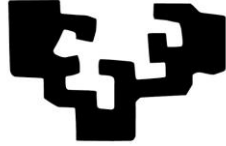


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## **The Dehumanisation of Totalitarianism:**

# **George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* & the Spanish Civil War and Francoism**

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Degree in English Studies – 4<sup>th</sup> Year

Department of English, German and Translation and Interpreting  
Studies

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Academic Year 2019/20

## Abstract

The phenomenon of dehumanisation has been present throughout the history of humankind, being totalitarianism the principal instigator. Processes of dehumanisation are adaptive and stand out from the times of slave-trading and colonisation to the Holocaust and the two world wars of the last century. These human violations caused, especially, by the ideological conflicts of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, have increased the literary interest in understanding humanity and in analysing wherein the humanity of human beings lies. In fact, dystopian novels have emerged as a means to denounce these human violations. Although little has been said about what is to be human, dehumanisation provides a closer understanding of this notion. George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949) might be the most remarkable representation of this paradigm by addressing the social and cognitive impact totalitarian political systems cause in human beings. In the novel, the phenomenon of dehumanisation employs specific mechanisms which bear considerable resemblance to certain historical events of the last century, such as the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist period. Also, Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* (1938) serves as a nexus between them and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* has also served as a warning for future political and human crises. The principal *raison d'être* of this connection between history and fiction is due to the potential of totalitarianism to threaten the human condition of individuals. This essay aims to explore the distinctive dehumanising techniques used by totalitarianism in order to undermine the self in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and the aforementioned Spanish events. This essay, in particular, will be closely examining how uninterrupted surveillance of individuals, political propaganda and censorship of information and thought, which can be considered as the three distinctive dehumanising mechanisms of totalitarianism, are used in both *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and the Spanish historical events starting in 1936.

*Keywords:* George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, *Homage to Catalonia*, dehumanisation, humanity, Spanish Civil War, Francoism

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## 1. Introduction

Today one of the greatest challenges of humanity is to maintain fully developed social connections and overcome the physical distance caused by the technological-interactive modern western culture which views individuals as less human (Waytz, Schroeder, Epley, 2014). However, this challenge also demands to overcome the biased psychological distance between two minds (Waytz et al., 2014), that is, recognising the other as human. As a consequence of the denial of some groups to perceive individuals as mindful, humanity has faced a violation of human rights. Scheming pamphlets, indoctrination, military control, or the increasing power of media envision a scenario highly susceptible to jeopardise individual psychological integrity. Mass industrialisation and ideological conflicts have furthered these means to damage human nature – to dehumanise. Processes of dehumanisation are adaptive and stand out throughout the history of humankind from the times of slave-trading and colonisation to the Holocaust and the two world wars of the last century. These processes were especially prominent in totalitarian regimes and, for the sake of all these conflicts, there has been an increased psychological and literary interest in discovering wherein the humanity of human beings lies.

The human crisis that arose in the last century generated a severe social dissatisfaction which was reflected in literature. As a result, the dystopian fictional genre emerged to convey the discontent of this crisis. A paradigmatic example of this genre is George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949), which illustrates a despotic regime taken to its utmost limits. The novel deals with an unappealing tyrannical scenario where the use of dehumanising tools shapes the behaviour of individuals and denies their human condition. On this basis, it is significant that Orwell had previously signalled Winston's humanity in a dehumanised society through the working title of *Nineteen Eighty-Four: The Last Man in Europe*. Nowadays, the fact that the dehumanising strategies of the novel reflect contemporary conflicts makes *Nineteen Eighty-Four* an impressive but alarming novel.

One of the conflicts that inspired Orwell to write *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was the Spanish Civil War, where dehumanisation strategies were used as a means of control of the population. Also, the consolidation of Francoism is considered to be a process that transformed the national panorama into an oppressive society giving rise to the so-called

traditional “New State”. Orwell himself gave a contextualised perspective of this dictatorship and the previous Spanish Civil War through his memoir *Homage to Catalonia* (1938), which serves as a non-fictional liaison between the Spanish totalitarianism and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Importantly, as Cenarro (2008) points out, Francoism and the Spanish Civil War cannot be analysed separately since Franco’s regime lies in its violent and totalitarian origins.

Bearing in mind that totalitarianism is a political system which is highly susceptible to engender the phenomenon of dehumanisation in individuals, this essay will closely examine the distinctive dehumanisation mechanisms of totalitarianism such as surveillance, propaganda and censorship which are used in both *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and in the Spanish Civil War and its ensuing dictatorship.

In order to do so, the structure of the essay will be as follows. Firstly, a theoretical background of dehumanisation will be provided, covering some of the principal events of dehumanisation in history and a brief potential answer for the happening of this dehumanisation. Also, within the theoretical background the literary genre of dystopia will be tackled. Secondly, a historical background of the author and his novel and of the Spanish events will be given. Thirdly, the basis of the essay will consist of an analysis of the different dehumanising mechanisms of totalitarianism in Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and the Spanish events starting in 1936 using *Homage to Catalonia* as a nexus amidst them. Finally, some concluding comments will serve for the closure of the essay.

Throughout this essay, the 6<sup>th</sup> edition of the American Psychological Association (APA) style will be used to quote and reference sources.

