Russia is dominated by the soft memory which apparently is not capable of coming up with adequate resistant to the denial and refutation of Stalin's crimes.

Considering traumatic past memory and pushing it into the public debate is closely relevant to the present. Tackling with the past legacy does not simply mean dealing with historical events or just simply an academy matter; moreover it is directly relevant to the present-day's life and democratic societies. Traumatic past memories are not buried pasts even in nations that lived with totalitarianism. These nations as Germany, Japan, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Balkans and other nations from East Central Europe have afterward brought about outstanding transitions toward liberal democracy. Anatoly Khazanov and

Stanley Payne believe that dealing with past is one of the issues that should be highly considered today. Such issues are related to politics, democracy, law, historical memories and worldwide relations in the post-war era and continue to endure the same in the current century. It is the past that rules the present. Expressing no willingness to admit genocides and crimes against humanity or the denial of genocides bring into being several political issues in twenty first century. This can be adduced as in the case of Japan that shows no readiness to concede its crimes as biological warfare against humanity and the extensive method of sex slavery during WW II. Surely this causes aggravation of its relation several countries in Asia.

Another example is the denial of Holocaust by Ahmadi Najad who is Iran's former president. He made Iran a rogue country not less than having the ambitions of nuclear activities. In the same way the relation between Russia and Poland strains on the base of Putin's complete rejection to admit responsibility to the Tragedy of Katyn, the tragedy was mass executions of Polish people by the Russians in 1940, (Khazanov and Payne, 2008).

Discussions about the way of estimating the traumatic past of the Soviet state have currently started to dominate the public debates in Russia. Thus comes as a reaction of several events. As I mentioned before, it is the result of the TV show to nominate the best Russian historical figure (Name of Russia) by Imia Rossii. Another event was a historical textbook by tenured professor Aleksandr Filippov. The book was about the contemporary history of Russia from 1945 until 2006 and was published in 2007. The textbook is an attempt to whitewash the reality of Stalin's atrocities and regarding him as the most powerful administrator and justified the process of purge as a necessity of modernization. Suffice to mention the overwhelming number of movies and programs that flood the Russian screen, all these lead to another attempt but officially this time. The recent incident was the establishment of presidential board to counterbalance efforts to mischief Russia's attention by fabricating past history. The aim of this board was to counter the forge representation of past plus preparing recommendations and suggestions to react toward falsifying adequately. One of the consequences of establishing this board was in October of 2013 RHS Russian Historical Society held with officially a new guide book of Russian history (Aleksashenko and Frey, 2016). The book has been used in Russian

schools since 2015. IMR Senior Policy Advisor Vladimir Kara-Murza a historian and senior consultant in IMR puts finger on both positive and negative aspects of this attempt. The unified historical textbook aims at formulating public consent about the important phases of evolution in the state and society of Russia.

It was a remarkable attempt to rehabilitate the totalitarian Soviet Union, particularly the atrocities committed by KGB, namely, the secret police of Soviet. The textbook embodies no shocking statements as Aleksander Filippov's presence of several professional historians remained the attempt neutral, it was out of the influence of official and politically bias historians. Regarding narrative of history that depicted in the textbook, it concentrates on the Russia's common interests with the culture and civilization of Europe from the ancient history of Rus to the beginning of twentieth century. Referring to all totalitarian dictators and their mass destruction namely starting from Ivan (the Terrible) human losses during Bolshevik power, and Gulag catastrophe. The negative aspect of the historical text book is that there are no clear justifications for the crimes were committed by the Soviet tyrants. The textbook shows a link between repression of mass people and Stalin's plan of industrialization, but such a link can never be existed between killing millions of innocent people and improving sector of industry.

In the most of the countries that share the legacy of totalitarian past, the practices of reevaluating past have played an essential role in making both the institutions and culture of democracy to be stronger. Countries of Latin America, and South Africa, committees and boards were formed for reconciliation with the past. In the same way in Europe Germany is an outstanding example. The process of (de- Nazification) or getting over the past. These committees and process have rebuilt up the picture of humiliation and crimes of totalitarian past. Helmut König describes the process of getting over the past as a complex procedure of knowledge and actions on the grounds of that modern democratic countries. He gives an account of their pasts. Perceiving the heritage of totalitarian past in terms of mental, personal and structural is highly indispensable. In Germany, the process of overcoming the Nazi past started with lawful measures, including sentencing those who were responsible for the crimes. Rehabilitation process for victims of Nazi regime and Nazism, revision and amendment in the German racial laws. Such processes do not happen in a short term of time, it needs not less than a decade, The process of de Nazification was

abided by investigating the history of national socialism. In direct parallel with this, there was another process of de Nazification, that is personally and ideologically led by disapproving estimation of values and standards during Nazi era. All the processes of overcoming the past were significantly stimulated by the state's willingness to show the Germans clearly the non human characteristic norms of Nazi regime. Worth to be mentioned that during the initiating the process of de Nazification, there was not a public consent toward the process. The situation differed from one part to another, the reason behind this fact is what McClintock points to, perceiving the recent history by the people of West Germany became difficult. It was not only because of experiencing the double heritage of totalitarianism, but also of the legacy of de-Nazification in West Germany and the WW II's memory. What is the most important in these processes is that they are not only in a substantial progress; moreover, they have become an integral part of German identity (Mikhaleva, 2010).

### **1.2.2. Fascism**

Fascism is another ideological and political movement of the twentieth century, for some scholars fascism is the most prominent ideology of the century. For example, Claudio G. Segre claims that "The twentieth century will be the century of fascism" (qtd in Cannistraro, 1996, 157). For Horkheimer and Adorno fascism is the product of modernity. The movement of fascism flourished in Italy and in Germany, and then it spreads and is welcomed by several countries such as, Eastern Europe, Spain and Japan. Movements of fascist style emerged even those States and nations that are remarkably liberal and cherish democratic tradition such as the USA, France and Britain. During the late thirties the ideology of fascism and fascist movements increased massively throughout the world and it became a global threat that waged the WWII. As a result of the war fascism movements in the world apparently checkmated. But today all over the world; the Balkans, Italy, Eastern Europe, Latin America, former Soviet Union and Africa, the boast of Mussolini manifests again. The ideology of fascism is relishing an annoying revival. Scholars have attempted to explain the phenomenon of fascism, for sure; their effort gives rise to a great featured historiography that includes various interpretations on the phenomenon. One of the interpretations is classical explanation; it deals with fascist ideology through utilizing

an expression of “Moral sickness of Europe”. Italian historian and philosopher Benedetto Croce is the prominent exponent of the “classical” interpretation, he describes fascism as “loss of conscience” a poisoning as a consequence of the war, and the poison affects not only people of Italy but all the nations that participated in the wars from 1914 to 1918. According to Croce fascism creates a sort of deviation from the development of the history of Italy and Europe. The ideology of fascism with its European root is a major obstacle in the path of political and social evolution in Europe. Another “classical” explanation is that fascism is the logical outcome of the historical evolution in the countries such as Germany and Italy, in this type of interpretation the attentions focus on two main factors; the first one is the feebleness and lateness of social, economic and political systems. The second one focuses simply on the blemishes and faults of Italian and German national figures. For instance, De Felice states that personal and political weak points of Mussolini deprives Italy of having a true or an effective leadership, Mussolini lacks a precise and clear idea about the aim of his actions. The last “classical” interpretation of the ideology of Fascism is the Marxist interpretation; it views Fascism as the outcome of the class struggle. The twentieth century was taken by the capitalists in most European countries, this leads to their struggle against the revolutionists of the working class. Recent studies on fascism claims that the Marxist explanation is untenable due to social ambiguity and complexity of fascism. Beyond the classical explanations there have issued many important studies on fascism from different perspectives, for example, Hannah Arendt and Carl Friedrich are such writers who use the theme of fascism as a manifestation of totalitarianism. From the social science perspective; Erich Fromm and Wilhelm Reich through the lenses of the social psychology, for sociology, Seymour Lipset and Karl Mannheim and A.F.K. Organski from socio—economic perspective. All these studies from dissimilar perspective and various interpretations on fascism indicate the complexity and significant of the phenomenon of fascism, (Cannistraro, 1996).

António Costa Pinto comments on the principles of fascism. Fascism bases on five pillars as Michael Mann identifies them in his book, he starts with the definition of fascism; ‘fascism is the pursuit of a transcendent and cleansing nation--statism through para--militarism (qtd in Pinto, 2013) . The definition deals with fascism in terms of values, features, actions and power of the fascists. Most accurately the five pillars are;

nationalism, Statism, cleansing, transcendence and para—militarism. Mann's definition of fascism combines the world of ideologies with the world of organizations as if they complete each other, for Mann, without a space such as power organizations, ideologies can do nothing. So organizations are actually important for any system of ideas. E Spencer Wellhofer explains the nature and the context that fascism was born, he believes that fascism was instantaneous response to the crisis of economy during the WWI; fascism incooperated with the existing political views at that time and located its space under the situation of war. Although there is no a clear--cut definition for fascism, most of the scholars agree that fascism embodies a unique mixture of tactics (using violence and refusing democracy of parliament), organizational forms (it means having organic and corporatist principles and supporting the ideology of national efficiency and hierarchy) and ideologies (the principle of force or vitalism and rejecting rationalism, extreme nationalism, materialistic notion and egalitarianism), (Wellhofer, 2003).

Margit Koves deals with fascism in terms of global capitalism, she states that the new historical period of globalization and imperialism breaks down the structure of human community and in diverse ways the two mentioned terms support the process of fascisization. Gáspár Miklós Tamás, the Hungarian Marxist philosopher states that Hungary and the rest of the world experience the process of fascisization in the absence fascist powers. The process of fascisization at the beginning of the twenty first century aims at articulating ethnicity and racism into the debate of politics. The particular characteristic of fascism in today's world is that it does not downfall any forms of democracy such as parliamentary but fascism today fits itself in the worldwide capitalism system. The contemporary forms of fascism are given dissimilar names such as, neo, reform, post, proto fascism. For Koves, the new forms of fascism is differ from the one of Mussolini and Hitler in various aspects; the first one is, today, capital has a great role because it becomes a global capital. The second one is the turn of both nation and welfare states. Another aspect is immigrants; it indicates depriving immigrants from their rights and rising racism against them in European countries. The "third world" nations is another aspect, it indicates several issues, namely, exploiting the third world labour. Other aspects are multiculturalism, ethnicization and the issue of identity, changes that happened to the working class and to the politics and political issues, the role and effect of media and

history writing. Koves concludes that the process of fascisization is happening at several levels; the level of nation-state and its different organizations, political parties and parliamentary systems. The reduction of social security inside the communities is another level, terrorism as an example that violates the security of communities in almost all the world. (Koves, 2004).

Fascism is not buried with the death of Hitler and Mussolini. It appears again and again with new forms and features in different times and in different places. Jeffrey Tucker, American economist writer, in his article in the Newsweek claims that in today's world the conditions that develop fascism are not changed that is why it is easy to appear the fascism in different forms. For Tucker, Donald Trump's speeches display all the characteristics of fascist ideology, he believes that without putting himself in charge of the entire country of the USA, Trump has no real plan for America. In the same way, Jamelle Bouie, a political analyst of CBS News calls Trump as a fascist person. Bouie claims Trumpism that fascist characteristics exist in Trumpism. Bouie supports his claim by fascism hallmarks that were identified by Umberto Eco, the Italian professor, novelist and semiotician. Eco identifies fourteen characteristics of fascism. Bouie focuses on seven features; the first feature is showing no tolerance of "analytical criticism", another feature is that using the nationalism narration against the internal and external opponents. Fear of differences and lower social classes are other features that make Bouie's claim strong. (Bouie, Tucker 2015).

The Jews as the victim of the totalitarian and fascist regimes of the twentieth century in Germany are closely link to the background of the novel in two ways; the first way is that the Jews used their traumatic memories to bring unity among all the Jews around the world, this shows the importance of memory in forming identity that leads to establishing national identity. The second way is that the Holocaust of Jews is the outcome of the totalitarianism. As I referred to before, for Edward Said, memory is useful for bringing unity for future commitments. The Jews successfully use their traumatic past memories to establish and strengthen their unity. Referring to the issue of utilizing the Holocaust memory is closely relevant for two obvious factors, The first factor is that Holocaust is the most brutal atrocity in the history of mankind that coincidence with both of the novelists period. The second factor is what Möckel-Rieke claims; she states that the complete



disappearance of Holocaust generation causes growing concern on discourse of memory in recent decades,( Möckel-Rieke 1998). Recent studies on the Holocaust have shifted focuses from rehabilitating the victims and measuring casualties to several modern issues. Including, the denial and abuse of the Holocaust, motivations behind country's willingness to build memorials and monuments for the Holocaust, the way of remembering, the various social, cultural and political contexts that create different impacts on the way of remembering the Holocaust, and the Holocaust in the global perspective. I shortly refer to the early attempts to safeguard memory of the Holocaust, because there is similarity between the way of safeguarding the Holocaust memory with the way of what Winston writes in his diary in *1984* and Montag through reading in *Fahrenheit 451* to keep the original history and memory of their nations.

When the Nazis sat about carrying out their oppression strategy against Jews, the concept of utilizing testimonial, collecting and initiating archives to safeguard what was happening in memory cropped up in the Jewish community. The earliest attempt was taken in 1940 by Emmanuel Ringelblum, his attempt was creating an archive in the ghetto of Warsaw, Kassow states that Ringelblum's attempt was the first organized step for establishing an archive to record crimes against Jews, (Kassow 2007). After that Isaac Schneersohn who established a committee in 1943 in France in Grenoble. This committee later in 1945 became a centre for recording contemporary documents regarding the Jews. Gross refers to the significance of this centre and its role in preserving the memory of crimes that were committed against the Jews. At that time they were capable of collecting enough documents that Jewish survivors issued at this centre. The documents were publicized on media; it had a substantial impact on the process of preserving the memory of the Holocaust. 1950s to late 1960s came to be considered as a period of forgetting and thus led holocaust memories began to fade away gradually, (Gross, 2012). Raphael and Novick refer to the reason behind this fall-back break that they call it collective amnesia. The reason was the Jews enshrouded themselves in soundlessness, suppressing their traumatic memories in a collective assumed response, (Raphael and Novick, 2001). The memory of the Holocaust came on the stages again between 1970s and 1980s, in this period the process of memorialization appeared in the West, the term can be considered as the combination traumatic past of the Holocaust and the narrative of public . The process

entailed both the war and crime memories, congregated in a way to reflect not only the present but future as well. Diner points that the process reinforced by the media. TV shows and radio programs had a great impact on developing public and cultural consciousness to the distinctiveness of the genocide, (Diner 2009).

