

THE AUTHORITY OF THE PAST
IN
GEORGE ORWELL'S LATER NOVELS.

By

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In George Orwell's later novels, namely *Animal Farm* and *1984* the past assumes very great importance. George Orwell's sense of the past and awareness of the value of history are profoundly felt in both novels. However, Tom Hopkinson holds a totally opposite view in his short pamphlet on Orwell where he maintains that "Orwell's preoccupation with the present prevented seeing not merely the past and future, but the present as it really is". (1) Hopkinson also claims that Orwell "was without historical perspective. He saw the world of his day with peculiar intensity because he saw extremely little of its past, and he regarded the future as simply a continuation and extension of the particular present which he knew". (2)

Indeed, Orwell's preoccupation with the present does not necessarily exclude his deeper interest in the past and his persistent concern with history in his later novels. In opposition to Hopkinson's view, we are of the opinion that Orwell's sense of the past is so pervasive that it even becomes obsessive. His concern with the past and his belief in the importance of history can be traced back in his earlier novels, but they are felt with great intensity in both *Animal Farm* and *1984*. The main purpose of this paper is to refute Hopkinson's view and to prove that Orwell's historical perspective is pervasive throughout his later novels.

The title of this paper has been inspired by the title of an essay on George Eliot's novels written by Thomas Pinney. (2) As Thomas Pinney puts it:

old and familiar objects and associations are cherished not because they possess a necessarily superior intrinsic value, but because they have drawn to themselves those affections which supply all the meaning of life, and have become inseparable from the feelings which exalt them. The affections, because freshest and most intense in our early life, are inevitably backward looking. Not what is to come but what has been determines the values that guide action. (3).

Indeed, it is the last sentence in the quotation above that inspires the present paper: "Not what is to come but what has been determines the values that guide action". Hence the authority of the past in George Eliot's novels, and similarly in George Orwell's later novels. The present paper proposes to follow up and investigate that significance of the past in Orwell's novels concentrating on the values that are determined by the past. To Orwell, the past represents a point of reference by which the present could be judged and evaluated. If the past is altered or distorted it necessarily follows that our evaluation of the present situation should be inaccurate. Such a thesis is elaborately embodied in both *Animal Farm*, and *1984*.

The earlier critical work done on Orwell's novels, though voluminous*, does not include an article that is wholly devoted to the subject of the present paper. Therefore, we hope it would contribute towards our acquaintance with Orwell's fictional works and a better understanding of his vision which is narratively displayed in them.

Orwell's obsession with the authority of the past does not actually start with the later novels. It can be traced in his earlier ones. The only difference is that of density that manifests itself in *Animal Farm* and *1984*. In "Looking Back on the Spanish War", a sequel to his *Homage to Catalonia*, Orwell expresses his fears of the abuse of the past. Falsifying history is a nightmare to Orwell. Those in power control not only the future but the past. If the leader says of such and such an event, "It never happened - well it never happened. If he says that two and two are five- well two and two are five. This prospect frightens me much more than bombs- and after our experiences of the last few years that is not a frivolous statement". (4)

In *Animal Farm* the word past is not explicitly repeated as a point of reference. However, at every crucial juncture in the life of the farm animals and their progress towards achieving their set goals, there is always their implicit comparison with an earlier time. This reference to the past is essentially done by the animals on the farm in their attempt to evaluate their present especially when their conditions are far from being satisfactory.

The first occasion on which the word past is mentioned occurs when the animals, immediately after the success of their rebellion "destroyed everything that reminded them of Mr Jones. (*A.F.* p. 20). The pre-revolution time is thus considered a past. It is hateful, full of torture and deprivation. The animals erase everything that links them with it. Snowball paints out the word, Manor Farm of the past and writes instead "*Animal Farm*" starting a very hopeful promising present.

Significantly, the animals on the farm care very much to organize their life by setting up a system that would secure

welfare, happiness and prosperity for the whole farm. The Seven Commandments sum up the whole system. "They would form an unalterable law by which all the animals on *Animal Farm* must live for ever after." (A.F. p 23) The animals care greatly to write them down so as to remain as a record or a document to refer to at times of need: "The commandments were written on the tarred wall in great white letters that could be read thirty yards away, (A.F. p. 23). Henceforward, the Seven Commandments would serve as a past that should control the present.