## **2. Theoretical background**

### *2.1. Dehumanisation*

#### *2.1.1. Understanding humanity*

In order to tackle the dehumanisation strategies that characterise both *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and the periods of civil war and dictatorship in Spain, it is crucial to delve into the distinctive dynamics of humanity. Although little description has been agreed

about what it is to be human, there are several unique human complex emotions conceptualised as “human uniqueness” (HU). These are emotions such as embarrassment or optimism, as Bain, Vaes & Leyens. (2014) indicate. Contrariwise, as they argue, more basic emotions such as fear or pleasure are associated with animals (Bain et al., 2014). Bain et al. (2014) also argue that “humanness can be defined not only as what is uniquely human but also as what is typically human” (p. 3). These typical core characteristics of humans shape the “human nature” covering emotionality, cognitive flexibility and agency (Bain et al., 2014). Nonetheless, Bain et al. (2014) argue that it is hard to come to a unified definition of humanity because of the abstract nature of the term. However, they assert that focusing on humanity violations, that is, dehumanisation, makes the concept more tangible (Bain et. al, 2014). A type of dehumanisation is infrahumanisation, which typically occurs between social groups when the people belonging to a group they feel identified with – ingroup – deny the humanity of a group outside of themselves – outgroup (Bain et al., 2014). This attitude can become more explicit when a group of people considers their targets as overtly subhuman, animal-like or robotic, engaging in open manifestations of denial of their humanity (Haslam, 2014). These forms of denial, as Bain et al. (2014) point out, proliferate with the abundance of armed conflicts and overt practices of dehumanisation, such as the different genocides committed in the last century.

Another common phenomenon of dehumanisation found within warfare and oppressive regimes is alienation. Alienation stands as a process of dehumanisation whereby the individual experiences isolation, despair, and torment, which deteriorates the self as a social being, (Muarif, 2014). Muarif (2004) argues that philosophers like Karl Marx hypothesised on this notion focusing, particularly, on the psychological exploitation caused by the capitalist economy. These philosophers theorised that, although capitalism improves living standards, it also jeopardises human nature by turning the behaviour of the individual into a mechanised one, and, thus, into a less human behaviour (Muarif, 2014). It is essential to analyse how this deterioration of the self occurs and what psychological phenomena are a consequence of alienation. Seeman (1959) points out that alienation is a socio-psychological phenomenon that occurs as a result of the power dynamics described in the above-mentioned Marxian theory. This theory mentions that the individuals have no control over the outcome of their behaviour, what makes them feel powerless (Seeman, 1959). Likewise, alienation can also produce lack of meaning

when individuals attempt at understanding, unsuccessfully, the state of affairs that surrounds them (Seeman, 1959). Thereby, high alienation happens when the individuals are unclear about the understanding of reality and have no control over it (Seeman, 1959).

### *2.1.2. Dehumanisation throughout history*

Instances of dehumanisation have remained central throughout the history of humankind. One of the first dated cases of this phenomenon took place during the early Christian period, when Africans started to be associated with the devil because of the colour of their skin (Jahoda, 1999). As a result, hazardous medieval perceptions of black people were fostered and, as evolutionary theories were loosely developed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, scientists and anthropologists began to associate Africans with apes (Jahoda, 1999). These notions spread the idea that there are degrees of humanity (Boucher, 2019). According to Jahoda (1999), slavery only served to reinforce the European image of black Africans as animals. He also claims that perceptive trends of apelikeness and cannibalism related to Africans remained pivotal in Europe during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, shaping the African as a lower culture (Jahoda, 1999).

When considering the Renaissance, it is necessary to mention Columbus and the Spanish conquest of America. In the expedition, Columbus was expecting to encounter anthropophagi, monstrous races and queer species (Jahoda, 1999). This biased idea recognised inhabitants of the New World as *homines sylvestres* or as savage animals that possessed neither soul nor reason, as a result of combining a human and an ape (Jahoda, 1999). Under the colonisers' endeavour to seize control within the colonies, they did so through the imposition of their Christian faith across the Indies (Boucher, 2019). Apart from religious impositions, native Americans were also coercively deprived of their history thereby European customs were imposed upon them, a process of acculturation that degraded the natives' psyche (Boucher, 2019).

The Holocaust is the most documented event of dehumanisation the history of humankind, as Saunders (2013) claims. In 1934, Hitler came to power as the leader of the Third Reich and acquired anti-Semitic policies thereby Jews were withdrawn from positions in the civil services (Saunders, 2013). The Nuremberg Laws established in 1935 only aggravated the conditions of the Jews: those who were not fully ancestrally German

were considered an inferior group, and were alienated from mainstream society, according to Saunders (2013). She also argues that this persecution became a means of propaganda to spread hate against Jews, heightened by national pride during the Second World War (Saunders, 2013). Soon thereafter, Jews were taken to concentration camps where hair removal, assignment of numbers instead of names to prisoners and the application of widely extended symbols that fostered the discrimination were clearly examples of dehumanisation (Saunders, 2013). The Holocaust signifies horror not only because of the cruel human extermination but also for the painful and fatal medical experiments carried out in concentration camps, as Saunders (2013) claims. The Holocaust stands as a system designed to cruelly murder millions of human beings and it represents a dark period for humanity which cannot be forgotten or denied (Saunders, 2013).

As to the instances of dehumanisation analysed in this essay, Franco's dictatorship exemplifies the process of dehumanisation of a whole nation by means of totalitarian dynamics that already began with the Spanish Civil War, as shall continue to be discussed in greater length in the following sections.