### **1.3 The Totalitarian Methods of Repression other than Terrorizing People**

In this section I discuss the methods of totalitarianism that have been used to manipulate and brainwash the mind and the life of people and the impact of totalitarianism on the human life in the twenty first century. Totalitarianism is not an outdated system or ideology, its impacts on the life of people can be noticed today. Totalitarianism as a more baleful and destructive model of absolute power rooted its ill-favored face in the twentieth century. The denotation of the term may indicate entire domination of community and its citizens with brutal violence and strict rules. Controlling both public and private life of members of the society has been the ultimate ambition of the totalitarian rulers. Totalitarian world is a world with no space for independence thought, imagination, reading and writing. Politic is banned and prohibited meanwhile every pints of life becomes political; from sport, education, religion, work, family, sex and children. The pivotal question is that why still we should study totalitarianism when the Soviet union, Nazi Germany, Hitler, Stalin and the other totalitarian rulers are no longer in life? Before answering the question, the totalitarian rulers of twentieth century were not merely an outcome of only one certain ideology, they had various and diverse ideological backgrounds. The answer of the question is that totalitarianism and its devastation have been an essential part of the world's contemporary history, how? Survivors or second generation of the deadly Holocaust are still alive. Millions of people were killed and more suffered terribly and directly by the totalitarian dictator as Hitler and Stalin. Totalitarianism continues to be a threat to human being whenever extreme poverty, injustice, violence and terrorizing exist, (History, 2016). Terrorizing people continues to be a threat in the twenty first century. Greece's ex-finance minister Yanis Varoufakis, his speech is a solid and tangible evidence to prove the existence of totalitarian legacy in this period. He describes the monetary Union of Europe for being intense hypocrisy, he regards the policy of monetary organization of EU as the policy of power politics of

nineteenth century. Varoufakis declares that during Greece financial crisis in 2015, Euro group terrorized Greek people. He believes that people can be terrorized in the absence of terrorists, because in a financialized economy there is nothing more terroristic than closing down peoples' banks. The Euro group "pulls the plug" and forcing the Greek people to vote in a particular way in bail out referendum in 2015 in Greece. For Yanis Varoufakis, this is an attempt to manipulate and terrorize Greek voters. This attempt is highly political and toxic, it is a brutal assault to the principles of democratic rights of people, he frankly puts the Euro group attempt in words as a financial coup d'état. So as Magstadt points to, it is risky and impossible to believe that Hitler was the last totalitarian dictator.

Global Challenge Foundation with cooperation of Oxford University published a report in February 2015 about the contemporary challenges to human civilization. The report warned about twelve risks that put the very base of humanity at stake in twenty first century. Those challenges have rational grounds and are accepted by the scientific community. Some of the risks are much serious that cost ending of human life on the earth, other risks have a lesser extent of threat on human being. I will discuss two of the risks that closely related to the warnings and themes of both of the two novels, the first risk is atomic or nuclear war and the second one is false governing model totalitarianism as an example.

Orwell in *1984* warns about emerging an atomic war among the three power states of the world (Orwell. 246). The risk of nuclear war comes in second rank among the twelve global risks by the report. For the matter of fact in *1984* there are only three states that posses atomic bombs, but in today's world there are more countries that have built and will build nuclear weapons. Moreover, according to the report there are a large number of countries that long to possess nuclear weapons. Regarding the nuclear activities, what is currently happening in the world is much more risky and frightful than is warned by Orwell in *1984*. In both novels, the state power enormously proud of owning atomic bombs and recording victories of atomic war, (*Fahrenite 451*, 34, 70, 73). Building mass murdering weapon is the ultimate ambition of the totalitarian power. In the same way as (*Fahrenite 451*) Orwell shows the ambition of the party to build atomic bombs. Winston writes in his diary that the party has two serious problems to solve; to know what all the people of Oceania think about and to find a way to kill millions of people in some few

seconds without giving warning. Back to nowadays, desire to build nuclear weapons increase terribly by the countries. The more numbers of states having nuclear weapons the possibility of nuclear attack or full-scale nuclear war may become more potential. However there are some procedures have been taken to prevent spreading of nuclear weapons as disarmament efforts and proliferation, but the threat of emerging nuclear conflict still remain. Breaking out a nuclear war among those countries that own nuclear weapons will entirely depends on the relationship among future nuclear powers. The high risk of nuclear weapons does not only come from state to state war. It may emerge from a group or organization especially terrorist groups. This threat is known as “nuclear terrorism”. According to Wikipedia, nuclear terrorism is a terrorist attack by a person or a group of people belong to a terroristic organization through using nuclear weapons which are gained by stealing or purchasing in black market. The threat of nuclear terrorism reflects in many contemporary media coverage, speech and movies. In his first speech to the security council of United Nations, Barrack Obama the US president refers to the threat as “the single most important national security threat that we face”

Both novels warn humanity against totalitarian states. According to the report the risk of totalitarianism still exists. The world is under threat that comes from false governing systems, but the explicit threat of totalitarianism in the twenty first century comes in a larger scale than the one in previous century. Now the threat is much considerable and serious. The report refers to totalitarianism in a global perspective. Global governance system indicates the way of managing global or international affairs. Poor policy of governing surely causes threat to the world peace and security. Threats arise from bad governing choices. Global capitalism may pave away for establishing a global totalitarian state, because there are several international collations among countries. These collations are all-important factors, they can be a base for forming effective and powerful system and in the same way they can be a base for installing bad international governance. Arthur R. Thomson, CEO of John Birch Society, shows his deep concern about totalitarianism in today’s world. He states that today’s world is run by three major power states and the two of them are former communists: EU and Russia. The former is led by Angela Merkel and the latter is led by Putin. For Thompson “former” should not be dropped from this narrative, moreover he insists that they are not “former” (The John Birch Society, 2014).

#### **1.4 The Media as a way of Control**

The most effective method that the totalitarian power utilized to construct their favorite reality is the media. This method has a great role today in the most liberal and democratic societies. Media like other fields must serve the interests of the totalitarian power. It is easily straightforward that media in both novels work in a way to fulfill the ends of dominant power. The same is true for nowadays, media support the political power. Chomsky and Entman believe that the media and power have a clear reflection on each other. If an agency, TV channels, a newspaper or any other forms of media get out of the lines of agenda-setting media, certainly that media does not last long, or it should follow the line. There are several issues in the world that the media ignore them, because whether the elite dislike them or they put the interests of power at stake. The corporate media is a part of or links to a greater cooperation, and these cooperation are at the peak of power structure of the world. Media in general is one of the most influential weapons that all the power of the world crucially depend on. Today's media only want some certain things to be informed to the public, (Chomsky, 1997) and (Entman, 2007), Those certain things must pass through some filters as Herman, refers to, Today's media do not publish any story or news until it passes through five filters. I only mention two of the main filters. One of the filters refers to the case of profit and media ownership, that is, limiting the number of media cooperation membership, but showing a considerable increase of concentration on media. The filter of profit directly relates to financial organizations as banks and investors, they are welcomed warmly to purchase large shares of media cooperation. Monetary and media are strongly tied together, because media guarantee the bank owners not to publicize information and reports that may damage the reputation of the banks. Anti communism is the second filter, during the Cold War period communism was the number one enemy of the United States. This ideology served as a pivotal factor to suppress any political opposition, at that time media and journalists were provided with a frame of "us" as United States and "others" as the enemy. However, this filter sounds out of date for today. But Herring and Robinson claim that this frame can be similarly applied to the ideology of war against terror which recently acts on the coverage of media in the United States. Summing up the role of media in preserving the power and totalitarian states of twentieth century. Media has been one of the factor that paves away for keeping

the citizens in order as the way the power always want their people to obey the rules and regulations, (Herman, 2000).

Role of media in both novels shows that it has an essential power in leading public. Bradbury was respective to figure out the way that modern technology of TV is capable of controlling people, he realized the potentiality of keeping majority of society glued to the tube. Letting TV bit by bit to take the place of real experience of life. Bradbury, in *Fahrenheit 451*, puts in view how TV becomes one of the most vital equipments in the life of people. The characters put too much of themselves to own more than one TV (parlo walls). TVs with large flat screens which occupy an entire wall of the houses. In the case of Mildred, Montag's wife, she desperately longs for to be able to buy another TV for their house, in fact they have already three TVs. Patai believes that one of the ultimate aim of TV in *Fahrenheit 451* is to falsify the reality and to broadcast official propaganda. This purpose has extra stress towards the end of the novel, the state's TV channels announce chasing and killing the protagonist Montag, but the reality is that Montag is already alive and he is capable of making successful escape of the authority. The factual function of media which entails broader means today, including TV, is to forge the reality and principally direct people to certain and favored reality. The real function of media is to notify reality of the events but nowadays the function shifts markedly, (Patai, 2012)

Kick points out the huge impact of media and its popularity in the twenty first century (Kick et al, 20-25). Media address a vast audience. They classify the media as two different sections; each does a different thing and each has its own viewers. One of the sections is the entertainment programs and the second is the elite media. Entertainment programs are soap operas, and almost all the newspapers. The function of this type of media is to divert its mass audience instead of informing and showing them the actual images of the reality. The second section is the high rank media and this type possesses substantial news media. New York Times, Washington Post and a few of other newspapers are the examples of the elite media. The function of this type is to provide other journalists and other newspapers with frameworks to operate. Sometimes this type is called as agenda-setting media. Unlike the first sector, the audience of the elite media is limited, majority of the its audience is from the privileged members of society, they are chiefly from the political class, those who are really associate with the systems of decision

making, business managers, schools and universities. The agenda-setting's part is to arrange the way mass audience think and look at the local and international issues. It has a substantial impact on the other sector of the media because what New York Times shows us is what the other media alleged to care about, (Kick et al, 2002).

Media as a tool for misleading and manipulating are not just the characteristics of totalitarian states of twentieth century. It exists in today's modern and democratic societies. The abuse of media is one of the issues that exists in this period specially those countries with multicultural nations and various races. In such case, the governments are not capable of building decisions upon pluralism and variety of public opinions, so the solutions is the media. In a case like that, when the government cannot follow the public opinion, media deliberately try to make their audiences to show their commitment about government's decision. Media in democratic and liberal societies do the bidding of the interests of political elite. It works as a mean for manufacturing general consent. This notion becomes popular in many movies such as *Lions for Lambs* by Robert Redford (2007). Redford's intellectual and political movie is one of the political posturing of Hollywood about the US war against terrorism in Afghanistan and Iraq. It discusses views of different social strata (university students, professor, reporters, politicians and senator) of the American society. A part of the movie is devoted to the relation between politicians and journalists. Tom Cruise plays the role of a plucky republican senator names Jasper Irving. In a desperate manner he tries to win over a journalist Janin Ruth (Meryl Streep) about his military strategy against terror. He wants to prove for public that his strategy is a good one. It can be understandable from the movie that there is a principle of mutual interest between the politicians and the journalists. Roth, the journalist, writes for Time magazine about Irving's military plans and puts his photo on the cover of the magazine, this makes public to trust Irving more and achieve more popularity. In return Irving does much the same for her.

### **1.5 Language and Surveillance as means of Control**

Misuse of language and surveillance are other methods that the today's governments have used them to control the public. Political use of language is one of the characteristics of the totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century. Language as other fields is paid much

attention by those totalitarian regimes. Still in twenty first century language is a crucial mean to control and mislead people. Zepp-LaRouche, in her article, sheds light on the use of “doublethink” to describe the political language of elite of power. She criticizes Angela Merkel for using the same language of the party in Orwell’s *1984*. She claims that Merkel may choose the language of “Newspeak” as a guideline for her political correctness. Orwell and Bradbury in the two novels show a remarkable concern to language. Bradbury considers the role of language for special purpose namely political ends. Language becomes a mean of constructing a fake reality. *Fahrenheit 451* portrays a society that forms immobile social and imitative truths over dominating language. Beside the official language of the power, there is counter discourse of the book people. Regarding Bakhtin’s view on language, he views language as belief system or ideology. Languages of the world represent certain viewpoints. Language is a means to form the world through using words. The groups or states in the world have their own ideology or “view point,” so these groups and states are concreted by a common language (Rivkin and Ryan, 2004).

Surveillance is another method for suppression of the totalitarian powers, not only in Orwell and Bradbury’s fictions but in the real world as well. Edward Snowden’s revelation of classified documents about the systematic surveillance of USA and UK governments upon their citizens make my statement firm about the existence of totalitarian values in democratic and liberal societies in the twenty first century. Snowden who is known as “the whistleblower” was a former contractor in national security agency (NSA) and former senior advisor of central intelligence agency (CIA) in the United States of America. In 2013, he brought what were in dark to light, in an interview with The Guardian he revealed how the governments of USA and UK under name of terrorism crackdown violate their citizen’s privacy, Snowden says nowadays oversight is much “more worse” than had been predicted in Orwell’s *1984*. Today in almost all the countries under the name of protecting security, governments have had citizens under close observation, there are cameras everywhere in restaurants, public places and even at home people’s cell phones are under control, their emails as well. Orwell and Bradbury put particular stress on the phenomenon of totalitarianism and detect its aspects and characteristics. One of the methods of totalitarian system is to keep all the citizen's behavior and attitude under control through surveillance. The multifunctional “telescreen” in *1984* and “mechanical hounds” show



that how the power in both of the novels has ultimate access to the life of every individuals and relationships between them. The relationship between children and their parents in *1984* is a convincing proof to show how the party becomes means of entry to every families of Oceania. In the same way the mechanical hounds is used by the firemen in *Fahrenheit 451* for sniffing books and detecting books, Through using surveillance, the power create a world with no privacy. Power and its numerous spies are everywhere snooping through house's windows, it establishes a very systematic surveillance to watch the life of every single individuals. The totalitarian systems want to know what goes on in every men and women's mind in the society.

## **2. 1984: UPDATING AND MUTABILITY OF PAST**

### **2.1 “Memory Hole” and Totalitarianism**

This section focuses on the methods and techniques that the BigBrother’s party utilizes to erase Oceanian past memories and imposing its new memory. BigBrother is the man who was chosen by the Inner party to represent as the leader to the world. In the ideological project of the party, erasing of past is taken in consideration in an extensive manner. Erasing past of Oceania and its mutability are regarded as one of the sacred principles-of INGSOC; it is English Socialism, the ideological principles of the party, (Orwell, 31). What makes memory so crucial that totalitarian powers erase it altogether? The obvious answer is that, the party erases and alters the past of Oceania for two apparent reasons. First, depending on John Locke’s ideas on memory; there is a marginal relevance between memory and identity. Memory portrays and deep-roots in humankind, lack of memory in individuals makes them to lose identity and the meaning of the life. The party’s deliberate intention of melting the past into mist is that, the party wants people to lose their individual identity. Instead, the party effectively imposes its own favored meaning and principles on the people of Oceania. The second reason, the party’s purpose behind constant changing and erasing of Oceanian collective memory is to receive and secure its complete support of the “proles” (ordinary people of Oceania). Past erasure is one of the most influential means to take over individuals to show their willingness to the party. In *1984* the past is not only changed but it is destroyed as well. Memory (collective, individual) and the past embody the essence of a nation. Both memory and the past have a starring role in preserving unity and identity of the community, so they become the prime target of the BigBrother. Through controlling the collective memory of Oceania, it becomes effortless to capture individual memory of Oceanian citizen. People’s memory in *1984* is dominated by the party’s ideological project and everything becomes in favor of the party. What the

party desires for gradually becomes the reality for the people. For example, the party says that Oceania has never been an ally of Eurasea (neighbor state of Oceania), but this is an obvious lie, because Winston knows that Oceanian and Eurasia were allies four years ago. This reality exists nowhere except in Winston's memory, then this complete lie becomes true forever and it is inscribed in the history of Oceania. That is what the party's ideological project is about, it is called "Reality control" (Orwell 41). This is absolute reinvention of the past. That is why the party permanently distorts every trace of the past for the sake of constructing a new past that fulfills the interests of the party.