When the animals begin their post-rebellion activities some minor deviations occur. The pigs favour themselves with the milk and the apples, thus starting a long series of departures from the essence of animalism. The role played by the pigs on the farm is highly decisive. As B.T. Oxley points out: "The pigs, having learnt to read, immediately emerge as what sociologists call a power elite. They are the only ones able to put forward resolutions at the weekly policy-debates (while such debates continue); they are the organizers of the various animal committees; they are the only ones who declare they must govern if Jones is not to return". (5)

As a ruling group, the pigs have their own attitude towards the past. They always refer to the past to serve their own ends. To justify their first minor deviation from the spirit of equality, the pigs refer to the past: the days of Mr Jones in a threatening tone. Squealer in his way of justifying the pigs' transgressions tells the other animals that the failure of the pigs in their duties means the return of Mr Jones; a past which all the other animals abhor and fear to live again its tortures. The past then is used by the pigs as a point of pressure to justify any deviations. The present is thus determined by the past. Among the forces that

make animals less protesting against the privileges enjoyed by the pigs is their fear of the past.

Napoleon's upheaval against Snowball marks a totally different phase in the life of *Animal Farm*. It really starts dictatorship supported by military power represented by the nine fierce dogs especially reared by Napoleon for the sake of terrifying the other animals and keeping them for ever under his power. Snowball is the first to suffer the power of those dogs which chase him out of the farm, thus determining the fate of all opponents. The other basic support of Napoleon's dictatorship is the reality control assumed by Squealer whose attempts to keep the working animals docile and obedient are always successful. Arthur Pollard sums the transformation befalling the Animal Farm effectively: In *Animal Farm*, Orwell proceeds "as he does from the revolution of the farm animals against their human master through an idealistic phase of egalitarianism to the usurpation of power by the pigs and the ultimate dictatorship of one of them, Napoleon."(5)

It is the first "idealistic phase of egalitarianism" under Snowball's leadership that provides a past for animals. Instead of talking about the days of Mr Jones, they will often be made to refer to that phase with its idealistic Seven Commandments which were meant to be unalterable. With the new phase of power and dictatorship a new attitude towards the past is crystallized. The animals feel the sharp contrast between their present and the past represented by Snowball's leadership due to the absence of democracy. "Nowadays they did not sit all together as they had done in the past". (A.F. p. 51) Comparisons between two phases of the animals' life are always held after every new development .

Squealer, the great propagandist, is always there when the animals feel confused and bewildered at a new occurrence that contradicts their set objectives embodied in the Seven Commandments. Squealer's career is actively started immediately after Snowball's expulsion from the farm. His duty is to distort the past and falsify history in order to keep the memory of the other animals under his control. He smashes the idealism the animals attached to Snowball: "Snowball was no better than a criminal." (A.F. p. 50). When the animals show signs of disapproval pointing out Snowball's bravery, they are once more threatened by the days Mr Jones: Squealer, as usual, knows their terror and fear of a return to the days of slavery: "Surely, Comrades, you do not want Jones back". (A.F.p. 50).

The response on the part of the animals is marked by more concessions. They do not even stick to the achievements of their egalitarian phase. Nor do they protest when such achievements are totally cancelled by the new regime. The sacrifice is made mainly for fear of the past: "Certainly the animals did not want Jones back; if the holding of debates on Sunday mornings was liable to bring him back then the debates must stop." (A.F. p. 50). It is an illogical linkage between the return of Jones with his hateful era and the animals' surrender to the tyrannical system of Napoleon.

Another scale of the past could be distinguished when the ruling pigs begin to violate intrinsically the first of the Seven Commandments. The basis of the rebellion on the farm is the enmity towards human-beings: "Whatever goes on two legs is an enemy." (A.F.p. 23). Accordingly, dealings with human-beings are completely disapproved by the Seven Commandments.

When the ruling pigs start their dealings with their human neighbours in matters of trade the other animals feel uneasy. They begin to recall the past, now the stage of promise represented by the Seven Commandments. The initial situation of the revolution marks the past which would be referred to when violations and transgressions invite animals to do so:

Once again animals were conscious of a vague uneasiness. Never to have any dealings with human-beings, never to engage in trade, never to make use of money-had not these been the earliest resolutions passed at the first triumphant Meeting after Jones was expelled? All the animals remembered passing such resolutions: or at least they thought that they remembered it. (A.F.p.56).