### *2.1.3. Why do we dehumanise?*

Examples of dehumanisation are found throughout history of humankind and dehumanisation can involve a subtle or an explicit denial of humanity. According to Waytz et al. (2014), the modern world we live in exposes us to a bewildering array of people with diverse beliefs, attitudes and emotions which may not bear closeness to ours. The extended tendency to perceive the mind of the others as inferior to ours has to do with perceiving the characteristics of our ingroup superior compared to those of the outgroups, as Waytz et al. (2014) indicate.

Waytz et al. (2014) present the idea of dehumanisation as a default state, hypothesising over a default in social judgment which might involve treating the other as mindless. This type of dehumanisation occurs effortlessly or unconsciously and, therefore, in an everyday manner (Lee & Harris, 2014). This default point of view is significant, since attributing a person a mind grants them the capacity of thought, feeling



and the capacity of performing moral acts, thus this attribution would grant the others a moral entity (Waytz et al., 2014).

Hodson, MacInnis & Costello (2014) broaden the exploration of the lesser mind problem – that is, the idea of others having an inferior mind – arguing that dehumanisation occurs through cognitive-perceptual processes. They argue that people tend to emphasise similarities within social categories, e.g. “Germans get along with X”, and differences, e.g. “Germans and X don’t get along” (Hodson et al., 2014). These cognitive-perceptual and social stereotyping processes are claimed to be, by Hodson et al. (2014), very crucial dehumanisation instigators.

Importantly, we should draw attention to whether we can reverse or overcome this cognitive-perceptual and state-of-default dehumanisation. On the basis that dehumanisation emerges from the obstacle to fully understand other people’s minds (Waytz et al., 2014), guiding people towards the understanding of the mind would be an important step. Thinking about the others as individuals, this is the so-called individuation, would leave aside category memberships (Bain et al., 2014). Individuation helps approach humanisation since it involves considering another person’s beliefs, intentions, and feelings and, thus, considering them as more human (Bain et al., 2014). Therefore, subtle forms of dehumanisation can be overcome through a genuine effort to understand one another.

## *2.2. Dystopian literature*

George Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the novel that shall be analysed in this essay, is considered to be one of the greatest examples of the dystopian genre. The dystopias of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries prompted within the phenomenon of modernism, an artistic movement triggered by widespread social anxiety and dissatisfaction, heightened by the Nazi Holocaust and the failing endeavour to establish socialism in the Soviet Union that led to an unrestrained forthcoming capitalism (Booker, 2013). For this reason, the burgeoning dystopian novels tend to reflect an acute prognosis of a dark future while instigating scepticism towards the Western convictions of progress, as Booker (2013) claims. Thus, they emerged as a reaction of a shared worldwide crisis. On this

basis, the proliferation of this literary genre attains at providing cautionary warnings for the sake of averting the loathsome events described in this type of fiction (Booker, 2013).

It might be worth distinguishing amidst dystopian, utopian, and sci-fi literature, considering that, according to Claeys (2010), it is impossible to study the dystopian and utopian literature of the past fifty years without taking into account the neighbouring science fiction genre. Suvin (1972) argues that science fiction, which appears to be the most ill-defined genre, detaches itself from reality and approaches an imaginative environment. Whilst science fiction describes scenarios that we cannot reach, speculative fiction – label within which sometimes we find the utopian and dystopian genre – essentially addresses the known (Atwood, 2004). As to the definition of utopia and dystopia, Sargent (1994) identifies utopian literature as that in which the society described is considerably better than the society in which the reader lives. In dystopia or negative utopia, in turn, the society that is described is considered as far worse than the society in which the reader lives. (Sargent, 1994). Also, dystopian fiction necessarily focuses on an oppressive society, so that this unappealing environment is used to hold a critical view upon this society and stimulate readers' critical thinking to their own world (Booker, 2013).

### **3. Historical Background**

#### *3.1. George Orwell and his novel Nineteen Eighty-Four*

Eric Arthur Blair, known by his *nom de plume* George Orwell, was born in 1903 in India. His father worked as a British official for the Indian civil service and his mother was half Indian and half French (Meyers, 1975). Orwell grew up in the British colony of Motihari where he endured a racial and social class cleavage which was intensified when he joined the colonial service (Meyers, 1975). Such experience influenced his novel *Burmese Days*, published in 1934, where his disapproval towards British imperialism is deeply evidenced (Meyers, 1975). Thus, it may be noteworthy to emphasise that, as Meyers (1975) indicates, Orwell's books were highly linked to the historical and political context of his time.

In June 1936, Orwell travelled to Spain to fight fascism as a socialist sympathiser (Masters, 2011). He affiliated the POUM (Workers' Party of Marxist Unification) and forthwith he faced the contradictions of the Spanish Civil War: there were no weapons, the volunteers were, mostly, inexperienced and there were no food supplies, but still comradeship and bravery prevailed, as Masters (2011) asserts. In *Homage to Catalonia*, Orwell (2000) acknowledges these contradictions: "I had joined the militia in order to fight Fascism, and as yet I had scarcely fought at all, had merely existed as a sort of passive object, doing nothing in return for my rations except to suffer from cold and lack of sleep" (p. 86). Still, this period in the Republican militia in Spain will stand as his main source of inspiration to write his best-known works and as a turning-point in his life, as Orwell (2005) himself writes:

The Spanish war and other events in 1936-37 turned the scale and thereafter I knew where I stood. Every line of serious work that I have written since 1936 has been written, directly or indirectly, against totalitarianism and *for* democratic socialism as I understand it. (p. 8)

Besides, Orwell's commitment to the social classes cleavage was reinforced by his arrival to Barcelona in 1936, when he encountered overwhelming that "it was the first time that I had ever been in a town where the working class was in the saddle" (Orwell, 2000, p. 3). George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* is a memoir that accounts the development of the Spanish Civil War from a leftist English militia man's point of view under his eager endeavour to eradicate fascism. Also, Orwell was opposed to any kind of totalitarianism and he even despised the USSR political system, although he was thought of as an overt sympathiser of socialism (Meyers, 1975).