Memory hole refers several holes in the Records Department in the Ministry of Truth in the Big Brother's government in 1984. It works as a mechanism for destroying any historical documents that do not go with the party's ideology. It is a place where records, photographs and transcripts of past are "devoured by the flames", "vanish in a flash of flame" (Orwell, 47, 283). It is a place where in a single minute, the undesirable traces of past of Oceania "crumbled into ashes" (Orwell, 90). Memory hole is a systematic method to erase and abolish memory and historical documents of Oceania. The same mechanism can be found in this period; Thomson a CEO from John Brich Society draws a comparison between the "Memory Hole" and the Internet network, he states further that the Internet heads to role as the memory hole. He gives an example of an American woman activist; Victoria Woodhull, she was the leader of woman's suffrage in America, and she was also the head of an American section; the section twelve of Communist International under Karl Marx. But if one looks up her name on the Internet (Wikipedia for example), one realizes that Wikipedia excludes the fact that she was the head of the communist section. Nowadays scholars and students use the Internet extensively for their academic research, so what Thomson argues is not impossible to happen. Information and data are easily handled by those who own the Internet service. The ultimate purpose of the memory hole by the party is that to erase any information in the old archive, books and newspapers that contradict the "new truth" of the party. If the totalitarian regime changes its ideological line, people will not be able to find any clues in the past to oppose the "new truth". The Thomson's analogy of the "memory hole" with today's Internet indicates that both work as a mechanism for hiding, distorting and erasing historical facts.

Big Brother dominates the consciousness of “proles” in Oceania, his voice is everywhere through the telescreen.. Every single citizen of Oceania has to show his or her love, fear, respect and affection to him. The party sanctifies him, and all the citizens must regard him as a glorious and sacred leader. The past is unreachable in the regime except for those who work in the “Minitrue” (the Party’s Ministry of Truth). Keeping the past in dark by the party leads majority of people not to realize the way of the life before. Consequently this leads them to satisfy and appreciate their current life under the reign of BigBrother’s party. One of the party’s key aims at continual rewriting and falsifying the past is to ensure its fascist regime’s stability (Orwell 243). Alteration of the past allows the party to portray the picture of Oceania with the best possible color of the party. Most of the people in 1984 have no clues about the life before the party. If the mass people do not have any knowledge about their past and their life few decades before, it would be impossible for them to compare their current lives with past. It is impossible to understand how the party has reshaped their lives. In this case people are left in a blurred vision, so they will never capable of comprehending that the party oppresses them in a consequent manner. As a result, not only people never dare to rebel against the party but they keep on working according to the party’s schedule. The party systematically works on dealing with the past; there is an organized body to alter historical documents. The Records Department in the Ministry of Truth is an independent part. The primary job of this department is to remodel and alter the past (Orwell 51), it is the place where the party not only monopolizes all the documents but destroys as well. The party attempts to ruin and rule the entire domain of the history. The Records Department has another substantial job to do; transferring the reconstructed past into community through its media channels and powerful propaganda. The party takes media into strong consideration; it is the path that all its falsification and alteration of history become an everlasting truth. Through the multifunctional “telescreen” publicizes all the documents. Textbooks of schools, films, newspapers, plays, novels, music and entertainment shows, all these are unendingly spread the reconstructed documents to the citizens of Oceania. Media make the mass population not only helpless and powerless, but also enslaves them and deprives them from rationality, intellectual and cultural resources.

One of the important techniques of imposing new memory is through Propaganda. Propaganda is one of the methods that the party broadcasts its falsifications and fixing them in the mind of people of Oceania. In *1984* the party extensively utilizes media to propagate for its interest. The party's political project to adopt propaganda not only for controlling behavior or attitudes of mass population, but the way they think and believe as well. Beside the “minitru” there is another department “Fiction Department”, it is a place where Julia, Winston’s beloved works. Both of the departments broadcast propaganda in dissimilar ways. Yeo classifies two different kinds of propaganda that are distinctively adopted by the party; the first one is propaganda about real things, this type indicates making lies as facts; this includes the past records of history and news reports about the continuous war of the inner party with outer party and other states, then publishing them in the “Time” or on the telescreen to the mass population of Oceania. The disciplined mass population is driven to believe and regard those lies as real facts. The only purpose behind broadcasting propaganda may be that BigBrother wants to make his citizens appreciate their current state and leads them to consider their contemporary condition is better off than before the BigBrother comes to power. The Ministry of Truth where Winston works in, the only basic task of the ministry is to use all the means of press audio-visual, including books and telescreens programs to manipulate and control the mind of the “proles” of Oceania. The second type is propaganda of fiction; this type is mostly broadcasted by the Fiction Department, this department produces fictional stories with fictional characters to entertain the citizens of Oceania. For instance, Comrade Ogilvy is a fictional character who is made by the department to be a model in order to be followed by the ordinary people. Indeed entertainment is not the aim, but all the fictional characters serve BigBrother. The impact of mass propaganda leads the “proles” of Oceania to consider these fictional figures as real characters, (Yeo, 2010).

Another way that the party in *1984* uses to publicizes all the falsification is telescreen. The panoptic telescreen has a fundamental function for the party to impose the favorite memory and history of the party. The telescreen is a method to brainwash and to put the people under surveillance. The telescreen in *1984* lets the party to have ultimate access to the life of every individuals and relationships between them. The relationship between children and their parents in *1984* is a convincing proof to show how the party puts the

families under perpetual control. In *1984* children spy on their parents; as in the case of Syme's child. Syme is a Winston's friend. He is language specialist that works on the eleventh edition of Newspeak (Newspeak: the party's new and favorite language) dictionary. One day Winston visits Syme at his house. When Syme's child sees Winston at their house for the first time, she calls him as the traitor, the enemy of people and as a "thoughtcrime" people. She says that "I must report you, because you are a traitor". In *1984* Children are exploited by the regime to serve the regimes interests, as the narrator tells about the children; most of the children are horrible; children are systematically turned into uncontrollable little savages, thus leaves no tendency among the children to rebel against the party. Contrarily the children admire the party and its disciplines, principles, the slogans, the banners, (Orwell, 36). Through using telescreen, BigBrother creates a world with no privacy. He and his numerous spies are everywhere; snooping through house's windows. The party establishes a very systematic surveillance to watch the life of every single individual. The main character of *1984* Winston Smith shows his panic and abhorrence of the telescreens which was fixed in his flat. He tries to escape from it, so he decides to rent another flat in the second floor of an antique shop of an old man. The BigBrother's party is extremely long for what goes on in every men and women's mind in Oceania (Orwell, 37), and the party observes every small detail of each citizen and knows even the smallest detail about private life of Winston. In comparing with previous governments of Oceania, none of prior governments have been as capable as the party for putting its people under permanent surveillance. Bigbrother can keep all the people or at least those who are suspected all the day and night under the police eyes. Orwell explains the purpose behind the party's constant monitoring of people; firstly, it enforces the total obedience of the proles to the will of the party. Secondly, it establishes a complete uniformity of ideas and opinions among the citizens, (Orwell, 235).

All the Party's official organizations partake in the process of updating past in a continuous manner. Monopolizing past of Oceania is a marginal part of the Party's ideology, because minute by minute and day by day (Orwell, 47) updating of the past warrants the party to legalize its domination. Winston, who works in the Records Department, admits that he knows how all the alterations are made and he knows how the party enjoys the potential advantages of altering the past, but he does not understand why

the party fabricates the past, (Orwell, 91). The Records Department regularly and steadily modifies the past for the sake of the party's ideological ends. Whenever there is a discrepancy between reality and the ideological statements of the party, the department changes all traces of the statements. The reality itself is distorted by different techniques of brainwashing namely "doublethink". Doublethink means to believe the distortions and lies of the party and regard them as truth, it is a vast system for cheating and tricking the mental of human, it means to believe two contradictory ideas in the same time; for example, the word blackwhite, as many words of Newspeak has two mutually contradictory indications, beside the actual fact of black is not white, but claim and believe that black is white. For the members of the party black is white, to know this as a fact and to forget that anyone has believed the opposite. Even the names of the ministries in 1984 entail the idea of doublethink; Ministry of Peace concerns with war, Ministry of Love concerns with torturing people and Ministry of Truth deals with propaganda and lies, (Orwell, 240, 253).

Through the persistent distortion of both the reality and the past, the party is able to stand firm that the party and its statements have never been incorrect. The party's hegemonic power over the past makes it beyond the bounds of possibility to challenge the BigBrother's party. When memory of people is destroyed by the falsification techniques of the party, the party takes the centre stage of the community to prove that the present condition is the ideal state that Oceania has ever been into, as Winston says while he speaks with Julia, his beloved, about the process of falsification. Winston says that without an endless present nothing exists (Orwell 178). Present is everything for the party. Winston's speech refers that the present is the most essential and influential weapon for the party to dominate its power over the people by destroying the past of Oceania, because present is the most effective mean to destroy the past and guarantee the future. The party employs the ideas of memory and past to lay an absolute and irreducible gap between a horrible state of Oceania before the party came to power and bright utopian of present with the BigBrother. The party invents its own history; majority of people at Winston's age do not know about the life before the party. Majority of Oceanians only know from the invented lies in the history books of the party. In the history books, the party is everything, every improvement, invention and victories are ascribed to the party. The

party claims that aeroplane is one of its inventions (Orwell 104). But Winston is sure that this is a complete lie, because he saw aeroplane in his childhood before the party came to power. Winston reads the school's history textbook that he lends from his friend's child. In a paragraph about London, it describes London in this way; before the party's revolution London was dirty, miserable, dark, no enough food for people to eat and everything from land, money, power were controlled by capitalists (Orwell 102). The telescreen continually releases statistics to convince people of Oceania that their current situation regarding food, house, clothes, health, education and happiness is better than before the revolution of the party. It can be figured out from the conversation between Winston and an old man at a bar, that life before the revolution of the party was better than current state under the party's reign. Winston starts to refer to what being said in the history books about life between current situation and before. Life, as it described in the invented history books of the party, before revolution life was terrible, people experienced social injustice, lack of food, and oppression. But in fact people's life was better than the present. The old man remembers everything about life before the party came to the power he says: even "The beer was better and cheaper" (Orwell 114). Present is the priority of the party, it is the point where the BigBrother shapes the whole history. The history of Oceania starts with the upcoming of the party to the power. The original past does not exist anymore, and it is called the abolishment of past. The party rubs out and insists on erasing the prior memory of Oceania. Winston is fully aware of how the party rewrites the past, repainted all the pictures, streets and buildings are renamed by BigBrother. The biggest concern of the party is the present where controls all the past through reshaping history and destroying individuals' memories.

Another advantage of destroying the memory of people is that the changeable temporal principle leads people to readily susceptible for brainwashing. Memory and identity closely link to each, the party deliberately exploit the memory of Oceania, the more exploited memory and history of people the less people fell certainty in terms their identity. Memory is regarded as a source of self assurance. Since violating and destroying the memory of people becomes daily routine by the party, the life of people becomes instable in term of identity. As in the case of Winston, he finds doubly difficult to remember his childhood. After the late fifties in 1984 all the historical records and official



documents are disappeared, so Winston remains without any memory of his childhood and family memory. This makes him to lose the sharpness of his life (Orwell, 37). Memory is the core of the human being; it helps to give a meaning of the life. Lack of self-knowledge about his past memories influences Winston's life to be vague and amorphous. Adapting the same strategy, the party is capable of transforming citizens of Oceania into general amorphousness, and this is the favored situation that the party desires for. "Vaporized" is the destiny of those people who stand against the party's principles and interests. Anyone who becomes a threat to the party, he or she will be vaporized. It means the party erases that person as if he or she has never existed in the life. Winston's parents seem likely vaporized or arrested secretly by the party. Winston lives in a situation with no parents, and he has to consider them as they have never existed in his life. According to the principles of the party Winston came to existence from nobody, because his parents are "unpersons". Being a parentless child makes Winston to suffer much and find no clues of his origin. He is agonized with this case that is why he always tries to fill this scarcity by reversing his childhood's memory.

## **2.2: Writing as Resistance and Recovering the Past Against Totalitarianism**

One of the issues that Pierre Nora discussed is the issue of some objects that have energetic power for reviving memory, this notion is developed as an approach in several dystopian fictions. According to the approach there are some materials which are prohibited by the dominant power, because those materials enable human to reverse his/her past memories. In the case of Orwell's *1984*, possessing pen, ink and diary is forbidden, because they are capable of reviving memories and the past of Oceania before the party, possessing those objects is considered as crime and owners of them are punished to death according to the constitution of the party. In the dystopian world of *1984*, practicing individual rights is firmly repressed by disciplines and ideologies of the party. The struggle of Winston is much resembles the non-violence movements of the twentieth century, which later so called civil disobedience, Bloom lists Winston's struggle as an act of civil disobedience; the term refers to those acts of prominent figures of the twentieth century, as Mahatma Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King. The Father of the philosophy of civil disobedience is Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), he was an American philosopher, essayist, naturalist

and poet, he was against the slave law in America, these famous leaders struggled for their rights without engaging any kind of violence.

An adequate literature is available on role of memory for building resistance against dominant social and political power. Vinsion and Katherine examine role of memory in women's literature. they notice that past memories constitute and reframe the individual and collective identity, they believe that memories of the characters in (*The Handmaid's Tale* by Margaret Atwood, *Paradise* by ToniMorrison,*The God of Small Things* by Arundhati Roy) serve not just a broad and new perception toward the past, but the memories of the characters partake in constituting and reframing current situations of women and their future as well. The characters need to handle their past for the sake of surviving and building resistance against patriarchy oppression in the future. For example Offred in *The Handmaid's Tale*, is the protagonist and the narrator of the novel as well, what she does is much the same of Winston, she writes journals to resist the totalitarian power of Gilead. Another example is *Poisonwood Bible* by Barbara Kingsolver; characters as Orleanna, Leah and Adah must perceive to share their past memories to resist rules of their tyrannical family patriarch, that always work to abridge the role of women.

The central concern of the party in *1984* is to control the life of people in Oceania through controlling their experience of past, memory and time. Depending on Jacques Derrida's "mal d'archive", this manipulation of time by the party leads to what Derrida points out, it creates a sort of "Fever" in various archives that comes to be a violence archive. (Van, 2002 and Santos, 2001). So I argue that *1984* is the struggle for building two dissimilar archives; one is the party's archive. It is just the party's desired archive. The party reshapes all history and past then forms a new type of the past that meets the interests of the party. The other type is a counter archive by Winston to uncover the historical forgeries of the party. Through writing in his diary, Winston builds up his own archive. He preserves all the past records in his diary. Winston's diary serves as a means of correcting all the falsification of history and the past of Oceania. In *1984* there is a perpetual struggle between Winston on one hand and the party on the other hand to set up their own memory. The content of the diary entails the description of Winston's daily routines, it includes the falsification and alteration of the past by the party. In his diary, Winston expresses his

attitude, feelings and his emotions about the present condition of life in Oceania under the reign of the Big Brother.