It is one of the signs of passivity and surrender on the part of the working animals that they do not strongly and firmly trust their memory. In other words, they do not take a firm stand in the face of the continuous process of falsifying the past. They accept passively and peacefully what they are told by Squealer:

"He answered them that the resolution against engaging in trade and using money had never been passed, or ever suggested, it was pure imagination, probably traceable in the beginning to lies circulated by Snowball." (A.F.p. 57).

When the animals' doubts are not dispelled, Squealer goes on with his argument attempting to refute their claims. Squealer questions the animals affirming that there is no record of those resolutions against engaging in trade and using money: "Have you any record of such a resolution? Is it written down anywhere?" (A.F.p. 57). Written records, then, are true reference

of an existing past. If something is not written down and recorded it does not exist. The past should have an external reality.

Although the animals know that such resolutions are included in old Major's long speech to them before the outbreak of their rebellion against Jones, they cannot depend on something orally said; it must be written down. "And since it was certainly true that nothing of the kind existed in writing, the animals were satisfied that they had been mistaken." (A.F. p.p. 57-58).

Recorded resolutions, however, do not restrict or deter the deviation of the ruling pigs. One of the Seven Commandments stipulates that no animal should sleep on beds. The pigs move to the farmhouse and sleep on beds transgressing the Commandment. To justify their violations, the pigs distort the written records. It is a continuous process of "successive impositions of double-talk on the original simple Seven Commandments. As the pigs progressively imitate men, so each Commandment is modified".(6)

It is worthy of note that the modification of the Commandment follows a steady line of destroying the past, though recorded and unanimously approved. Qualifying words and phrases are added to each commandment so as to divest it of all its meaning.

The process of falsifying the past continues with the other commandments so that the animals find nothing to stick to, or trust. On each occasion of violation the animals try to remember or recall the past records but they are shocked and defeated to find that everything has been distorted. The most shocking

scene in the novel is that of mass murder of some of the victims of the despotic regime of Napoleon. After false confessions a great number of animals and birds are ruthlessly executed. The scene of bloodshed is one of great terror to the surviving animals which recall the past as a point of reference at such a crucial time:

In the old days there had been scenes of bloodshed equally terrible, but it seemed to all of them that it was far worse now that it was happening among themselves. Since Jones had left the farm: untill today, no animal had killed another animal. Not even a rat had been killed. (A.F.p. 74)

Comparing their gloomy and dismal present with a hopeful past leads to a great disappointment on the part of the animals: "These scenes of terror and slaughter were not what they had looked forward to on that night when old Major first stirred them to rebellion." (A.F.p. 75).

Tom Hopkinson relevantly remarks that despite the animals' success to dismiss Jones, "they are disasterously unsuccessful over something they had never regarded as a problem, their dealings with each other -The revolution is hardly complete before differences appear"(7).

Differences are seen between the two ruling pigs: Snowball and Napoleon; among the other animals and most evidently in the attitude towards the past embodied in the Seven Commandments. The majority of the working animals are true to their past, remembering it and ready to respect it. The ruling pigs flagrantly distort the past and destroy it. Significantly, the process of destroying anything that would form a past is admitted by Squealer to the other animals:

Squealer told them that the pigs had to expend enormous labour everyday upon, mysterious things called 'files' reports' minutes' and' 'memoranda'. These were large sheets of paper which had to be closely covered with writing, and as soon as they were so covered, they were burnt in the furnace. (A.F.p 110).

Burning the records is an incessant process of destroying the past.

The inevitable result of distorting and even destroying the past is that the animals on the farm find nothing to refer to. Comparison in hope of evaluation is impossible because "there was nothing with which they could compare their present life. They had nothing to go upon except Squealer's lists of figures, which invariably demonstrated that everything was getting better and better." (A.F, p.p. 110, 111.) Squealer's lists are only heaps of lies that justify an intolerable life of suffering and dictatorship. It is noteworthy that burning the records and dependence on lengthy lists of figures foreshadow the whole situation in 1984. Life in both novels is an extending present cut off from its past.