George Orwell achieved considerable reputation during his late phase as a writer by means of fiction titles such as *Animal Farm* (1945) and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949), which received successful reviews by critics (Meyers, 1975). Nonetheless, at this stage, Orwell had been diagnosed with tuberculosis and the process of writing these novels coincides with the last years of his life. He died in London in 1950 and his *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters* (1968) were sent forth to the public during a post-mortem publishing phase.

*Nineteen Eighty-Four* is Orwell's most famous fictional novel. It stands as the culmination of his career as it was published in 1949, only one year before his death. This dystopian novel is thought to be a precise revelation of the dangers of the future, since, as Williams (2006) asserts: "*Nineteen Eighty-Four* is so often quoted as a vision of the worst possible future world" (p. 14). On this basis, dystopian Oceania is a society that deals with the burden of socialist totalitarianism through technological developments that deprive individuals of their privacy, alongside Newspeak and doublethink<sup>1</sup>, two manipulation strategies controlled by Big Brother, the leader of that society (Bloom, 2006). Big Brother's leadership revolves around overt acts of dictatorial policies such as the denial of freedom not only of speech but also of thought which dehumanise the characters of the novel. Thus, Orwell delves into a political and human crisis mirroring his discontent over totalitarianism in the society displayed in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. The social crisis is also described in the novel through the representation of a social hierarchy whereby the privileged Ingsoc<sup>2</sup> members belong to the Inner Party, the middle class belongs to the Outer Party, and the proles live in poverty and marginalised. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* embraces its relevance today by warning about the perversions and corruptions of power, as Bloom (2006) indicates, regardless of the political system that causes them.

### *3.2. The Spanish Civil War and the ensuing dictatorship*

The Spanish Civil War has been considered the most significant revolution of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as Payne argues (1987). He also argues that, in spite of the advancement of the Communist movement and its alleged hegemony over the world at that time, the Spanish Civil War stood as the only pluralist and multi-ideological revolution (Payne, 1987). The Spanish Civil War occurred in an agitated politico-civic national scenario, essentially, amid a period when Spain was thought to be the most obsolete country in Europe (Payne, 1987). The roots of the conflict began in 1930. By then, as Brennan (1960) claims, "the country was split, both vertically and horizontally into a number of mutually antagonistic sections" (p. 229). He also points out that the regionalist movement in

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<sup>1</sup> Newspeak is the official language of Oceania; doublethink enforces society to hold contradictory beliefs, both as a means to narrow thinking and control society.

<sup>2</sup> Or English Socialist Party is the totalitarian Party of Oceania under Big Brother's leadership.

Catalonia and the Basque Country and the emergence of the agrarian question were aggravating the Spanish scene (Brenan, 1960). As a result, in 1931 the Second Republic of Spain was established and welcomed as a wave of hope, and as an attempt to instil decency and justice in the country. Nonetheless, the deterioration of the Second Republic arose because of the abandonment of the middle classes and the dissatisfaction of peasants and working classes – discrepancies along the republican period amidst conservatives and socialists also played their part (Brenan, 1960).

These social and political tensions that resulted in cruelly repressed revolts in 1934 were a sign of the instability of the Spanish future (Payne, 1987). Under this overt turmoil of events, the right-wing military forces prepared the civil insurrection around February of 1936, when a very comprised left-wing government, the Popular Front, was leading the country (Payne, 1987). It was this state of uneasiness and social dissatisfaction that prompted the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War led by General Franco the 17<sup>th</sup> of July of 1936 (Payne, 1987). Franco's power was strengthened by the support of the Carlists, the Spanish Phalanx, the upper classes, the Church and the landowners, whereas the working class supported the Republicans, a division that is symbolic of the ideological nature of the conflict (Payne, 1987).

The war sides consisted of the Nationalists under the leadership of Franco, a strong individual figure within the insurgent troops, and the Republican side, both trying to attain the control of Spain. According to Jackson (1965), by the fourth day of the *coup d'etat*, the insurgents had already controlled one-third of the national territory. At this point, both sides began to request for international aid since from the insurrection onwards the international panorama had already indicated which side each country was leaning towards, providing their sympathies with ammunition aid (Jackson, 1965). Given this internationally biased panorama and fearing a clash between the involved parts, an international non-intervention principle was agreed (Jackson, 1965). However, this agreement did not apply to restrain foreign volunteers to join the militia at war – thus, many international volunteers enlisted in the Spanish militias (Van Wynen Thomas & Thomas, 1967).

Some battlefields of this war were characterised by stationary warfare and considerable stagnation but, as time went by, the bloodshed started (Renshaw, 2011).

Significant were the so-called *paseos*<sup>3</sup>, which served as extrajudicial killings of the Republic loyalists, as Renshaw (2011) claims. The great number of clandestine executions and unmarked graves bring an uncertain estimation of victims; yet, 350,000 deaths have been officially apprised during the civil war (Renshaw, 2011).