In Orwell's 1984, writing is considered as an explicit threat against the State, because it represents individual freedom of expression, independent and self-reflection. Writing is an attempt to make people think of their existence and question about his/her personal rights. It is a quest of finding the meaning of life, and encourages people to think in a critical way toward their state of life. Writing does not only allow foreign ideas and thoughts come to the mind of people to seek an answer for the brutality of the state. But it lets those foreign ideas against the State to spread and move from one side to the other, then to all community. Consequently, individual thoughts put weal of the party and stabilization of the government at stake. That is why writing is prohibited and regarded as a crime. Hence, Winston who makes his mind to write his own diary breaks the party's law and ventures his life. As a result, writing is a resistance act by Winston against the totalitarian power of Oceania.

Winston's attempt to write his diary can be interpreted in several ways; it can be the self-discovery and recognition of himself as an individual. It can also be a method of preserving his individual and collective memory of Oceania. His diary is a turning point in Winston's life. Through his diary he is reborn. The diary has fabulous effects on preserving memory in its two forms of collective and individual. Through the diary, Winston recalls his past and understands the brutality of the party's regime that works to control everyday activities of people and their memories. Remembering the past does not only consist of feelings and emotions; it makes Winston to combine the life of Oceania in the past with the current situation. Writing is an important attempt to keep his memories away from the party's control. Roberts confirms that Winston is aware of the tremendous force of memory that is why he secretly starts to record the historical documents of Oceania. Thus Winston starts his first attempt to stand firm against the party's regime. The punishment of possessing those objects as books, diary and pen would be death or spending at least 25 years in a camp of forced-labour (Orwell, 9). This is a challenge to the party by an individual. Orwell illustrates the concept of totalitarianism through the constitutional theory of Oceania whose authority springs from the party's idea and interests, rather than from the realization of the citizens' wishes and ideas. The party in a

perverse way and through its methods eliminates all the independent individuals. Instead the BigBrother's regime establishes a state of "inhuman collectivism". It is a state based on serving the interests of the party rather than human interests. BigBrother's personal interests are predominant; freedom and morality to individuals are ignored and depressed by the party. The society of Oceania is a place with the party's total control, it goes on a par with what Foucault indicates "the disciplinary society". It is a hegemonic society where everything is controlled. The State longs for keeping all the citizen's behavior and attitude under control through surveillance (O'Neill, 1986). The party observes every small detail of each citizen and knows even the smallest detail about private life of Winston. O'Brien the torturer of Winston knows that Winston suffers from rat phobia. When Winston sees rats, he shuts his eyes tightly. Once he says "Of all horrors in the world — a rat!" (Orwell, 166). O'Brien starts to threaten Winston with rat torture in the "room 101". This indicates the party's ability to oversight people in an extensive manner. Surveillance is one of the effective methods for the totalitarian regime of BigBrother. Through constant monitoring the party is able to have access into the life of Oceanian citizens.

The dystopian totalitarianism in *1984* embodies conflicts over memory between classes and individuals on two different levels. The first one is between superior individuals; Winston and O'Brien, the torturer of Winston. O'Brien is one of the most prominent figures in the Inner party. The second one is the struggle of the proles and the BigBrother's party. Winston as a superior individual seeks to revive his past memories, because his memories urge him freedom, he wants to think, to love and he tends to inform every citizens of Oceania that two plus two do not make five, (Orwell, 167). Eventually both Winston and the proles find themselves defenseless and paralyzed, because the relationship in totalitarian systems does not base on the idea of what is good and what is evil. The relationship in the totalitarian system of Oceania based on the idea of "survival of the fittest". The government in *1984* perpetually brainwashes and manipulates all the individuals of Oceania. The best way to manipulate people is to destroy their identity through depriving them from their past. Winston admits when he writes in his diary "if there is hope, it lies in the proles (Orwell 80). For Winston, the only way to survive is to build human identity by recovering the past and find out how the party makes them slaves.

When the proles become aware of their origins, they understand the constructed reality of the BigBrother's regime. Winston longs for the unity and revolution of the mass population of Oceania. he thinks that the mass proles that include eighty five percent of Oceania's population should unite and stand against the two percent of the Inner party. But this hope fades away soon when he observes his surrounding; the proles are out of realization and thinking. Majority of oceanian citizens incur all the misfortunes and depressions of BigBrother, and believe all the lies and falsifications of the party. The proles believe the irrational slogans of the party, that "freedom is slavery" and "war is peace". Along with the events of 1984 only Winston's voice is heard clearly against the BigBrother's party. He frankly expresses his hatred toward the BigBrother. When O'Brien asks Winston about his true feelings toward BigBrother in "room101"; it is a room for torturing the "thoughtcrime" people in the Ministry of love. Ironically, the Ministry of Love is in charge of torturing those who condemns being against the party. Without any hesitation Winston replies "I hate him" (Orwell 323). Winston writes in his diary, the ordinary people are misguided and defrauded by the party. Everyone surrenders the illusionary state which is designed by the party. The people are fully feel confident of disregarding their individual freedom results in greater security, because the party poses its stupid slogan; "freedom is slavery" and it becomes an integral idea in the concious of the people. This is how the slogan of the party interpreted correctly; "ignorance is strength". Ignoring the constructed reality of the party lets people to be away of sheer misfortunes of the state. The more disregarding the brutality of the totalitarian governments the more peace will be kept, this is the perfect state for any totalitarian state where its citizens find themselves incompetent and powerless. Yet, safe and happy! What kind of happiness is this? It is a happiness that people gets pleasure of the image of killing innocent people. What kind of a safe life to experience under the totalitarian regime? One will be safe if he/she dominates his/her entire life to serve the interests of the regime. One has to ignore reason and rationality whenever the party commands. To be safe in such totalitarian regime you have to "reject the evidence of your eyes and your ears"(Orwell, 92), it is a determined life, people have to leave their personal world to fulfill the world of the party. In fact, the totalitarian governemts want slaves not human beings, that is why

Winston stand against such regime, this remembers me Bob Marley's memorable quote; "Better to die fighting for freedom than be a prisoner all the days of your life."

Winston starts his quest of searching to discover his true identity by reconstructing his past. Winston's diary in *1984* represents a relationship between memory with the altered and falsified past of Oceania. The party rewrites history in a minute by minute manner. All historical documents of the past are under control of the party, so the issue of remembering has an essential role and it becomes a pivotal theme in *1984*. Winston attempts to rediscover his identity in a dominated state of Bigbrother where every aspects of life are under persistence control. Remembering is an issue that the party handles eagerly. For the party not every thing or every event of the past deserves to be remembered. Only peculiar events that meet the interests of the party are allowed to be remembered. Other events of the past that oppose the party's ends are not allowed to be recalled, even remembering them is considered as "thoughtcrime". In such case, writing carries out a prime function which serves as space to recall and bring together the shattered pieces of the past. The diary gives Winston personal autonomy and leads him to gather his courage against the totalitarian regime of Bigbrother. The related theme of writing as a means of self-discovery through recollecting the past can be explored thoroughly in contemporary literature studies. For example, black feminist literature, Christian declares that women in general and the oppressed ones have to 'rememory'; that is retrieving their past for the sake of recovering themselves. The best way to do this is through writing, she believes that language is one of the ways for recalling the past through dissimilar techniques, for instance, storytelling. The issue of remembering the past through writing in black feminist literature resonates much with Winston's writing in his diary. Winston restores his individuality and identity through remembering. It is a heroic resistance because he stands to break the BigBrother's law. Unlike other sorts of resistance, Winston's struggle is not for taking power. Instead his resistance is a chance for reestablishing the destructed reality, and it is to become human again in a collective dehumanization state of the party's regime. McIntyre illustrates; the resistance that Winston builds up is not political, because the content of the diary entails his personal memories and recording his ephemeral understanding of surrounding reality. McIntyre confirms the diary of Winston represents an attempt to remember his past memories and

practice his private rights and moral commitment. Recording all the original documents in his diary shows Winston's deep concern to keep the documents for the future. From the early beginning of *1984*, Winston overwhelmingly longs to recall his past and remembering his memories is plainly evident. The first step of his resistance starts from buying a blank book that ages more than forty years. Winston has an extensive desire to purchase that blank book (Orwell 3). He holds his diary every day and he revisits it daily to record all the falsifications of the government. His diary becomes a precious subject in his life. Winston's diary is a bridge to his past and to his future as well. For the past he finds his original reality, himself and his identity. For the future, his diary keeps the original history of Oceania for the next generation.

As a result of permanent surveillance control of the party, no place and time are available for people to talk about their personal issues. Even the time itself controlled by the party, and this is what Finigan calls it "time domination", It indicates controlling the time of the citizens, not only their current time, but past and future as well. People of Oceania experience of temporality is fully scheduled in a way that there is no time for personal reflection and private activities. Time is no longer in possession of Winston; he is always reminded time by the ubiquitous telescreens which functions as a kind of atrocious and dreadful alarm clock. Time does not belong to Winston, it is the party's time; his time is dissected as accordance to the timetable of the party. In Oceania, the principle of controlled time domination is accomplished and in fact buttressed by the party to brainwash and exploit the "proles". Every individual's memory and even their past history become "collective history". Oceania is a state where there is no variety among the citizens, and Everyone shares the same daily routine, the same clothes and identical memories. The party erases any space of time in the life of Oceanian citizens. For the Party, the more engaged people the less chance people will have to think and imagine, thus safeguards the infallibility of the party. The essential concern of the proles is to perform routine duties to fulfill the party's appreciation. The ordinary people in *1984* are not aware of the reality, because the party deprives them from realization of that fact. Since almost all the places are under continual oversight, no time for personal reflections, and the party's spies exist everywhere, so the diary becomes Winston's only way to

connect with himself. For his tragic stories of the present and for his stories of the past, the diary is the only listener of Winston, (Finigan, 2011).

The diary of Winston is a reflection of his individual space that freely he is able to come across his private uncensored ideas and thoughts. In the same way it is an exceptionally courageous step to recall his own past in such total domination of the party. Winston takes such a brave attempt in Oceania where the slogan of “Big Brother is watching you” (Orwell 4) resonates in the mind of the people. Before starting to write his first paragraph of the diary, it becomes really unusual for Winston; firstly, because it sounds that he loses the power of self expressing. Secondly, it seems that he may forget what has been in his mind for a week to put it down on paper. He thinks again and it comes to his mind that the only thing for writing is courage. If one has courage, the process of writing will be easy (Orwell 10). With a childish and small handwriting and feeling of total panic, Winston starts to write his first paragraph of his diary. It is about war films that he watched the night before. Winston writes about the film; it contains several scenes, in one of them a huge ship full of refugees was bombarded. What makes the audience amused is the image of a fat man who tried to escape and save his life, but he was shot and his body was full of holes, then through the holes water lets in his body and sank in the sea, (Orwell, 11). Winston wants to tell his readers how senseless and incongruous people that they find pleasure and amusement in the image of killing. Another scene he records in his diary is the image of a mother who is protecting her boy from bullets (Orwell 11). Meanwhile Winston remembers his mother that always protected him and loved him much, this is a stream of consciousness of his childhood memories. Writing for Winston is not only for recording documents that can be demolished by the party in any moment, but writing also is a source of pouring out his repressed feelings and thoughts.

A considerable change can be noticeable in Winston regarding mode of writing, thoroughness and tone of writing. We hear his voice as a writer, he develops more self-trust and he seems more intentional and doubtless. In another paragraph in his diary, he starts to send his personal greetings to his reader, from the period he lives that characterizes by period of Big Brother, uniformity, seclusion and doublethink, (Orwell 32). Winston is certain about what awaits him yet he insists on writing. “Thoughtcrime does not entail death, thoughtcrime IS death” (Orwell, 32). He considers himself as a dead



person. It becomes pretty clear that Winston gives his consent to the consequence of what he does. Regarding his job at the Ministry of Truth who knows all the falsifications, gives Winston a sort of obligation to release himself from the inner torment that he suffers as a result of falsifying historical reality of Oceania. So Winston starts to record the truth that he alters. During the process of writing in his diary, Winston starts to have dreams of his likely vaporized mother. The dreams make him recall and relive his past memories and thus causes to restore humanity to him in an imperious and totalitarian state. Writing sounds to wake deeply rooted feelings that belongs to his childhood memories. Exploring and addressing those feelings are absent before he starts writing. Winston's memories remind him the life of children before the party that children only belonged to their father and mother. Before the Big Brother's party, children were educated and looked after only by their parents, but in the time of Big Brother's reign; children are systematically turn against their families. Children are taught to work as spy and report the thoughtcrime inside the families (Orwell, 153). Writing causes a gradual transition in Winston's life. Goldstein proves that Winston's attempt to enunciate his individual notions on his diary causes a remarkable change in Winston's level of mentality, and she states further that writing guides Winston to obtain a deep understanding of the Big Brother's party. Winston has another dream that is about his mother and sister, in his dream, both the lives of his mother and sister are sacrificed for him. This dream causes him to feel guilty. As the process of writing progresses, Winston experiences new sort of feelings; feeling of love, affection, sympathy and guilty, these kind of feelings cannot be found in Oceania. What can be found are the love and the loyalty for Big Brother. The party in 1984 plans for creating a world as O'Brien describes it to Winston in the room 101. It is a world based on fear and merciless, without toward pain no progress exists. The world of the party is free from science art and literature. Except for Big Brother no love, no loyalty exist, no family links, no relation between friends, no trust exist (Orwell, 306).

Through the process of writing, Winston protects not only the past of Oceania but the language as well. Language is another important issue in 1984 as it links with the issues of writing and memory. Altering the Oldspeak is the destruction of the last link with the past (Orwell, 98). Orwell tells about the party's attempt to distort and destroy everything that belongs to the past, language is another target that the party aims at, Orwell calls it

“alteration in the sense of Language” (Orwell, 122). Orwell in *1984* illustrates the issue of language in two different ways. The first one is utilizing language to control people by hegemonic power of the party. The second one is using language to stand against manipulation and repression of the party by Winston. In general using language for special purposes by certain hegemonic power is a common theme in dystopian fictions. For the matter of fact language has a substantial consideration in the dystopian fictions. In *1984*, the dystopian fiction of Orwell language is used to oppress and to express; to oppress, indicates the party’s use of language to restrict independent thoughts. To express, refers to Winston’s use of language to express his oppressed feelings. Newspeak is the official language of Oceania. The party uses language to construct a narrative that bases on achieving the ideological ends of the party. Winston on his side establishes his “counter narrative” to oppose the party’s attempt to restrict and destroy “Oldspeak” (original language of Oceania). As the events progress, Winston starts to grasp the issue of language controlling by the Big Brother’s regime in *1984*. He decides to have his own way of using language. The secret diary awakes Winston to recover the destructed words of the party. Through the language he uses in his diary, Winston recovers his history and past memories. One of the profound points of the diary is that, through his writing, Winston preserves the original language of Oceania. Instead of using ideological and restricted language of Newspeak, Winston utilizes the old language of Oceania that calls Oldspeak. Regarding Bakhtin’s view on language, he views language as a belief system or ideology. Languages of the world represent certain view points toward the world. Language is a method to form the world through using words. Any groups or states in the world have their own ideology, so these groups and states are concreted and firmed by the language (Rivikin and Ryan, 2004). Modern concepts in both semantics and pragmatics of language suggest that language can act in two different ways. The first one is as a form of reality construction, and the second one it acts as certain sort of social verbal behavior (Zolyan, 2015).