In 1984 the authority of the past assumes greater and more explicit importance than in *Animal Farm*. Winston Smith, the hero of 1984, feels at odds with the whole aspects of life in Oceania. From the very beginning we notice Smith's disgust with the whole system with its telescreens, mottos of the Party, the Hate minutes, the thought police, and even the Big Brother, the highest representative of the totalitarian state.

It is noteworthy that in *Animal Farm* the whole community represented by the various animals working on the

farm waited for development and promises to come true. Animals referred to the Seven Commandments to evaluate the changes in their life. In 1984, Orwell's plan looks different. Smith is an individual facing an oppressive system which dominates life in all its sides; public and private and hardly leaves any choice for its members. It is a great hierarchy headed by the Big Brother, the greatest symbol of the whole system.

Significantly, Smith is not the naive ignorant type of a hero who is deceived and shocked at discovery. Neither is he the detached observer or on-looker at life in Oceania. Smith, on the contrary, is an active member in the system working according to the dictates of the Party. He is deeply immersed in practical life and is quite close to what is going on at the Ministry of Truth, where he works at the Records Department.

Smith's rebellion against the whole system can be summed up in two points. The absence of privacy and the Party's attitude towards the past. Smith feels deeply that he is haunted everywhere: "Always the eyes watching you and the voice enveloping you-Asleep or awake, working or eating, indoors or out-of-doors, in the bath or in bed-no escape. Nothing was your own except the few cubic centimetres inside your skull". (1984, p. 25).

The other perturbing aspect of life for Winston Smith is what he calls reality control: "If the Party could thrust its hand into the past and say of this or that event, it never happened-that, surely, was more terrifying than mere torture and death?" (1989, p. 31). The Party slogan interprets the philosophy of the system: "who controls the past... controls the future" who controls the present controls the past!" (1984, p. 31)

Being involved in a job closely related to the continuous process of altering the past, Smith is open-eyed to the whole situation. He sees everything done; he is not just told. He is an eye-witness. It pains him deeply to see history changed and falsified: "The past, he reflected, had not merely been altered, it had been actually destroyed". (1984 p. 31). Hence, Winston's consuming desire to recall the past, the time preceding the totalitarian state where everything connected with the past is annihilated

The process of continuous alteration was applied not only to newspapers, but to books, periodicals, pamphlets, posters, leaflets, films, sound, tracks, cartoons, photographs-to every kind of literature or documentation which might conceivably hold any political or ideological significance. Day by day and almost minute by minute the past was brought up -to date. (1984, p. 35). All history was a palimpsest, scraped clean and reinscribed exactly as was necessary. (1984, p. 35).

Smith's deep interest in the authority of the past assumes both intellectual and practical dimensions. In the first stage, which is merely abstract, Smith conducts a long meditation on the Party's attitude towards the past. Smith's thoughts are mainly private and unspoken. They are not shared by any body else. He seems the only rebel in Oceania who thinks independently and individually.

Smith, however, is not confined to the abstract and contemplative world. He translates his dissent into concrete forms. He buys an old book which is "of a kind that had not been manufactured for at least forty years past". (1984, p. 9) The book belongs to the past and is used by Smith as a kind of diary where

He writes down his own ideas concerning the system and its destruction of the past. Although Smith is quite aware of the penalty of keeping a diary he boldly starts the rebellious step: "if detected is was reasonably certain that, it would be punished by death, or at least by twenty-five years in a forced-labour camp". (1984, p. 9).

Smith's diary occupies the first phase of his revolt in which he privately expresses his disgust with the party. He writes freely his hopes and even some of his sexual adventures with an old woman of the proles, something condemned by the Party because it is against any act that produces pure pleasure. Genni Calder relevantly remarks that "in his diary Winston feels his way towards revolt. It is a half-willed reaction against the thought police, and above all against the party's power over the past." (9).

Smith does not content himself with his diary. He goes exploring the working class quarters hoping to verify his belief that the past was much better than the present under the authority of the Party. In one of his tours Smith meets an old man at a pub. Smith offers him a drink, chats with him about life in the past, that is before the Revolution. Smith is frustrated because he gets no satisfactory answers from the old man whose memory is not of the comprehensive type. He cannot recall a total picture of the past: "A sense of helplessness took hold of Winston. The old man's memory was nothing but a rubbish-heap of details. One could question him all day without getting any real information." (1984, p. 77).