The period of the war revolved around Franco's military dominance over the territory prior to his side's decisive conquest of Madrid in 1939, which brought the war to an end (Townson, 2007). The war being concluded, Franco's regime was established, characterised by an economic crash where many social restrictions were installed (Townson, 2007). The first twenty-five years dealt with an opprobrious background and an autocratic system, which resulted in a severe economic crisis, as Townson (2007) argues. The thirty-seven-year regime was, to some extent, aligned with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy regimes which openly supported Franco (Townson, 2007). These political sympathies and the fact that the dictatorial policies applied in the country motivated Spain's withdrawal from the United Nations revealed Spanish isolation from the international context (Townson, 2007).

The consolidation of the "New State" is signified by the adoption of the raised-arm Fascist salute, the red and black flag, the anthem *Cara al sol*, and the slogan "Arriba España" as idiosyncratic of the regime (Payne, 1987). As acknowledged by Payne (1987), Franco claimed to aim for a functional patriotic-like totalitarianism by means of the creation of FET and de las JONS (Traditionalist Spanish Phalanx of the Juntas of the National Syndicalist Offensive), a sole-party system whose function was merely the transmission of propaganda, and through the illegalisation of any other party. Undoubtedly, the vanquished side endured the post-war life through hunger and misery along with imprisonment and clandestine executions. Besides, many republicans had to exile to avoid repression (Payne, 1987).

From the 1950s until Franco's death in 1975, the dictatorship consisted of the so-called *desarrollo*, whereby Spain underwent an economic boom and extensive social and cultural modernisation (Townson, 2007). This led to the development of tourism whilst enhancing the regime's legitimacy and Spain's international image, as Townson (2007) asserts. However, he also claims that "Spain was enjoying better standards of living but

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<sup>3</sup> Or "taking a stroll": they were extrajudicial executions and abductions rendered by the nationalist militia whereby victims were taken from their refuge to fields to be killed (Renshaw, 2011).

also starting to be conscious of the political limitations of Franco's regime" (Townson, 2007, p.120). It was in November of 1975, with Franco's death, when the protracted and violent period of dictatorship came to an end. Spain was now facing the aftermath of such long totalitarianism, but, somehow, approaching the transition to a democracy (Townson, 2007).

#### **4. The dehumanising mechanisms of totalitarianism: Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* & the Spanish Civil War and Francoism**

Both *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and the Spanish Civil War with its ensuing Francoist dictatorship revolve around influential paradigms of severe dehumanisation mechanisms such as surveillance, propaganda, and censorship. Winston Smith, the protagonist of Orwell's dystopian novel, responds to these mechanisms with the mission of coping with totalitarianism. Likewise, the Spanish historical events that started in 1936 stand as vestiges of the dehumanising tools used by despotic regimes.

##### *4.1. Surveillance*

The centralisation of control is pivotal to totalitarianism. In *Nineteen Eighty-Four* the surveillance is materialised through the social awareness of technological monitoring: "you had to live under the assumption that every sound you made was overheard, and, except in darkness, every moment scrutinised" (Orwell, 2008, p. 5). Winston, the protagonist of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, and the society in which he lives are, then, aware that they are under constant scrutiny and that their behaviour is being monitored. On the basis of individual awareness upon social scrutiny, it may be worth associating the surveillance displayed in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* with Bentham's panopticon mechanism of control. Jeremy Bentham was a British philosopher who designed a principle for prison construction which consisted of a complete absence of privacy through a totally closed circular building with cells all around the circumference whereby the eye observes but cannot be seen (Miller & Miller, 1987). Thus, considering that in Bentham's panopticon prisoners are aware that they are being watched, yet at the same time uncertain about when they are being observed, Oceania's system of surveillance may resemble this device. In *Nineteen Eighty-Four* individuals also show awareness of the lack of privacy, since "there was of course no way of knowing whether you were being watched at any

given moment. It was even conceivable that they watched everybody all the time” (Orwell, 2008, pp.4-5). This panopticon-like surveillant system resulted in what Foucault described as the training of the soul, thereupon the conscious surveillance made targets constantly follow prescribed directions as they did not know when and by whom they were being watched (Haggerty, 2006). This posits what Foucault coined as ‘soul-training’, a self-disciplinary aspiration of the panopticon and of any related system of surveillance (Haggerty, 2006). For this purpose, the visibility system engages in certain behavioural norms under the task to transform individual demeanour.

In the novel this is rendered through Big Brother’s idiosyncratic constant supervision and behavioural alienation: “Big Brother is watching you, the caption said, while the dark eyes looked deep into Winston’s own” (Orwell, 2008, p. 4). On Foucault’s basis, one could assume that if the self is aware of being monitored then the behavioural responses of the individuals will be not only predictable but artificial. Thereby this results in a robotic and less human pattern of behaviour. Accordingly, as Yang, Jin, He, Fan & Zu (2015) claim, surveillant dehumanisation occurs by the denial of one’s freedom of behaviour which is being dictated by others or by the environment as against one’s will. They also argue that the lack of freedom and cognitive flexibility make individuals lacking human traits, being freedom and cognitive flexibility distinctive of humans (Yang et al., 2015). Thus, Winston undergoes dehumanisation through the panopticon-like surveillance, essentially, as a reason of his awareness of the incessant control, manoeuvred by Big Brother’s apparitions and by the Thought Police as representatives of the totalitarian regime.