The views of Bakhtin and those modern concepts propose the connection between ideology and language; in addition, they propose that one of the important features of modern linguistic is that language is a method and mechanism for setting up reality rather than a way of describing reality. The varied usages of language that match to different

form of social functions make diverse types of reality. In another word dissimilar portrayals of reality are formed as a result of varied uses of language. This is exactly the same way language is used in of Orwell's *1984*. The language of *1984* has two substantial aspects; intentional and modal. Intentional indicates that the party intentionally uses language to meet its ideological framework. The ideology behind using this language bases on the principle of limiting and narrowing mode of thinking and imagination. Newspeak is a language that differ from other languages in the world, instead of growing its vocaulary larger every year, it grwos smaller, (Orwell, 77). This indicates that the party aims at altering language for its ideological purposes, the more limited the vocabularies, the more limited will be thinking and imagination. Gainer confirms that in both twentieth and twenty first centuries the representation of language in dystopian fictions has two apparent purposes. The first one is to restrict the range of thinking that basically serves hegemonic power. The second one is to serve as a means of resistance against the oppression of hegemonic power, (Gainer, 2012, p:2). Modal is the other aspect of the language of Newspeak, it indicates multi-references of the utterances. The purpose of using Newspeak by the party in *1984* is not only for providing people a group of expressions to construct the world view, but it is to make all the kind of thinking impossible. Newspeak is developed on the base that words compose ideas and thoughts, the less number of the words the more restricted the thoughts. The party drives out any undesirable expressions and words, limiting vocabularies to three categories of A (it contains group of words that link to business), B ( compound vocabularies that are intentionally constructed for political ends ) and C (vocabularies for scientific terms), (Orwell, 343-4). Restricting the range of vocabularies of the language of Newspeak by the party leads to limiting the world view of the Oceanian citizens. Since shaping the ideas depends on the words, and the range of the words is limited, so the scope of thinking and imagination will be restricted.

Through Newspeak, Orwell proposes an approach; which is language's political function. This function of language indicates the use of language free from semantic references, but only contains pragmatic references. The slogans and statements of the party in *1984* are meaningless and irrational in term of semantics, but pragmatically are meaningful. Pragmatically speaking; the meaning of statements depends on the intention of addresser

and its influence on the addressee. For instance, the party's slogan "Two plus two make five" (Orwell, 367); this slogan is out of sense in terms of semantics, but in term of pragmatics, the party as a powerful addresser obliges everyone to believe this absolute irrationality. Ventsel believes that political parties depend on language as one of the methods of controlling the public opinion (Ventsel, 2009). Using language for controlling thought was one of the common features of totalitarian regimes of twentieth century. This feature still is utilized in the modern World, especially in Russia, the US, Iran, China or in many anti-democratic States. Newspeak is used for creating a world which is deliberately distorted. The political usage of language sets up the party's political discourse, it forms a constructed reality for the "proles" that is in a valley and the physical reality is in another valley. Newspeak in *1984* aims at fabricating references. The instructions of the party to rewrite the historical documents and records target at generating a new kind of distorted reality. The original reality should be blanked out from the scene. Dual references and explanation of the political utterances are detected in Newspeak. For a verbal expression of the party two different things are given the first is what happened and second one is the apparent description of what happened. The characteristic of dual reference of political language of *1984* is adduced of "doublethink" that lies in the premise of ideological project of the party. Orwell himself tells us about "doublethink"; in some regard this is much the same as metaphor, to grasp a metaphor, at the same time you should make correlation of both non-literary and literary meanings of the metaphorical statement. Each utterances of the party have two different contradictory references. People of Oceania are obliged by the party to believe in contrasting ideas and dealing with it truthfully. Doublethink is a mechanism to make people to consider that democracy is something impossible to achieve, at the same time to believe that Bigbrother's party is the only guardians of a democratic system, (Orwell, 112).

### **2.3: The Totalitarian Party and Memory**

This section is about the struggle of Winston on one side and O'Brien, the most prominent figure of the party, on the other side. The last man in Europe, it was the title that George Orwell contemplated to entitle his last novel *1984*, the last man represents Winston's role and his status in the novel. The story of the last man represents the struggle of an individual

man against the totalitarian state of BigBrother, (Ingle, 2007, de Sousa Sampaio, 2007). Winston is not as other people in Oceania; he is the only one who perceives the value and essentiality of memory to human being. Through his act of resistance – writing- Winston restores his memories that are constantly buried by the party, moreover, he discovers the truth in his life, his origin and his identity as well. Winston thinks in a different way while all the proles have the same thoughts. He is the only one remains to protect the values of humanity such as freedom, love and equality, and he is the only man with his own ideology and principles. Nearly at the end of the novel, in room 101, O'Brien calls him in this way "You are the last man,' You are the guardian of the human spirit." (Orwell,310). Airstrip One is a chief city in London, it is a place where Winston lives, he is in his late thirties, his job is much the same as Orwell's job during WWII. At that time George Orwell worked for BBC. Meyers states that Orwell produced political, educational and cultural news and programs with the aim of persuading Indian intellectuals and countries of the south east of Asia to aid Britain in the War. Winston considers that O'Brien belongs to a secret group that is known as Brotherhood, this group is a secret revolutionary band, and their prime aim is to overturn the reign of the party. In fact, O'Brien is the one who works as secret police to find out what Winston looks for, and he admits that he puts Winston under permanent observation for seven years. O'Brien has a very bigot and totalitarian world view in compare with Winston. In the view of O'Brien, people are not capable of governing themselves, and they do not deserve freedom and have free choices.

Analyzing a character as Winston by the critics shapes opposite ideas; some of them consider Winston as a coward and fallen hero, and argue that Winston is not a heroic protagonist. These critics have their evidences to support their statements, such as Winston's betrayal of Julia, becoming an alcoholic person, his surrender and total submitting for the party at the end of the novel are weak points for Winston, (Meyers, 2000). For other critics as Szoka, Marcus and Tyner, Winston is a brave man and great rebel that stands alone to oppose the brutality of the BigBrother's regime. I think although Winston has a few weak points, but one tangible evidence proves his bravery; despite knowing the punishment of possessing diary, he insists on resisting the brutality of the party. Winston's struggle to recover his memory intensifies as the events develop; he gets more courage in a way that he expresses his anger toward BigBrother very clearly. His

heroic struggle is for the sake of the past, humanity, and the future. The past becomes an integral part of the daily life of Winston.

Winston does not know why the totalitarian regime of BigBrother continually erases documents and controls every aspects of life in Oceania. What distresses Winston is that he never figures out the reason behind the party's deliberate erasing of history. Winston knows the benefits of the falsifications, but he does not know "WHY" (Orwell, 91). Toward the end of *1984* the question appears again, this time by O'Brien in room 101, he reminds Winston of the question that he records in his diary. O'Brien says to Winston: "You comprehend very well how the party keeps its power on majority of people, but you don't know why maintain our dominant power? What motivates us? Why we want power?" (Orwell,300). Winston replies in a very simple way; for the good of people. Winston's answer disturbs O'Brien so he starts to torture Winston again but severely this time, after that, O'Brien pulls back the lever (torturing machine in room 101), and begins to answer his question instead of Winston. "We as the party are not keen on what is good for people. We want power for our own sake only. Being solely in power is our ultimate end. For us power is not a mean, O'Brien goes on, we are not looking for happiness, long life, having luxurious life, and being wealthy, all we want is an absolute power. We made the revolution to create a dictatorship. The purpose of power is the power only" (Orwell 301). Regarding O'Brien's answer, it is clear that erasing all undesirable documents is one of the substantial strategies of the party to maintain its power over the people of Oceania. Since Orwell refers, denying and wiping out the history of people are the most powerful factors to control and destroy people. We can answer WHY that Winston does not understand it. The party erases the past of Oceania to deprive people from the realization of life in once upon a time before the party came to power.

"To forget the act of forgetting" (Orwell, 326) is a mechanism to wipe out any unfavorable or unwanted truth by the party. When the party rewrites information or erases someone from existence, the party members and the Inners especially not only have to forget it, but they have to forget the act of forgetting. In the room 101, O'Brien holds a photograph in his hand to show Winston how they are capable of wiping out people from existence. O'Brien puts the photo in to the memory hole. After a while the photo becomes ashes. Winston shouts it exists, but O'Brien denies the existence of the figures in the photo.

O'Brien says ashes are not identifiable, so they do not exist ever. Winston confirms that he remembers them and confirms their existence by saying "But it did exist! It does exist! It exists in memory. I remember it" (Orwell, 283). Winston asks O'Brien whether he remembers it or not, without any doubt O'Brien replies No. Winston feels helpless and his heart sinks because he is certain that O'Brien does not lie. Winston is sure that O'Brien totally forgets the photograph. "It was perfectly possible that O'Brien had really forgotten the photograph. And if so, then already he would have forgotten his denial of remembering it, and forgotten the act of forgetting." (Orwell, 283). To survive under any totalitarian regime, one has to unquestionably give his/her absolute commitment to the orders of the regime, regardless whether the orders are rational or reasonable. O'Brien is as blind as a bat for the orders of the party. Whatever the party commands is the total truth. The more blindly one obeys the party the safer life one has.

Another important question from O'Brien to Winston about the existence of past history of Oceania, The prior history of Oceania exists in two different forms; the first one exists in the form of documents and records. The second one exists in the memory and minds of people. Both the forms are under control of the party. In the "room101" O'Brien asks Winston "where does the past exist, if at all?" Winston answers "In records. It is written down". O'Brien asks further "In records. And——?" then Winston replies "In the mind. In human memories" and O'Brien says "In memory. Very well, then. We, the Party, control all records, and we control all memories. Then we control the past, do we not?" (Orwell 313). O'Brien proudly says we as the Inner party of Oceania take over all the records, the mind and the memory of every single person. The Ministry of Truth gives a new shape to the past records as the way the party desires. The Ministry rectifies history, updates the past and makes copy of the origin history records on the base that every historical record must meet the interests of the party. What are against their will; they throw them away to the "Memory hole".

Taking over every aspects of life is a predominant theme in *1984*; it is a critical hegemony of the past, knowledge, language and reality. Methods of power are deliberately utilized by the party to reinforce and keep the totalitarian system of Big Brother. In Oceania the collective memory (regarding past events, historical figure, famous writers, and artists) of people can be easily fabricated and in some cases it can be erased totally, as if it has never

happened or never existed. The party removes any traces of the past, if the party finds that it does not go with its benefit. In the dystopian fiction of *1984* not only past but information and knowledge are taken over by the party. They are fundamental for exercising power in the disciplinary state of Oceania. Winston mentions that the Ministry of Truth rewrites any books when it is necessary again and again and reissues them in an invariable manner without referring to changes that have been made in the books (Orwell, 47). Nothing terrified Winston more than the party's tackling the past. Winston clearly shows his deep fear from the process of altering and destroying the past history of Oceania. Torture and death terrify him less than destruction of the past (Orwell, 40). The past and memory are very crucial for Winston; any attempts to destroy memory can be regarded as attempt to destroy identity and humanity of Oceanian citizens.

After updating and rewriting the past, the party invents a new or favorable history for the people of Oceania. The rectified historical documents are reprinted by the Ministry of Truth, and then published to the mass population of Oceania. Some 'Thoughtcrime' people who actually existed in the past history of Oceania, but they will not exist anymore in the new history, because they do not adapt themselves with the principles of the Big Brother's party. Consequently those thoughtcrime people are vaporized and abolished by the Ministry of Love in 'room 101'. If the party finds any rebellion among the proles, the consequence of the rebellions will be disappearance and torturing to death, without anyone knows about their aftermath. Every single trace of them will be destroyed as if they never existed in the history of Oceania. On the other hand there are some other figures with no historical precedent in Oceania, but they become actual and real heroes of the present history of Oceania as in the case of Comrade Ogilvy. Winston at the Ministry of Truth, thinks about Comrade Ogilvy and says to himself "Today he should commemorate Comrade Ogilvy. Winston is sure that there is no such person as Comrade Ogilvy, but a few lines of print and a couple of faked photographs will soon bring him into existence" (Orwell 59). Comrade Ogilvy has no reference in the past history of Oceania, but now he exists in the new history of Oceania, because he is the most perfect and loyal member to the party. Winston makes up and designs the character of Comrade Ogilvy. For the party, Ogilvy is the best citizen of Oceania because from his childhood he dedicates his life to support the party, he never "drunked" and never smoked, he dies at the front line in fighting against



the enemies of Oceania. That is the way the slogan of the party in *1984* can be perceived readily. The party has ultimate power in the present state of Oceania, how the party safeguards its future? By controlling the past. “Who controls the past controls the future: who controls the present controls the past”



### **3. FAHRENHEIT451:MEMORY BETWEEN REMEMBERING AND FORGETTING**

#### **3.1 Manipulating Past Through Media, Technology and Discourse**

Memory in our age is essential, as the world today steadily dwindles, the means of communication are around dramatically and there is an excessive progress in technology more than any period. As a result, people experience the most accelerated social change in the history. One of the characteristics of modernity is the “tradition of the new” the modern people pay much attention to the future rather than their past. The idea of modernity does not only entail progress in different aspects of life, but it makes members of society to leave the shackles and restrictions of the past behind,(Nora, 1989). For the modernity the most important thing is to keep going on bringing out new inventions. In several respects, modern technologies and developments serve humanity. Technology facilitates the daily life of people and gives people to live healthier and better. But technology may bring harm to human as well. Global warming is the biggest threat to the life on the earth which causes by the excess activities of factories. Relating the issue of technology with both novels, technology is used by the totalitarian governments to manipulate, misinform and surveillance people. Moreover technology breaks the social and family relation. It alienates people from the real world and creates a fake world instead. The impact of TV in Bradbury’s 451 on the individual’s life is a clear-cut proof that technology makes social changes, in a way that destructs the soul of humanity. Imagine the life of a woman who spends all her time on watching TV and listening to radio, that is Mildred or (Millie), Montag’s wife in *Fahrenheit 451*. In chapter three, I will give more discussion about the role of technology on the characters in *Fahrenheit 451*. The characters experience a senseless life. The world that they live in is a small world between and in front of walls. Technology tools, TV for example, controls the life of

characters. As Henry David Thoreau puts into words people become the tools of their tools. Any technological machines are manufactured by people and it should be under control of human, but in *Fahrenheit 451*, it is the technological tools that control the life of the characters. Technology has a huge role on the life of the characters, in a way that they experience life through the screens.

The events of the novel happen in the middle of a nuclear war, although, it merely sounds to be in the setting of the novel. Such a matter, particularly the novel goes back to the Cold War period, would be presumed to be in the foreground. Except the book people, no one realizes the deadly serious situation. As Patai refers to the majority of characters in *Fahrenheit 451* are obsessed with TV and recreation programs, and it leads them into a collective passiveness. When books and independent thoughts are challenged in a society and everyone's mind floods with the same news and events, all people become the same in terms of thinking and behavior. The more people are addicted to parlor walls the more unaware they will be toward their physical reality. Unlike the majority of people, the book people become perfectly aware of the dangerous that the people face. Montag and the book people hear the deadly weapons are fired against people. The city flats to earth and it is gone (Bradbury, 1966) as a result of nuclear war.