Irving Howe comments on Smith's failure to get a general notion of the past from the old man saying:

The exchange is unsatisfactory to Smith since the worker can remember only fragments of disconnected fact and is quite unable to generalize from his memories; but the scene itself is a fine bit of dramatic action, indicating that not only does the totalitarian society destroy the past through the obliteration of objective records but that it destroys the memory of the past through a disintegration of individual consciousness.(10)

By now, Smith is well acquainted with both channels of destroying the past: "the obliteration of objective records" at the Ministry of Truth, and now he closely sees how the memory of the old people surviving the Revolution fails to recapitulate any clear unified idea of the past. Smith, therefore, turns to inanimate things and dreams, as well as rhymes of the past as a source of romantic delight.

Meeting Charrington at his junk shop, Smith is attracted to everything that is associated with the past. The book he uses as a diary is valuable because it is not now made. The glass paper-weight also belongs to the past and has its attraction to Smith: "The paper weight symbolizes the enclosed world that Winston and Julia try to create at Charrington's and since the thought police have constructed that world, the enclosed world of Oceania"(11). The rhymes associated with the past provide a great source of pleasure to Smith.

George Woodcock maintains that "the recurrent use of nursery rhymes helps to enhance the dream-like quality of Winston's adventure, an adventure as fragile and vulnerable as the tiny bit of coral magnified within the glass paper-weight which he treasures as a fragment of the past"(12).

Added to the diary, the glass paper-weight and the nursery rhymes, Winston dreams much of his childhood and his relationship with his mother. Despite some psychological interpretations of Winston's sense of guilt towards his mother his dreams serve as a pastoral return to the past, a refuge from the dreary present. His dreams sometimes are long and he idealises his mother who, to him, represents all that the present family life lacks:

He did not suppose, from what he could remember that she had been an unusual woman. Still less an intelligent one; and yet she had possessed a kind of nobility, a kind of purity simply because the standards that she obeyed were private ones. Her feelings were her own, and could not be altered from outside. (1984, p.134).

In contrast with the privacy and the emotional significance of Winston's mother the present life under the Party system gives no attention to sentiments and feelings. "The terrible thing that the party had done was to persuade you that mere impulses, mere feelings, were of no account, while at the same time robbing you of all power over the material world". (1984, p 134)

Edward Thomas relevantly remarks that "on several occasions Winston dreams about his mother, or remembers some incident from his childhood, often with feelings of guilt or self-reproach. His mother stands for the simple absolute virtues of family life- love, loyalty, self-sacrifice, emotions that have depth and dignity and which the party has replaced by strident public emotions"(13).

The room over Charrington's junk shop receives the greatest part of Winston's attention. When he is shown the room and told that it has no telescreen he entertains a variety of feelings:

but the room had awakened in him a sort of nostalgia, a sort of ancestral memory. It seemed to him that he knew exactly what it felt to sit in a room like this, in an arm-chair beside an open fire with your feet in the fender and a kettle on the hob; utterly alone, utterly secure, with nobody watching you, no sound except the singing of the kettle and the friendly ticking of the clock. (1989, p. 81).

The room thus stands for Winston's love for the past with all its implications. The traditional furniture of the room arouses in Winston a sort of nostalgia. It would help him enjoy privacy, security and individuality, values that are highly cherished by the English people. The room also contains a bookcase with old prints, to complete its attraction to Winston. When he rents the room Winston deeply feels its value. It provides a home in the old sense of the word "Dirty or clean, the room was a paradise." (1984, p.122). It is explicitly associated with the past. "The room was a world, a pocket of the past where extinct animals could walk". (1984, p. 123). It is worthy of note that the room is Winston's resort for enjoying all the prohibited pleasures: private reading of Goldstien's book and the sexual encounters with Julia, both acts of rebellion against the Party and its system.

Winston's sexual relationship with Julia has its fine association with the past. He meets her at places which belong to the past evoking a sense of the old world. The "Golden Country" landscape where they first make love is a pastoral

setting reminiscent of the past before every home is hellishly watched. The sexual act itself urges Winston to compare past and present:

In old days, he thought, a man looked at a girl's body and saw that it was desirable, and that was the end of the story. But you could not have pure love or pure lust nowadays. No emotion was pure because everything was mixed up with fear and hatred. (1984,p 104).