Placing this basis under the European totalitarian framework of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Spanish Civil War also discloses surveillance as a dehumanising tool and as an antecedent of the Francoist totalitarianism. In *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Big Brother and the Thought Police are symbols of social control, whereas during the Spanish Civil War it was the militia and even society who served as agents of social behavioural control (Cenarro, 2004). Cenarro (2004) argues that both the Republican and the Nationalist sections had provincial and local members that rigorously contributed to implementing the social control in neighbourhoods. Orwell (2000) himself, in *Homage to Catalonia*, reveals the surveillant atmosphere of social espionage in Barcelona, where “various people were infected with spy mania and were creeping round whispering that



everyone else was a spy of the Communists, or the Trotskyists, or the Anarchists, or what-not” (p.127). He also reveals the acute surveillance and rumours of treachery which were thriving also within the Republican side: “the spy-scare was at its height; probably all good Republicans did believe for a day or two that the P.O.U.M. was a huge spying organization in German pay.” (Orwell, 2000, p. 185). Orwell’s account serves as a representation of the secret infiltration and espionage during the Spanish Civil War. The memoir deals with the social atomisation that took place during the war – that is, the totalitarian surveillance that aims at severe destruction of trust whereby every member of society serves as a means for surveillance (Los, 2006). This phenomenon of military and neighbouring justice dehumanises the individual, since the involved parts induce absolute fear, suspicion, and social mistrust, so that subjects disengage from the social belonging (Lianos, as cited in Los, 2006). Los (2006) claims that these institutional practices penetrate in society and place the individual at high risk for dehumanisation.

Regarding the Francoist dictatorship, social denunciations were also the cornerstone of this period. This prompted again distrust and suspicion thereby also resulted in disengagement from social belonging leading to the loss of human traits of individuals (Los, 2006). In addition, the so-called *militarismo*, that is, the thorough presence and control of the army to ensure security, played also a key role during this period and embodied an institution of social scrutiny, ergo every security corps was militarised in Spain (Cenarro, 2004). As Hawkins (2001) claims, militia presence facilitates the scrutiny and the formation of judgement, gossip, and rumour. He also points out that the control of neighbours on behalf of the military reinforces the pressure of surveillance and alters individual behaviour (Hawkins, 2001). On this basis, Hawkins (2001) asserts that people usually adapt their behaviour to ensure their safety against the regime. These ideas also fortify the above-mentioned Foucauldian theory so that war and totalitarianism enforce certain codes and patterns of behaviour to jeopardise human nature (Hawkins, 2001).

It is assumable, then, that both *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and the Spanish events follow the dynamics of surveillance, which motivate less human behavioural responses. Surveillance operates through the individuals’ awareness of the scrutiny, by means of the military, social and panopticon-like surveillance, which guides the self towards the desired behaviour by the totalitarian state.

## 4.2. Propaganda

Propaganda in totalitarianism functions by blaming the enemy and persuading society of the benefits of the party, two strategies that aim at the dehumanisation of individuals. On the one hand, totalitarian propaganda depicts the enemy as violent in order to build the “us vs. them” mindset and, mostly, to reinforce the totalitarian dynamics by leaning the population towards a certain direction, as Shabo (2008) claims. On the other hand, it is a sheer manoeuvre to dehumanise and control the civilian population (Shabo, 2008). In *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the hate week<sup>4</sup> operates as a propagandistic mechanism to reinforce Big Brother’s regime and to gain support amid the society of Oceania. This mechanism pinpoints Goldstein<sup>5</sup> as the enemy of the regime and he is the one who must be blamed and hated. Thus, Goldstein is the victim of the scapegoating strategy that alleviates the leader’s guilt and targets the enemy (Shabo, 2008). Scapegoating also serves as a means of diverting attention from the misleading dogmas and wrongdoings of the dictator (Shabo, 2008). Big Brother is thereby able to demonise Goldstein as blameworthy of the totalitarian dictatorship: “the enemy of the moment always represented absolute evil” (Orwell, 2008, p. 36) – employing the two-minute hate as a hostile reversal of principles event. Propaganda, thus, not only serves as a means of persuasion, but also as a strategy to hide the dictatorial harness.

Nonetheless, as Pramesti (1994) points out, when roles are reversed, the enemy becomes the ally with the task of maintaining the power of the dictator. Then, the individuals’ understanding of reality is distorted and they operate as mere gears within the totalitarian engineering by participating unconsciously in the manipulative propaganda process. As individuals participate, to some extent, in the scapegoating propaganda, it is inevitable that they sacrifice their own integrity as humans since Winston says that “in moments of crisis, one is never fighting against an external enemy, but always against one’s body” (Orwell, 2008, p. 106). The loss of human integrity, as

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<sup>4</sup> A two-minute ritual event designed to display anger towards the figure of Goldstein (Gottlieb, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> Goldstein used to be a member of the Inner Party that conspired against Big Brother creating “The Brotherhood” whose standpoint is the book *Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism*, which is a crime in Oceania.

Vaes, Loughnan and Puvia (2014) argue, makes permissible the destruction of one's self, taking away their agency and, thus, their human nature.