The ways of storing and accessing to knowledge and information have long been a matter of debate and speculation nearly a century before the massive development of technology. Many essayists, fiction writers and library experts present their view to the future of knowledge and preservation of books. Pennavaria states that there are two opposite views among those experts; for the majority of them technological developments would create an exciting and better future while for others, sophisticated technology would give the totalitarian states a high chance to repress knowledge, (Pennavaria,2002). Technology for Bradbury is a method to repress knowledge. In *Fahrenheit 451*, technology stupefies majority of people into a mute and ineffectual obedience, and it substitutes the books that are the source of joy and refreshment, but now books become a prohibited subject. The future that presented in *Fahrenheit 451* by Bradbury is a future that knowledge and books are banned. The totalitarian regime burns all the books and any people caught with books. The punishment is to burn the books or sometimes the person as in the case of the old woman who resists leaving her library inside her house. When the firemen detect books

in the house of the old woman, they put the house on fire and set fire on the old woman (Bradbury, 66). The events of *Fahrenheit 451* happen in a futuristic state in unknown place in America. It is a state where the firemen instead of stopping fire they set fire on. All the knowledge of the past is banned and denied by the government. Beatty denies the past knowledge and insist on erasing it, because the books are sources of conflicting, the content of the books are not real and people inside the books never existed (Bradbury, 52). In a conversation with Montag, Beatty explains that the books have nothing to teach and believe, they make people to get lost (Bradbury 88).

One of the best forms of sophisticated and innovative technology in *Fahrenheit 451* is “parlor walls” (huge screen TVs), and Montag’s wife, Mildred shows the role of technology on people in the dystopian fiction of Bradbury. Mildred. Along with events of the novel until the end, she persistently watches TV and listens to radio programs. Mildred links her welfare and gladness with the pleasure of possessing the most advanced version of parlor walls. Millie is interested much in purchasing new TVs especially when she knows that some of her friends recently purchase a newer one. Technology brings a mass culture into existence; this culture is supported by the government to be widely distributed among the people. The culture has a direct and an immediate effect on declining people from free thoughts, a character as Mildred is exploited by parlor walls. Millie sticks on the tube daily, and on her own free will and readily consume to the exemption of independent and free thoughts. LaBrie who considers Bradbury as a prophet, confirms that what Bradbury wants to address through *Fahrenheit 451* is that the more heavily people depend their life on technology the more they destroy the truthfulness of their independent and individual thoughts. He states further that the life in American today oddly mirrors the gloomy representation of Bradbury’s *Fahrenheit 451*; the novel is a perfect painting of America, (LaBrie, 2010).

The characters in Bradbury’s novel experience the life through the screens. The role of TV in *Fahrenheit 451* is very much resembles the condition of American society in the Cold War period. At that time TV launched to override daily life, at the beginning of appearance of TV, it was just a very simple equipment, but later it became a space of cultural, military and political strife. TV was one of the most profound transformations that came into existence in the field of culture. One of the main purposes of the media in

*Fahrenheit 451* is to let the totalitarian regime preserve its power of control over the mass of people and to plant fear of an external enemy that has always been regarded as a threat to the peace of society. Another purpose is that through TV, the power creates a world that makes majority of people not to care anymore with the real issues of life, (Mihelj, 2011).

Parlor walls are capable of performing propaganda in the dystopian novel of Bradbury because they have ability to take over what citizens listen and watch, for example, in the case of Montag, when he runs away, following and chasing him by the state is publicized on TV, so as to all the citizens see the consequence of those who disobey the rules of the government. Montag makes a successful escape from the totalitarian government of *Fahrenheit 451* and joins the book people in the forest, to cover their failurity, the Beatty's governmet create a fake death. Montag's death is forged by the media. The Mechanical dog (another form of technology that the Beatty's regime uses for multipurpose) rushes toward a man who is pretended to be Montag, then the man is trapped, after that a police calls that is Montag, the process of chasing is done (Bradbury, 191). Through the performance of Montag's fake death on TV, the state is able to reduce the possibility of recurring Montag's behavior. As Patai refers that the State in *Fahrenheit 451* enforces its power and capability to keep the people calm and reassured. This event creates two different impressions; for those who begin fall the system under suspicion, it plants fear inside them, but it becomes a source of pride for those who support the regime. Seyhan gives her contribution on Bradbury's predictions in *Fahrenheit 451*, and the impact of TV on thinking in the twenty first century. She believes that in today's world there is no need to burn books because people are already show no interest in books. Like the majority in *Fahrenheit 451*, people are addicted to machines that transmit a massive flow of news, images and programs that numb citizens. Important news about tragedy and serious events are freed from any sense, they have been overproduced by media coverage and this creates the same sense of horror, tragedy and density. For this reason she suggests that people should turn to read literature instead of watching TV, because literature has a strong impact on rising awareness toward a better understanding of the word. Literature is the way to perceive the condition of human being and it is a constructive alternative method of knowledge, literature is a useful source for social documents, it is a way to discover the

lives and events that the history missed to record, and it is a way to guide people to have good moral and independent thought,(Seyhan, 2002).

It is parlor walls that rule the life of people in *Fahrenheit 451*. People ignore books; one of the most important bases of the society that gives wisdom and peace to those who love them. As Faber gives his admiration on books and describes them as “texture” of the life of human. Faber continues, books guide people to critical and philosophical reflection. In *Fahrenheit 451*, the state utilizes its massive media to brainwash and manipulate people; media tames people and turn them to passiveness. Media make people to place the value of government over the value of anyone even the closet person in one’s life. Millie is a perfect example for this statement who is easily manipulated by the propaganda and misinformation of TV. Millie lives in the constructed world and believes all broadcasted lies of parlor walls. When she realizes that her husband starts to keep books at home and reading them, without any doubt she turns Montag in for possessing books at home. Millie is a woman who ignores the real life and she pays much attention and spends most of her time to watch her “family” program on parlor walls. Again and again Millie confirms that the family in the show is her real one. For instance, when Montag feels sick, he asks her to leave the screen and bring him a glass of water, but Millie’s only answer to Montag is; referring to the family of the show, that is my family, (Bradbury, 64), they are my people, who tell me everything, they make me happy, they laugh and I laugh too, (101). Mildred’s mere interest is the TV show of the family, she neglects her husband, and she is not interested in having children. As Montag mentions when she meets Clarisse, if you love child so much, why do not you have any children? Asks Clarisse, Montag shakes his head and says that is my wife who never wants to give birth at all (39) Majority of people in *Fahrenheit 451* experience life only on the screen of TVs. It is a life that designs by the ideology of the totalitarian regime that firmly erases memory and knowledge of people. The Beatty’s regime makes people to live as the government desires not as the essence of humanity desires. Most of the people in *Fahrenheit 451* substitute their real lives with the life that is shown on parlor walls. The life in the show becomes their real life. In a conversation between Mildred and her friends, it is a clear cut that their real lives entirely cling to the constructed and artificial life of the shows. When Mildred’s friends give her a visit in her house, they talk about giving birth. They discuss that the people in the show

give birth and grow child, so why they (Mildred and her friends) should give birth, (Fahrenheit 451, 137).

Other forms of technology that is used by the government in *Fahrenheit 451* is Mechanical Hound, it is a big tool police hound; that is used for chasing the outlaw people. It also serves as a robotic dog to spy on people too. It has the ability of locating and haunting its prey. The robotic dog virtually is ubiquitousness throughout the events of the novel and the life of the characters as well. The government in *Fahrenheit 451* manipulates technology for its entire interests. The developments of technology are meant to serve humanity rather than harming them. Instead of guarding people over harm and fire, the mechanical hound guards people from hoarding books. The hound has adequate capability to kill its preys with chemical ingredients that are stored inside. The hound is schemed and structured to penalize anyone who violates the government's law. The ability of the mechanical hound for chasing exceeds any other equipments that human has ever used. Regarding the ability of the eight legs hound; it is not eye-opener that people in *Fahrenheit 451* are not wishful to violate the rules. Cameras are fixed to the mechanical hound to publicize the events on parlor walls. The hound is used to find and chasing Montag. The robotic dog as the most developed tool that human has ever invented in *Fahrenheit 451* is not capable of defeating the ability of human being. Near the end of the novel Montag successfully manage himself to escape from the hound and run away to the forest. Bradbury wants to convey that human can invent and develop many outstanding technologies to compete against the wit of human, but eventually the winner is always the human who independently rely on his/her own rationality. The mechanical dog detects scent this makes it to find prey in a very short time. When Montag escapes from the authority, he makes some stops and leaves his smell in different places with the aim of throwing off the mechanical hound. When Montag arrives the river, he makes another brilliant act to get rid of the hound entirely; by soaking completely into whiskey. The whisky soaks through every layer of Montag's clothing. The hound is not capable anymore to detect Montag anymore.

Montag as the nature of his job is the only person who is capable of suspecting the mechanical hound's approaching to his house, so he covers all the places in his house. He leaves nowhere in his house to be seen from outside. All the other people's houses are

under control of the government through the mechanical hound. People reasonably expect to be censored permanently by the government. All the actions and speeches of the people in *Fahrenheit 451* are recorded. If the government suspects anyone with unusual behavior, he/ she will be kept in prison. The continual surveillance in *Fahrenheit 451* represses the people in general to leave their individual reflections, because the government looks at personal freedom as an outcast act. For the government practicing individual freedom leads to create variety among the people and thus causes unhappiness among them. For the government being all the same makes everyone happy. Captain Beatty explains to Montag: all the people must be similar to each other. The constitution is wrong that says all the people were born equal and free but people made equal; each person is the image of all other. This is how everyone feels happy (Bradbury, 76). The books are dangerous as captain Beatty describes them as a “loaded gun in people’s house” (60), because they make their hoarders to feel unhappy, so the government bans all the books. Instead, the government conforms into a popular and widespread structure, with a restricted number of passable behaviors such as watching entertainment programs on parlor walls.

However there is more than one type of mass media in the novel such as parlor walls and (seashell) portable radio, but TV stands as the most influential factor to rule the society. In an interview conducted in 2003, Bradbury confirms that TV is a massive problem, among various sorts of media, Bradbury calls TV as the worst that affects society. Bradbury’s point of view of the effect of TV reflects clearly in his novel. Except for the radio and TV, Millie does not listen to anyone, not even her husband. Montag admits that the only thing that he wants is someone to listen to him, Montag goes on; no one listens, every one listens to the walls, even my wife (Bradbury, 115). To sum up the role of technology in *Fahrenheit 451* and its relation with memory, technology has a massive influence in forming the favored memory of the totalitarian regime.

Language and memory are closely linked, because language has a pivotal role on memory. Language is a method that people use to express their repressed thoughts and memories. In the dystopian fiction of *Fahrenheit 451*, the past is erased in a permanent manner. The present is manipulated in a way that majority of people experience life through the parlor walls. As a result of erasing the past and manipulating the present, the subjects of the dystopia are unable to compare their current situation with previous one. Language is a



way that arranges the meeting between the past and the present as Moylan argues that language empowers memory. Through retrieving language the dystopian subjects recapture power to resist and rebel against the totalitarian regime. In *Fahrenheit 451*, language is not only used for controlling discourse but it controls memory as well. Generally speaking, language has an important impact on the dystopian fiction. Writers utilize language as one of the prominent themes in their works. By regarding surveillance and the way that free ideas and independent thought may be silenced, readers would be capable of seeing how language plays both positively and negatively in dystopian fictions. For Rohan language in *Fahrenheit 451* has two opposite uses; the first use is to give ability to express and the second one is the lack of language accuracy and obstruction of expression. The political language or the certain use of language that forms discourse is closely linked to power in the totalitarian regime of *Fahrenheit 451*. In the non-fictional world language has been praised much by many linguists, scholars and well-known people. For example; Winston Churchill once said that: for an totalitarian dictator nothing is more dangerous than those independent thoughts and words that the dictator cannot control them. Sisk's idea on language is very crucial. He believes that for controlling the mastery of the world one should control the mastery of the words. Words do not simply refer to several letters that are arranged in a sentence. The words contain value and meanings that are arrowed by social groups. Misusing words means destroying language and thus indicates tearing down one of the most influential principles of society.

Van Dijk states that if taking over discourse is the first basic form of controlling power, the other form of creating a dominance power is to control the mind of people. Controlling language or having specific use of language is one of the methods to control the mind of people in *Fahrenheit 451*, it is a substantial method for the government, because people's independent thoughts are challenged, characters in *Fahrenheit 451* are under control of the government through permanent censorship and parlor walls. The character's only way of communication with each is through the parlor walls, so the government only publicizes those programs that only serve its ideological interests. As thoughts depend on the words, the totalitarian regime utilizes a discourse to serve the ideology of the government that works for limiting free thought and variety among the people in *Fahrenheit 451*. The prime aim of the ideological system in *Fahrenheit 451* is to keep the people happy. The

way of achieving happiness is through erasing all the sources of unhappiness, namely books. In the discourse of the Beatty's system variety among people causes sorrow and sadness. In one of the conversations between Montag and Beatty, it is pretty clear that for the Beatty's government, books are the source of confusion. After returning a book which Montag supposed to burn it; Beatty tries to prove the nature of the books to Montag and indirectly tells him through a fake dream. Beatty says that in his dream he has a serious and grumpy debate about books with Montag. Beatty explains that in his dream Montag clings to the books and stands against Beatty's speeches. Beatty continues and pointing to Montag; you become defenseless, hopeless, fill with rage and silly. This is how books change people. For Beatty, books are traitors. Books make people as being lost in the middle of a morass, or throw human into a complete chaos of verbs, nouns and adjectives, (Bradbury, 153).

The discourse in *Fahrenheit 451* bases on the binary opposite sides; the government and the book people. In the government's rhetoric, making people happy is a political matter. The regime is the only guardian of people's happiness, so the people must support the regime's rules and oppose those "loaded guns". Beatty describes books as loaded gun that lead human to unhappiness. The regime in *Fahrenheit 451* intends to make people leaving their past that includes past historical events, knowledge and concepts. For the regime the past raises opposition against the ideological ends of its hegemonic power. That is why the regime utilizes the discourse as a kind of social control that forces people to forget their past.

The totalitarian state of *Fahrenheit 451* spreads its discourse in all layers of the community, and it displays not in radio and written forms but also in visual forms as well. Beside its own discourse which is based on making everyone happy, the regime utilizes another kind of discourse which is discourse ruining; it indicates destroying sort of discourse that is regarded wrong by those in power. For the government the discourse of the book people is wrong because it does not make people happy, that is why the regime frequently works for destroying the discourse of the book people. Destroying the book people's discourse establishes a type of us (as the totalitarian regime of *Fahrenheit 451*) vs them (the book people) discourse. This type of discourse goes on a par with the theory of van Dijk; social group's discursive expression. Dijk formulated this theory in 1998.

According to the theory words especially metaphors role a task of distinguishing between us and them. The metaphor such as “Happiness Boys” by Beatty seems to be functioned to gain understanding political and social issues in *Fahrenheit 451*. In the Montag’s society it is not the option of words which reflects the values and ideology of the regime, but it is the lack of the words. In other words, the language in *Fahrenheit 451* is limited because the regime does not intend variety. Along with the perpetual surveillance in the society, there is a dogmatic belief of the regime; variation of ideas and opinions that exist in books makes people unhappy. As a consequence, the regime in *Fahrenheit 451* implements an extreme sort of political correctness; to feel everyone happy; the books and literature have to be annihilated from the public sphere. In the discourse of the government firemen are the protectors of peace and mind of people, they are the true guardians of happiness and order of the society. Beatty describes his men of the fire department as the “Happiness Boys, Beatty says that that the firemen wipe out any source of unhappiness.