Winston, therefore, feels victorious against the party when he makes love to Julia: "Their embrace has been a battle, the climax of victory. It was a blow struck against the party. It was a political act". (1984, p. 104).

Significantly, Winston never stops thinking of the past even amidst his sexual delights with Julia. He even links them with the past when he meditates the whole relationship:

He wondered vaguely whether in the abolished past it had been a normal experience to lie in bed like this in the cool of a summer evening, a man and a woman with no clothes on, making love when they chose, talking of what they chose, not feeling any compulsion to get up, simply lying there and listening to peaceful sounds outside. Surely there could never have been a time when that seemed ordinary? (1984, p.p. 117-118).

No wonder then that Edward M. Thomas sees the "relationship with Julia, itself a survival from a past age". (14).

Winston Smith's relationship with Julia is a very rich experience to his soul. It opens to him a new horizon full of pleasure and delight. Apart from sexual satisfaction which is essentially important to Winston, Julia provides a partner, a

friend and a fellow rebel who listens to him and discusses the whole system with him. Chief among their discussions is the importance of the past. Smith is very frank with her. His ideas are outspoken and detailed as he feels completely free with her.

Winston voices his complaint of the Party's attitude towards the past to Julia. He is extremely worried as the past is falsified and distorted:

Nothing exists except the endless present in which the Party is always right. I know, of course, that the past is falsified, but it would never be possible to prove it, even when I did the falsification myself. After the thing is done, no evidence ever remains.
(1984, p. 127)

Winston cares greatly for the continuity of a true history in the form of records and documents that are not altered and distorted. Next generations should have a sustained history in which the present is linked to a true and authentic past. Significantly, Julia does not share Winston's views concerning the value of the past: "I'm not interested in the next generation, dear. I'm interested in us" (1984, p. 127).

Francis A. Allen is illuminating in his comment on Julia's attitude towards the past: "even the rebel Julia has been induced to believe that the past is unimportant and that it is the natural condition of mankind to live in the endless present created by the party".(15).

The most crucial step in Winston's Smith's discovery of the past is his relationship with O' Brien, the inner Party member. Smith builds his relationship on an illogical point of attraction. He dreams that he would meet O'Brien where there is no darkness, a dream that draws Smith closer to O' Brien taking

him to be a rebel against the Party. The stage of mute admiration on Smith's part is ended by a visit he pays to O'Brien's home. There, Smith gives full expression to his rebellion and stresses the importance of the past. He drinks to the honour of the past which to him is more important than the future. Fearing no betrayal Smith tells O'Brien of everything concerning his thoughts, his hiding-place and his relationship with Julia.

The visit to O'Brien prepares for Winston Smith's access to Goldstien's book: *The Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism*, where the adverse criticism of the whole Party system is included. The book, read at ease at Charrington's room, to Julia sometimes, provides Smith with a coherent analysis of the Party's attitude towards the past: "cut off from contact with the outer world and with the past, the citizen of Oceania is like a man in interstellar space, he had no way of knowing which direction is up and which is down". (1984, p 160).

The assumed Goldstien's book is very elaborate on topic of the past. It explains why the past is always altered so as to serve the Party's ends:

The alteration of the past is necessary for two reasons, one of which is subsidiary and, so to speak, precautionary. The subsidiary reason is that the party member, like the proletarian, tolerates present day conditions because he has no standards of comparison. He must be cut off from the past, just as he must be cut off from foreign countries because it is necessary for him to believe that he is better off than his ancestors and the average level of material comfort is constantly rising. (1984, P. 170).

To achieve this aim within the Party plan, history is always up-dated and falsified so as to keep the memory of the society under constant control. Individual memory is coerced and even demolished. An eternal present should dominate leaving no room for the past.

Richard K. Sanderson analyses Winston's experience of reading Goldstion's book and links it even to our own feelings as readers:

Along with Winston, we are led to believe that this book, unlike all other documents, has escaped the clutches of the party censors and could therefore give up independent if not purely "objective" views of Oceanian society. Winston is excited to find that the book confirms many of his own thoughts and seems to be a solid explanation of how things "really" are.(16).