Taking this into consideration, the inescapable so-called brainwash prompted by totalitarian propaganda is thoroughly evidenced by the slogans used to intensify the persuasion in favour of totalitarianism. In Orwell's novel, slogans also stand as cornerstones of the dehumanising totalitarianism: they are linked opposites which operate to manoeuvre and control the human mind (Lanoff, 2006). Slogans such as "war is peace", "strength is ignorance" or "freedom is slavery" are propagandistic strategies for dominating the minds of the masses and deprive them from the understanding of their subjected condition to the Party (Abdu & Ayman, 2019). Individuals are deprived from absolute meaning of the state of affairs, engaging in an alienating phenomenon (Seeman, 1959). Thereby, these paradoxical slogans prevent them from thinking critically, as Abdu and Ayman (2019) point out, also as a result of the syntactic simplification thereof. Likewise, telescreens are used to reinforce the image of the Party by means of biased and manipulated information: "day and night the telescreens bruised your ears with statistics proving that people today had more food, more clothes, better houses (Orwell, 2008, p. 77). Thus, the propagandistic nature of the dictatorship undermines the human ability to identify what is factual and what was fabricated by the Party, prompting the dehumanisation of the self. In summary, Big Brother, and the Ingsoc Party function within a system of harnessing all means of communication whereby the dynamics of propaganda deeply manoeuvre the desire of the self.

The Spanish Civil War unfolds a great propagandistic scenario by both the Republican and the Nationalist side. In *Homage to Catalonia*, Orwell (2000) gives an account of the assortment of shouts that leapt from trench to trench during the war: "From ourselves: 'Fascistas – maricones!' From the fascists: 'Viva España', Viva Franco!' [T]he shouting of propaganda to undermine the enemy morale had developed into a regular technique" (p. 44). These war propaganda messages were normally disseminated through newspapers, posters and airborne leaflet droppings or broadcasted by loudspeakers as a means of dehumanising psychological warfare (Oakland, 2012).

Propaganda played its part also during Francoism, where the distribution of information was held by indoctrinating media towards the so-called "national conscience" (Sevillano Calero, 1998). The years of the establishment of Franco's dictatorship

consisted of the thorough control of means of communication by the creation of institutions that belonged to the regime. Significant was the *NO-DO* (an acronym for *Noticiarios y Documentales*), a newsreel which often stood as the primary source for the Spanish society to access information – to such degree, it served as a means to manipulate and jeopardise society (Ellwood, 1987). As Ellwood (1987) claims, NO-DO's view of reality was completely Manichean, undertaking the task of fervently defending anti-communist and traditional values, a propaganda-like strategy to pinpoint communism as the scapegoat whilst fostering Franco's leadership. The researcher also asserts that, to do so, the totalitarian state "insisted on every possible occasion that, without Franco, there would only be material and political chaos" (Ellwood, 1987, p. 235). The newsreel was employed to uplift Franco's figure through his so-called "outstanding" appearances, and he was thereby portrayed as the saviour and promoter of Spain's revival (Ellwood, 1987). These trends followed strict directions from the Falangist wing to legitimise the dictatorship and delegitimise communism, which prevented individuals from thinking critically (Haslam, 2006). As Haslam (2006) indicates, the delegitimation of beliefs entails a discriminatory rejection of the outgroup and, thus, makes those who hold different views lack human traits.

Therefore, propaganda presents a dehumanising technique distinctive of totalitarianism, which shapes the self into the wished pattern of thinking and behaviour. Propaganda also prevents the self from wholly getting in touch with reality by distorting information, which explains its alienating effects. Individuals experience uncertainty over reality, what Seeman (1959) called meaninglessness, resulting in vulnerability to external control and powerlessness.

#### *4.3. Censorship*

In *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, censorship is central to the narration, since Winston is a censor of the Party. Thus, he participates in the totalitarian dynamics of the regime by working in the Fictional Department, a branch of the Ministry of Truth where a deliberate manipulation and falsification of facts and history are undertaken. Censorship operates hand in hand with propaganda in the novel as the records are falsified and censored to be used as propaganda and, ultimately, to reinforce the image of the Party. Winston's job deals with the "restoration" of the truth within the press, like the *Times* newspaper in fictional Oceania, always in favour of Ingsoc. The past is absolutely destroyed, and

Winston participates in such destruction as a member of the Outer Party: “Most of the material that you were dealing with had no connection with anything in the real world” (Orwell, 2008, p. 43). The falsification of the history line operates for the sake of the thorough control of individuals and also reinforces the principal slogan of the Party: “Who controls the past controls the future: who controls the present controls the past” (Orwell, 2008, p. 37).

In addition, Oceania is deprived of memory by means of doublethink, a system which rationalises the individuals’ consciousness of contradictions, so the Party takes advantage of this and falsifies reality to determine the course of history – “his mind slid away into the labyrinthine world of doublethink. To know and not to know, to be conscious of complete truthfulness while telling carefully constructed lies” (Orwell, 2008, p. 37). The Party claims Oceania has always been at war with Eurasia; however, Winston remembers that they used to be allies, yet through doublethink this memory is annihilated. Thus, historical memory and one’s own memory is essentially eradicated through censorship. This thorough eradication of any particular memory imposes enforced thoughts, which brings about indecency and installs ignorance in the self (Stewart, 2006). This censorship-propaganda pattern of connection in the novel encompasses the alteration of records and, then, the targeting of Eurasia as the enemy, which also engages in the aforementioned scapegoating.