### **3.2: Struggle for Memory and Knowledge**

*Fahrenheit 451* is a dystopia about an totalitarian power that works for erasing the past memories and knowledge of nation, captain Beatty says; that is the past which all the crisis belong to (Bradbury,86). Knowledge and history of the past make people unhappy that is why books are burned by the firemen. *Fahrenheit 451*, the title refers to the temperature that papers of books catch fire, it tells the story of a fireman names Guy Montag who stands against the power. Montag, the protagonist of the novel, he is married, and about thirty years old. Montag works as a fireman for ten years, his job is to set fire and burn books. With the help of his neighbour, Clarissa, she is seventeen years old, Montag, through reading books, he realizes the meaningless and emptiness of his life, he secretly starts to read books and decides no to burn books anymore. The government, in *Fahrenheit 451*, bans reading and possessing books considers as a crime. Montag notices the fragility of the society that they live in, in addition he realizes that reading is the source of growth of human intellectuality. Books are the field of exercising rationality that lead to better perception of the reality. Montag decides to ignore the rules of the totalitarian government, and starts to read books; moreover, he begins to spread out reading awareness and urges other people to read. Toward the end of the dystopian fiction of Bradbury, we understand

how powerful are books, the ability they have on building resistance against the totalitarian regime. Reading is a magic that offers a readers self-understanding. Through reading books one can access to a repository of human knowledge, myth, various cultures, and science, for sure these fields are the basic needs for establishing a new society. The totalitarian system in *Fahrenheit 451* restrains critical thought by prohibiting reading and banning books.

The official slogan of the firemen is to burn books to ashes and then burn the ashes too. Each day of the week they burn a valuable part of the past treasure, Monday for burning the Millay's works, Wednesday for Whitman and Faulkner on Friday (Bradbury, 67) The struggle in *Fahrenheit 451* is the struggle between two ideologies. One belongs to the totalitarian regime that believes in forgetting and ignoring the knowledge and the past makes people happy. The other one is the book people's ideology that regards past and knowledge as sources of happiness. For the totalitarian regime books are "ruins of history" and people must get rid of them. Ernst, Parikka, and Jussi believe that the struggle in *Fahrenheit 451* is the struggle between old and new memory; the new memory permanently destroys the old one. Any totalitarian regime in the world has utilized all its power to crush any opposition movement, that is why the Beatty's regime bans books and blot out any traces of the past. The book people regard the past as the best mechanism for establishing a world better than the one they live in. It is past that teach human to live in peace, because books are the token of wisdom and rationality. There is a man behind each book, (Bradbury, 75) each man owns a certain world, his/her experience of the life reflects in the books. As Plato argues that memory forms experience, so the more experienced the people the more they understand the world. In *Fahrenheit 451*, the collective memory is only found in the books, and the government burns all the books, so as to deprive people from grasping the world that they live in.

In a conversation with Montag, Beatty explains the way of destroying the past; "Classics cut to fit fifteen-minute radio shows, then cut again to fill a two-minute book column, winding up at last as a ten- or twelve-line dictionary resume, (Bradbury, 73). The world of *Fahrenheit 451* is a world in which the power continually works to establish a new version of past history and knowledge and this is by limiting the volumous treasure of past. The totalitarian regime annihilates any forms of history and knowledge which may

motivate philosophical and rational reflection. For Smolla Bradbury's novel is a prediction of a future without memory and thought. Bradbury tells the story of an totalitarian regime that utilizes TV as an anesthetic, or as a narcotic that is capable of destroying people's interests to read books and making them ignorant and unresponsive. The more people addict to the misinformation and propaganda of parlor walls in the novel, the more their memory become poor. An excessive addicting on parlor walls lead to memory lost, as in the case of Montag at the beginning of the novel when he decides to meet Faber. Professor Faber is a retired man who still owns books; he criticizes himself for not standing against the book burning by the regime. Faber encourages Montag to read books and educate himself. In their first meeting, while Montag is on his way to meet him, Montag tries to remember few lines of the Bible that he memorizes before, but the commercial breaks of a show in the parlor walls interrupts his mind and forget the lines. Thus he tells us that the TV addicted people of *Fahrenheit 451* have short memories. Madzosi believes that the world that Beatty's regime establishes is a world of short memory. The totalitarian regime in *Fahrenheit 451* works for providing people with short-term memories. It is a type of memory that fades away quickly. For the government long term memory causes melancholy. That is why memory of people should be substituted with a new type. Most of the people in *Fahrenheit 451* stop reading books and they only pay much of their attentions to the parlor walls. The issue of memory in *Fahrenheit 451* has a social and political dimension. The social part is that ordinary people *Fahrenheit 451* that includes majority of the people do not know about their past. Family relations are absent among the people of *Fahrenheit 451*. The government of Beatty outlaws books that are the source of knowledge and intellectuality, instead of books the regime provides parlor walls; source of irrationality and emptiness. For Mankad, the influence of mass media, especially TV creates anti-social people and gives them a hedonistic ideology. I totally agree with this idea that the characters of *Fahrenheit 451* are not social; the affect of TV leads the characters to live in isolation. The absence of family and blood relationships, Montag and his wife, parents and their children, is a persuasive evidence for the lack of close relations between people. People do not remember even the most private things in their lives, as in the case of Mildred Montag's wife Millie. She is about thirty years old; she is thin and has got friable hair with gleaming eyes, she does not recall the first time that she met her

husband. The political part is that through erasing all the memory and knowledge of the past, the government secures its dominant power over the majority of the people in the society.

One of the main motives of the written texts in *Fahrenheit 451* is that literature is an essential factor and one of the most valuable products of the human civilization. Since Goethe says that the ruin of literature is the ruin of a nation, so a nation without literature gradually meets its destruction. Through reading books, Montag understands the world, and gains knowledge about past. Memory is a powerful mean for Montag to conquer any repressed ideology. Ashburn, director of North Carolina Library, she discusses the future and the power of books, she believes that books arise feeling, emotion and past memories in the mind of the readers. Ashburn states that the role of memory in *Fahrenheit 451* is powerful, because it has ability to affect and make transformation in the mind of Montag. Through clinging to the memory of his past, Montag becomes an educated person. Books change Montag from the burner of the books to the lover of the books. The totalitarian regime of *Fahrenheit 451* jogs people's mind with new type of memory through two different methods. The first one is through the massive mass media. The second one is through paramedics that they give treatment for those people who have bitter and painful memories. As in the case of Montag's wife, after she attempts to commit suicide for more than one time, she takes happy pills continually. She is addicted to the pills in a way that once she takes a bottle of pills entirely. When Montag realizes that his wife is overdosed, he calls the paramedics. In a very short time, the paramedics reach Montag's house, the paramedics take out her blood and put in new blood to Millie's body. After Millie awakes in the morning, she forgets everything. She does not remember what happens to her, she forgets her suicide attempts. Montag describes her wife after the treatment as she has no memory, (Bradbury, 22-5). What is important here is that memory is a threat to the totalitarian regimes, so the governments blot out any traces of the past. As soon as people jog their memories, they realize the brutality of the regime, and then start to make comparison between their current states of life with the one of the past. Clinging to the past makes people to think independently, as the Montag's quest of resistance through reading books. The books make a great change in the life of Montag, so it is really important to give adequate detail about the process of his transformation from the book

burner to the book lover. In the next section I will try to clarify the protagonist's quest to retrieve his memory through reading books.

### **3.3: Reading as Resistance:**

Writing closely links to the issue of memory. Cicero, the Roman philosopher and politician, calls memory as the sister of writing. Past memories of the society in *Fahrenheit 451* are not in favor of the totalitarian power, so all the memories of past are burned to ashes by the firemen. Books reveal the light of life, and uncover the brutality of the government. Books guide people toward recognizing their value and their personal freedom. Those people who read books have sharp differences with those who stick to the parlor walls. The book people are not easily controllable, because they perceive the characters of spoiled governments. Those who engage with books are fully aware of the essence of humanity that always seeks freedom and practicing individual rights. Montag and the book people in the forest are not solid subjects as majority of the people in *Fahrenheit 451*, most people act and behave as the way of the actors do in the entertainment programs of the parlor walls. The government works permanently for erasing all past history, so past does not exist in the discourse of the media outlets of the totalitarian regime. In an obsessed TV society, people only mind those issues which are publicized on the parlor walls. Except the book people, most of the citizens in *Fahrenheit 451* do not remember their past. The absent of remembering leads to a condition that people cannot think and appreciate the reality. Unlike the majority of the citizens in *Fahrenheit 451*, the book people understand the reality, they remember their past, and they are capable of thinking. This leads them to stand against the totalitarian regime. The book people have a sharp memory for protecting the past of the nation. Ashburn believes that clinging to memory gives human a power to affect, and sometimes the affect is such powerful that can conquer reality, as in the case of Montag who refuses the faked reality that he lives in. Through reading the books, Montag realizes the oppressive and totalitarian world that surrounds him. Although he knows his destiny he insists and rebels against the Beatty's regime, (Ashburn, 2004).

The book people in *Fahrenheit 451* know the power of books and history of their past. They start to memorize and protect the collective memory of their society. Those people

who yet store books or gain access to the treasure of the books need to start memorizing canon books to keep from erasing and total demolishing. The book people deeply appreciate books in a way that they sacrifice their lives for the sake of protecting the treasure of their past. Bradbury in *Fahrenheit 451* suggests that human beings should take their past knowledge and history into consideration, he recounts that people must save knowledge of the past in different dissimilar ways; in the mind of people, in documents, records and in books, so as to be safe and far from wiping out by the totalitarian regime, (Bradbury, 148). The totalitarian regime in *Fahrenheit 451* deliberately erases the past memory of the people. The purpose of past erasure is that Gough refers to; the past does not meet the ideological ends of the totalitarian government, that is why Beatty, the captain of the fire house orders his firemen “forget them. Burn all, burn everything. Fire is bright and fire is clean” (Bradbury, 83). Fire is clean for the government, because it removes all the stains of the past. The government in *Fahrenheit 451* forces people to forget their past and start to contrive a new memory that is on a par with the principles of the dominant power.

Resistance of Montag starts from when he meets his neighbor Clarisse, she belongs to the book people. Montag starts to question the nature of his job, he searches for reasons why he has to burn books. “Time has fallen asleep in the afternoon sunshine” (Bradbury, 17). This is the first line that Montag reads, this famous line is from “*Dreamthorp*” of Alexander Smith, Scottish essayist and poet (1829-1867). Referring to Smith by Bradbury has two important indications; the first one is that Smith’s memorable quote about memory, for Smith the most precious possession for human is his/her memory. The second is that, in *Dreamthorp*, Smith portrays the role of literature such as prose or poetry, it has a great impact on illuminating the life of human being. Eventually Montag becomes happy, finds his way to a respectful and meaningful life. For Montag and the book people, reading and books are the source of self-understanding and arranging orders in society. Reading is a means of keeping past history and knowledge, that’s why they resist against the totalitarian rules of the government.

In *Fahrenheit 451*, the personal rights of individuals such as freedom of speech are denied by the power. People are under constant surveillance and the regime permanently erases the past knowledge and cultural memory of the society. For sure resistance appears in such condition. All these are the main factors for Montag and the book people to oppose the



power. In government's perspective reading is destructive and it undermines social order in the society. Montag and the book people who stand against the totalitarian government call for end of repression and collective ignorance. Except the books they have no any other kind of weapons to challenge the government that persistently limit the flourish of human knowledge and sciences. Through *Fahrenheit 451*, Bradbury shows the ability of literature to harvest human autonomy, along with the events of the novel that contains three sections; readers notice the progress that happens in the life of the protagonist. Through reading books, Montag wins sense of identity and gains capacity to think. Reading leads Montag to question his own job, his life and his ignorance.

The first section of the novel entails the portrait of the life that Montag leads and the first steps that Montag takes to build his resistance. He perceives the confines of the life that he leads. Being a fireman makes him to become a means to confine the life of other people. From the early beginning of the novel, Montag seems to be happy in his life. He gains pleasure from watching how the books are burned. He gets special pleasure from things are eaten, from things are turned to black, and changed, (Bradbury 451, 9). Montag feels the power he exercises, his position as a firefighter makes him to feel proud. Montag is a person to be deeply respected and to be feared because he is the man who keeps orders in the society. In the society that Montag lives, people are afraid of the firemen. This clarifies temptation of self-satisfaction, he is measured up to a higher rank for his unquestioning obedience. But this is a fake reality; it is not what the essence of humanity demands. The life that Montag experiences lacks personal reflections, and he has no one to talk to. Montag barely remembers an afternoon in a park that he had talk with an old man a year ago (Bradbury, 17). From the description of his house, it is noticeable that there is not adequate interaction in his family, "cold marbled room, complete darkness and the room like a tomb-world where no sound is heard"( 19). Montag completely forgets the real world. He forgets dews on flowers and grass in the morning, Montag is a man who "never stops to think" as Clarissa describes him when they meet for the first time. Montag is a person who has no relationship with nature nor with other human beings.

Female figures in the novel have a great role to lead Montag to stand against the dominant norm of the totalitarian government of *Fahrenheit 451*. Montag runs into Clarisse, a seventeen years old girl. She seems not keen on much of the joys and pleasure that the

government offers. Clarisse creates a great impact on Montag, and this is clearly can be seen from the very beginning of their meeting, Montag starts to think in different way and starts to question about the nature of his job by trying to find an answer for; why does he have to burn books. Another woman who makes him to reconsider the mental and ethical grounds of his world is the old woman, who defends her old library in her house with her life. Montag finds knowledge, affection, courage, and struggle in the old woman and Clarisse. But he finds emptiness in his wife. His wife Mildred looks to have fun in her life and her life sounds to be enjoyable with many drugs and addiction to entertainment shows, but the constructed norm of life that she adapts from TV shows deprives her from expressing any feeling toward her husband. Gottlieb and Rodríguez confirm that the old woman, Clarisse and his wife create a desire for Montag to check contents of prohibited books. He starts to interrogate the world that surrounds him, it is a world that thinking and imagination are prohibited, reading and books are outlawed. In such a world, he tries to figure out the world that he lives in. He thinks more about the job that he does which is against the basic principles of human value.