As a result, Winston's interest in the book is immense and his delight in reading it is boundless despite his discovery after his arrest that the book is written by O'Brien and others.

Having read the tract that is claimed to be written by the assumed Goldstien, Winstion knows not only how, but also why, the past is always altered in Oceania. The arrest that Winstion and Julia have always been expecting takes place at Charrington's room where the telescreen is hidden. Winston is doubly betrayed by Charrington and O' Brien. Winston's torture after his arrest is really shocking and painful. He sums up what has taken place as follows:

What was happening was only the working-out of a process that had started years ago. The first step had been a secret involuntary thought, the second had

been the opening of the diary. He had moved from thoughts to words and now from words to actions. The last step was something that would happen in the Ministry of Love. He accepted it. The end was contained in the beginning. (1984. P. 130).

Nevertheless, Winston's foreknowledge of his punishment does not mitigate the horror that is faced at the Ministry of Love at the hands of his tormentor, O'Brien.

Edward. M. Thomas remarks that "In the third part of 1984 the elegiac motif has gone; there is not even the shadow or memory of hope. Nightmare closes in as Winston, separated from Julia, faces a succession of tortures in the cellars of the Ministry of Love"(17).

Graham Good, however, appreciates Winston's experience on different lines. He concentrates on the heroic role of Winston's opposition to the party despite his foreknowledge of his doom:

He knows he is doomed to be caught, punished and killed. Even so, he has already to some extent validated his life and thereby authenticated the oppositional culture through certain personal experiences forbidden by the party. He has had a passionately sexual affair. He has eaten real food, and drunk real coffee and wine
 Even if only for short periods, he has had a room of his own' in which to read, make love, and eat meals(18).

Though Craham Good considers these personal experiences forbidden by the party a victory achieved by the hero of the novel against the invincible totalitarian system of Oceania, he elsewhere in his essay comes to the conclusion that "Winston is

defeated both actually and morally-even the smaller possible space and the shortest possible time are conquered by the Party. Its victory is total, in symbol as well as reality"(19).

The final effect of Winston's destiny is well described by Murray Sperber whose essay centres round the psychology of 1984: "Winston's fate is the final trap for the reader. He ends lobotomized, living out his death. The hero neither wins (Melodrama) nor dies (Tragedy); he is condemned to live in stasis. Winston's fate short circuits our feelings for him. We do not feel pleased nor purged, merely chilled and depressed"(20).

It is noteworthy that Winston never dreamt of a victory to be achieved against the strong Party. He has always been aware that he is doomed. He has always been waiting for that moment of arrest. However, Winston's attempts reveal the corruption of the whole system particularly its attitude to the past and the way it deals with history. It is highly significant that a strong state like, Oceania, cannot tolerate a couple of rebels like Winston and Julia who pose a great threat to its power. Totalitarian systems cannot permit any aspect of private feelings or individual standards.

In conclusion, we maintain that Winston's profound interest in the past in various forms refutes Hopkinson's allegation that Orwell had no historical perspective. History is the chief concern in 1984. Winston, "the last man's Europe", has always been obsessed with the perturbing question of the mutability of history and its effect upon the validity of the past. *Animal Farm*, likewise, tackles the same question, but in a degree less dense and explicit.

Notes:

- A. (A.F) stands for *Animal Farm*, The English Language Book Society edition, first published in 1965, All page numbers included in the text refer to this edition.
- B. Page numbers in 1984 refer to the Penguin edition published in 1945.
- 1- Tom Hopkinson, *George Orwell*, the British Council and the National Book Language By Longmans, Green & Co., 1953, p. 6.
 - 2- *Ibid*, P. 3.
 - 3- Thomas Pinney, "The Authority of the past in George Eliot's Novels". In *George Eliot: A collection of Critical Essays*, ed. George R. Creeger, Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs. N.J 1970., p. 41.
- * Please, refer to the Bibliography.
- 4- George Orwell, "Looking Back on The Spanish war" in, *Homage to Catalonia*, Penguin, 1962, p. 236.
 - 5- B.T. Oxley, *George Orwell*, Evans Brothers Limited London, 1970. (first published in 1967.). p. 77.
 - 6- Arthur Pollard, *Satire*, The Critical Idiom series, Methuen & LTD, First published. 1970 R.P. 1973., p. 32.
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