Following the Seemandian theory (1959), meaninglessness deprives Oceania’s society from a full understanding of reality for the sake of the Party’s benefit. Also, as Gottlieb (2006) argues, “the Party makes the individual internalize the censoring eye of the punitive authority” (p. 58), so that Big Brother and the Thought Police have taken total command over Winston’s self. This deals with the alienating effects of “meaninglessness” (Seeman, 1959), whereby the self cannot wholly engage with a truthful understanding of reality. The uncertainty of Big Brother’s regime, prompted by its censoring totalitarian nature, serves to rid individuals of any memories or independent thoughts that would be counterproductive for the state, establishing a continued *tabula rasa*-like mental state among the society of Oceania that allows the Party to construct counterfeited facts. Thus, it enables the state to establish the desired manoeuvred pattern of reality (Gottlieb, 2006).

Censorship remained pivotal within the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist framework. During the long-term Spanish Civil War, the press and radio were weapons employed by both belligerents to persuade the population through censorship (Sinova, 2006). The war revolved around the so-called *batalla de la información*, whereby the nationalists commanded, in the subjugated cities, that every publication should leave a blank space in which to insert their convenient “official” news, as Sinova (2006) points out. This researcher also claims that the censorship rendered by Francoists was the most exhaustive enforcing political power over the private media (Sinova, 2006). Orwell (2000) describes this censoring scenario during his time in the Republican militia in *Homage to Catalonia*: “Throughout this time there were rumours, always vague and contradictory owing to newspaper censorship” (p. 104). Precisely, Orwell was a victim of censorship since several publishers refused to publish *Homage to Catalonia*, as well as some other reviews of the Spanish panorama because it was thought to contain excessive political content (Meyers, 1975). Also, in his *Collected Essays*, Orwell (2020) claims the following:

Early in life I have noticed that no event is ever correctly reported in a newspaper, but in Spain, for the first time, I saw newspaper reports which did not bear any relation to the facts, not even the relationship which is implied in an ordinary lie. I saw, in fact, history being written not in terms of what happened but of what ought to have happened according to various “party lines” (p. 30).

Thus, Orwell exposes the dangers of the prelude of the Francoist totalitarian rule during the Spanish Civil War. Taking this into consideration, it is appropriate to delve into Franco’s rule and the role of his regime on press censorship. A newspaper censorship law was established by Franco in 1938, one year before the war was finished, yet it persisted for 30 years in Spain (Sinova, 2006). This law encompassed journalists’ duty to transfer the power and control of the institution of the press to the State, a law that overtly claimed to be against freedom, as Sinova (2006) argues. Sinova (2006) also argues that one of the regime’s functions over the press was explicitly signalled as “censorship” in this new law, as the State was the only owner of any informative enterprises. He also asserts that, for this reason, journalists operated as mere state *funcionarios*<sup>6</sup> (Sinova,

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<sup>6</sup> Civil servant for the state.

2006). The so-called *Delegación Nacional de Prensa y Propaganda*<sup>7</sup> was at the centre for newspaper and publication censorship during the last half of the Civil War and the Francoist period (Sevillano Calero, 1998), a mechanism notably comparable to *Nineteen Eighty-Four*'s Ministry of Truth.

The press also had the duty to prosecute any foreign word or expression, particularly those coming from English, considering that England belonged to the allied line during the II World War, according to Sinova (2006). Hence, he claims, journalists had to remove from their newspapers words such as “swing” or “palace” (Sinova, 2006). In addition, some languages were considered tools of the political opposition; for instance, Basque and Catalan were extremely censored from schools leading to deliberated indoctrination, and, importantly, they were totally censored from books, banning them from being published (Sinova, 2006).

Thus, censorship remains central to totalitarianism as a result of the total harnessing of social media, such as newspapers, as seen in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and during the Spanish Civil War and Franco's dictatorship. Also, as a consequence of the narrowing of language through Newspeak and the banning of any language but Spanish during Francoism, the totalitarian state installs lack of freedom of speech. Therefore, censorship provokes alienation and, thus, a process of dehumanisation, as the self experiences an estrangement from the actual state of affairs.

## 5. Conclusion

*Nineteen Eighty-Four* might make readers feel uncomfortable not only because of the description of an apocalyptic scenario where freedom does not exist, but also because of the reader's close recognition of the similarity between the events described in the novel and real historical events. In fact, Orwell's vision of totalitarianism prevails in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as political, economic, and human crises accentuate worldwide. The legacy of Orwell's novel is often associated with the rapid growth of technological developments and new media that many countries have made use of giving rise to highly surveyed

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<sup>7</sup> State Delegation for Press and Propaganda.

societies. Also, the deconstruction of these modern uses of surveillance may challenge the understanding of the notion of humanity that exists today.

History holds overt denials of humanity and totalitarianism is a significant instigator of this denial. This type of political system frames humans as mere manageable entities through surveillance, propaganda, and censorship – dehumanising mechanisms that eliminate individuals from the dictatorial scheme. Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* points at these mechanisms as decisive to the establishment of a totalitarian regime and to the total removal of Winston's human condition at the very end of the novel.

As to the connection between George Orwell and the historical events that marked Spain during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* embodies a nexus between *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the Spanish Civil War and Francoism in terms of dehumanising mechanisms. The Spanish Civil War, thus, is a critical period which unveils certain symptoms of the ensuing totalitarianism where incessant vigilance, media power and censorship shape social control. This connection between Orwell's works and the Spanish panorama evidence that totalitarian regimes stimulate particular mechanisms of dehumanisation that are pervasive of society. Thus, the reading of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* may help raise awareness upon the psychological and social effects of dehumanisation under totalitarian trends.



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