It appears to Montag the sort of the state that he lives in. It is a society where the ultimate aim is to be solely happy or getting pleasure. In a conversation between Beatty and Montag, Beatty clarifies that being happy is the absolute treasure that everyone in the state looks for, “that is all we live for, is not it? For pleasure, for titillation” (Bradbury, 78). Beatty in a continual manner gives his confirmation that the government is capable of providing a great deal of happiness and pleasure. Except the book people and Montag have awareness toward the surrounding world, all the citizens sink like a stone in the sea of pleasure. The state through utilizing its massive media keeps almost all the citizens in collective unconsciousness. What makes Montag sense the emptiness of the life he leads is the inundation in to the world of books. Books separate him from the rest of the people who lives in the totalitarian system. Through reading books, he feels culpable for his job that he burns the most precious value of past history and knowledge. Books become a torch that lights the path of his life, because books are the energy of life. Connor finds some images of Plato in the Bradbury’s work. There is a similarity between *Allegory of the Cave* by Plato and *Fahrenheit 451*. For Plato rationality and knowledge that people gain through the five senses is not the real one, they are just the reflection and the

viewpoints. for gaining the real knowledge one should listen to philosophical reasoning. In *Fahrenheit 451*, the truth and reason are challenged by burning, the truth is only found in the past that is in the books. According to the Plato's allegory of the Cave, three men spend their life in a dark cave; they have no clue about the life outside the world. The prisoners are tied in a way that they do not see any side except the front side which is a wall of stones, from their behind, there is a fire and walkway between them and the fire. People outside the cave usually go along the walkway with carrying daily objects as stones, animals, equipments, wood and plants. The prisoners only see the shadows of people with their objects that they carry; they do not know the reality of the objects. They play a game for choosing a master between them; the game is about guessing the right figure that appears next on the stone wall. The stone wall is much the same as the parlor walls, the reality is not what is casted on the TVs. One of the prisoners makes an escape and leaves the cave; the new outside world shocks him. When the prisoner becomes used to his new reality, he figures out how wrong they perceive the world in the cave, he starts to understand the world and starts an intellectual journey to find out more about the world, and the meaning of life. After the time passes, the prisoner makes a return to the cave to inform other prisoners about the reality and the new world, he asks them to be free and find out the new world, but the other prisoners do not believe him and they intimidate and threaten him if he tries to make them free. After Montag gains knowledge and meaning of life in the books, he starts to inform others about the truth, but no one listens and the authority decides to kill him. This can be adapted on the life of Montag before reading the books and after. The world that Montag lives in is as dark as the cave. The books that include wisdom, knowledge and past memories change the life of Montag, the books bring him out to the outer world and perceive the reality of life. The books for Montag role as Plato for the man in the cave. Wisdom has been the source of development and civilization. The state wipes out any traces of the past, and in the present illegalizes the act of reading. Securing the interests of the government is the number one priority of any government. The ideology for securing the government in *Fahrenheit 451* is to transfer people into a fake reality by making people to believe that they are happy, anything against this ideology will be rubbed out by the firemen. For instance, reading books about the knowledge of the past is dangerous for the government, because it leads citizens to have

critical thinking and practice intellectual activities. Reading books guides people to question the dogmatic principles of the state, so as not let this happen the regime in *Fahrenheit 451* bans books to block the process of thinking and rational choices. Instead, the state overflows the people's mind through TVs with diverse programs and entertainment shows. The shows are made for gaining pleasure; they are not a source of catalyzing any rationality or any kind of autonomous thought.

The type of data and the way it is stored is one of the issues in memory studies. The way of managing, editing and disseminating the collected data is very important, because the one who manages it can possibly misuse the stored information for his/ her own interests, as it is clearly seen in *1984* and *Fahrenheit 451*. As the information technology reaches the peak in today's world, and people depend more on technology for almost everything in the life, the issue of stored data becomes more serious in the age of globalization and the Internet. Personal data, electronic systems of banks, electricity, nuclear activities, missile system, hospital and traffic, all these are electronically arranged and handled. Editing these issues is not impossible as Bill Gates the owner of the Microsoft company states; they are just matters of a "click". The idea of misusing the collected data and controlling the digital sphere is popular on academic debates and popular movies. For example, in *die hard 4* which is one of the *die hard* series, the movie was made in June in 2007 and directed by Len Wiseman. The movie is about a group of hackers that hack into all the systems of the New York City, banks, electricity station, traffic system and government logs and documents are under control the hacker group. The head of the group Thomas Gabriel (Timothy Olyphant) threatens the hero of the movie John Mc Clane (Bruce Willis) if he does not follow his orders. What is relevant between the movie and the issue of memory? The relation is that the one who controls the formal records of government is the one who decides on the type of memory that one or in a larger scale the people possess. In the movie Gabriel menaces Mc Clane to empty his account, erase all his personal documents and gives him a bad reputation in the official records if he disobeys the group. Frey examines the relation between human body and memory in three movies; in his work he regards the body of human as an archive and memory as identity or historical records. One of the movies is an adaptation of Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451*(the movie was made in 1966 by François Truffaut). Frey notes that the characters in the movie Millie as an

example have no memory of their historical past; they just live in the present. Frey states that there is an essential connection between memory and the issue of identity. In the movie and in the novel as well, the book people do not only memorize books, but they become the books, this means that the book lovers abandon their identity and take on a new identity that is the identity of the canon books. For instance, Montag asks the name of a man, the man says "I'm Plato's Republic" (Bradbury, 189). This indicates that the memory changes identity of people and shapes them as well. It makes people understand the reality and gives power to rebel against the hegemonic power.

The view of Bradbury to store and preserve books is shown through the method that Montag and the book people utilize. These people start to leave the cities and settle down in the countryside. There they memorize canon books in order to be safeguarded for the next generation; they dedicate themselves to preserve knowledge and history of a nation from destruction. Montag gets curious toward his job; he tries to understand why he should burn honor and pride of the society. Secretly, Montag starts to collect books and read them. Through reading books, he becomes aware of the power of books, and the ability to make changes in the individual's perspective toward the world. Why books are so dangerous that the State puts them on fire? It is not easy to handle and censor printed books of the past and books have never been capable of carrying untruthful knowledge. Books are read by different people and the content of the books are not the same as the content of TV broadcasting. In each book there is a world as Montag puts into words while he talks with his wife; there is a man behind each book, a man had to think them up. Montag thinks about a long period that a book requires to be born, it takes a lifetime for some of the writers to put their thoughts about life and the world on paper, (Bradbury, 69). Unlike books, publicizing on parlor walls is easily controlled and censored. The content of the TV programs is about everything that prevents thinking and rationality. For example, a program names family that appears much like the today's reality TV programmes. The family breaks all the moral and religious rules for the sake of its popularity and making people to be a blind consumer. Jesus Christ becomes a member of the family, He is changed in a way that Professor Faber wonders whether God recognizes Christ or not. Using Christ in the commercial breaks to make the worshippers to buy the products. All the other programmes are whether for misleading or manipulating people

and taming people in a way that the government desires. That is why the totalitarian state dishes out people from books to stick on the most advanced form of TV technology. Books persuade Montag not to burn anymore and he decides to leave his job.



#### 4. CONCLUSION

To sum up for the conclusion of the thesis, I start from the title, the title refers to the relation between totalitarianism and memory in both forms individual and collective form. The “Memory hole” and the “harsh and salamander” have the same function; that is to erase and destroy past memories. This thesis shows how the totalitarian regimes in both novels deal with past memories and knowledge of their nations. It is clear that much has been said about totalitarianism and its characteristics in the twentieth century so I discussed the legacy of totalitarianism in the twenty first century in the background of the novels. The threat of totalitarianism is still awake. Totalitarianism as a more baleful and destructive model of absolute power rooted its ill-favored face in the twentieth century, still threatens the human life in today’s world.

Memory is a useful mean to form identity and bringing unity. The memories of the past are the pivotal factors that establish individual and collective identity. Memory is the cornerstone that gathers the members of the communities, brings unity among them and create common goals to achieve in the future. The best example for this argument is the using of the Holocaust memories by the Jews to unite and strengthen their State after their war against the Arab world in 1967. as the nature of our period that best recognized with the culture of new things rather than embracing the scars of the past, the only forms of the past can be sensed only through the "hard memories". the past memories are an integral part of the existence of human being, the past has affected the present in an extensive manner and the effect continues in the future. That is the past which decides the political relations between the countries, for example, the denial of the Holocaust by ex-president of Iran makes the relation between Iran and Israel much worse.

The Holocaust as the most brutal atrocity of the twentieth century still needs further analysis and contribution, because despite of having a worldwide concern and being a cosmopolitan memory in our period but its denial and distortion is capable of filling an

encyclopedia. it is the present that proves the existence of past memories; the traumatic past memories of the Holocaust is denied by the Arab and Islamic World. Distorting the past memories, focusing on remembering some favored parts of memory (events, historical figures) and forgetting undesired parts of memory are practiced in our world today. Ascribing the past memories of triumph, reflecting the narrative of victory, ignoring all the deadly destruction and excluding all the traumatic memories make Stalin on the top of best names in the today's Russian community. Unlike other Nations, Russia has done little about its traumatic memories. On the other hand, there are some countries that have used different methods to deal with their past traumatic memories, for sure, these countries such as the post--totalitarian countries, Germany, as an example, achieved remarkable success to end the dispute of the past. the process of dealing with the past traumatic memories in those countries that share the totalitarian past have played an essential role in making both the institution and culture of democracy to be stronger. For instance, in Latin American countries, South Africa and Germany in Europe, committees and boards were formed for reconciliation with the past. Fascism as one of the political and ideological movement of the twenties century, its characteristics resonates in today's world. Fascism is not buried with the death of Hitler and Mussolini, it appears again and again with new forms and features in different times and places; the most recently, Donald Trump has been described as a fascist by several journalists and prominent figures.

In this thesis, memory is used to indicate the past (history and knowledge) of the nations. The totalitarian regimes in both the novels in a minute by minute manner update and destroy undesired parts of the past heritage of their community. The issue of memory in both dystopian fictions is paid much consideration by the totalitarian regimes of *1984* and *Fahrenheit 451*, because it links with the identity and unity of the nation. The past is not what the totalitarian regimes desire for that is why the past is rubbed out by the dominant power in both novels, instead the original past; the state powers invent new types of memory that fulfills their ideological ends. For exposing and implementation the new memory language, media and technology have a great impact, they have a great power to mislead and control the mind of ordinary people. in 1984, one of the sacred principles in the ideology of the party is erasing and updating the past memories, the party erases the memory of the people for two apparent reason; firstly, as it has been showed the relation



between memory and identity, there is a close relevance between memory and personal and national identity, lack of past memories causes losing identity and meaning of the life. The BigBrother's party wants the proles to find themselves without identity because the identity belongs to the past of the nation, and this past is not what they desire for, to form a new and favorable identity; the party effectively imposes its identity by erasing the past and updating it.

Reviving memory is one of the ways to resist against the dominant powers. Clinging to the memories of the past results in constituting and reframing both individual and collective identity, because the past memories partake in forming and reframing the current situation, and the past affects the present. Memory is one of the ways that leads to build resistance against the social and political hegemonic powers. Winston, the protagonist in *1984* realizes the essentiality and the importance of the past memory so he persistently struggles to revive his individual memory. The past memories wake the deeply rooted feelings in Winston. Montag as Winston, through reading books about the past that includes knowledge, philosophy and history makes a great change in his life, from book burner he becomes a book lover and protector. The essence of humanity lays between the pages of the books not on the screens. In *1984*, the party controls not only the past but the current reality as well, the BigBrother's regime in *1984* abolishes the history, past memory and the knowledge in a systematic way, the same mechanism is possible today for those who hold the power. The Internet is the best example to exclude or erase any undesired facts and information. In both the novels certain organizations are specified by the totalitarian regimes to deal with their unfavorable past. In *1984* the Ministry of Truth is responsible for altering through the persistent distortion of both the past memories and the reality. The party stands firm that its statement has never been incorrect because there is nothing left from the past to be compared with. In the same way in *Fahrenheit 451*, the fire house is the organization who is responsible for destroying the past treasure of the nation, the firemen burn the books and turn them to ashes, because for the Beaty's regime books are explicit threat for the ideology of the regime; the Beaty's regime aims at making people happy, and the governmental entity is the only provider of happiness.

In *1984*, media is the strongest way to transfer all the falsifications of the BigBrother's party to the Ocenian community. Propaganda is another way of imposing the new or

invented memory, the impact of mass media leads the proles to regard all the lies and fictional figures as real characters; as in the case of comrade Ogilvy, the party aims at creating an ideal party follower to be a model that everyone admires, for creating such a character, only a few lines of description and a faked photograph are required. In the same way in *Fahrenheit 451*, Media has an essential effect in manipulating and brainwashing the majority of the community, women abandon giving birth because they already have children in their favorite TV program, most of the characters only experience life through the parlor walls, Millie for instance, along with the events of the novel she whether stands in front of the TV or listens to her seashell.

The two novelists in their works show their deep fear about the life of people under the reign of totalitarian governments. The dominant powers in a persistent way try to control the life of people in today's world. In the introduction I raised the question of why still should we study totalitarianism when the Soviet Union, Hitler, Stalin and other totalitarian regimes are no longer in the life? To conclude an answer for this question, I believe that although totalitarianism belongs to the last century but its characteristics still exist in our period and threaten the human life today. The strongest evidence for this argument is the report of the Global Challenge Foundation which was published in 2015; the report warns the world about spreading the ambition of owning nuclear weapons; recent nuclear missile tests by several governments such as Iran in 2017 and North Korea in 2016 sound the warning sterner.

The issue of false governing systems that lead to arising a dominant and totalitarian power is another threat that both novels warn humanity about. In addition to these major threats, there is a bitter legacy of totalitarian characteristics in today's world. Surveillance, distorted media and propaganda and the misuse of language are clearly noticed today, and still they are the powerful means for the governments to oppress their people or the other countries. That is why it is wrong to consider that totalitarianism is dead. Media as a tool for misleading and manipulating are not just the characteristics of the authoritarian regimes of the twentieth century; it exists in today's modern and democratic societies as well. The abuse of media is one of the issues that require much more consideration because it has relation with the ruling powers. Media is a powerful mean for any social, political and religion power, and it has an essential impact in leading the public, the modern

technology, TV for example, is capable of controlling the mind of people. Those who lead the power in our world deliberately work to keep majority of people glued to the screens, thus lets TV bit by bit to take the place of real experiences of the life, Millie, Montag's wife in *Fahrenheit 451*, is the best example to show the role of media in the dystopian fiction. The media has a negative impact on the characters, it misinforms them and leads them to alienation and passiveness.

Language as other fields of the life received much attention by the hegemonic powers. The political use of language was one of the characteristics of the totalitarian regimes in last century, unsurprisingly, today, it is a crucial mean to control and mislead people. Simply, the function of language is to communicate and express our feelings, but language becomes a mean of constructing a fake reality that the power desires. To put all the citizens under permanent surveillance is one of the characteristics of the totalitarian regimes. The revelation of the whistleblower, Edward Snowden, updates this characteristic in our period; today's governments under various names put their citizens under watching. In both the novels, the authoritarian powers utilize the most advanced technology to watch and control almost all the life of the people in general or at least those who are targeted. Attitude and behavior of the people in the two dystopian fictions are under control of the regimes; the multifunctional telescreen in *1984* and the mechanical hound in *Fahrenheit 451* show that the totalitarian powers have ultimate access to the life of individuals and the relationship among them.

Both *1984* and *Fahrenheit 451* are dystopian novels about the life of people and individuals under totalitarian regimes, they depict the totalitarian governments that use massive oppression against people. The most important thing for any totalitarian regime is to make people helpless and hopeless to rub out any type of disobedience and resistance among community. The totalitarian governments utilize any methods to control their people for the sake of protecting their reign. Being solely in power is the ultimate goal of the totalitarian regimes. The authoritarian regimes of both novels reject all human and rational values when these values oppose their ideological principles. One of the methods that secure the regimes in both novels is rubbing out the past and constructing a new or favorite one. The past is the fabric of society; it links social groups together so the more

destroyed the past the more individuals will be apart secure will be the totalitarian regimes.



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## RESUME



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