

**GOVERNMENTAL HEGEMONY OF STALIN'S
TOTALITARIAN REGIME IN GEORGE ORWELL'S
*NINETEEN EIGHTY-FOUR***

THESIS

Presented to

*The State Islamic University, Malang in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S.)*

Supervisor: Sri Muniroch S.S., M.Hum.

By

ABDULLAH SAJJAD

(00320068)



**ENGLISH LETTERS AND LANGUAGE DEPARTEMENT
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND CULTURE
THE STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
MALANG
2007**

**GOVERNMENTAL HEGEMONY OF STALIN'S
TOTALITARIAN REGIME IN GEORGE ORWELL'S
*NINETEEN EIGHTY-FOUR***

T H E S I S

By
ABDULLAH SAJJAD
(00320068)



**ENGLISH LETTERS AND LANGUAGE DEPARTEMENT
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND CULTURE
THE STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
MALANG
2007**

APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that Sarjana`s thesis of Abdullah Sajjad entitled
GOVERNMENTAL HEGEMONY OF STALIN`S TOTALITARIAN REGIME
IN GEORGE ORWELL`S *NINETEEN EIGHTY-FOUR* has been approved by the
advisor for further approval by the board of examiners as the requirements for the
degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S.) in English Letters and Language Department in the
State of Islamic University Malang

Malang, 17 November 2007

Approved by
Advisor

Acknowledged by the Head of
English Letters and Language Department

Sri Muniroch S.S., M.Hum
NIP: 150 327 257

Dra. Hj. Syafiyah, MA
NIP: 150 246 406

Acknowledged by the Dean of
Faculty of Humanities and Culture

Drs.H. Dimjati Ahmadin M.Pd.
NIP: 150 035 072

LEGITIMATION SHEET

This is to certify that Sarjana`s thesis of Abdullah Sajjad entitled
GOVERNMENTAL HEGEMONY OF STALIN`S TOTALITARIAN REGIME
IN GEORGE ORWELL`S *NINETEEN EIGHTY-FOUR*, has been approved by the
Board of Examiners as the requirement for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S.)
in English Letters and Language Department
in the State of Islamic University Malang

Malang, July 30th, 2007

The board examiners

Signatures

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1. <u>Dra. Andarwati, MA</u> (Chair) | 1. |
| 2. <u>Dra. Istiadah, MA</u> (Member) | 2. |
| 3. <u>Sri Muniroch S.S., M.Hum</u> (Member) | 3. |

Approved by

The Rector of the State Islamic University Malang

Prof. DR. H. Imam Suprayogo

NIP: 150 196 286

Motto

*Language is Also a Medium of Domination and Power
(Jurgen Habermas)*

Dedication

*This thesis is dedicated to the scientific property,
And also to my Alma mater, the State Islamic University of Malang;
Be a comfort and brighten University*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank God the Merciful and Blissful for all His gifts and give me the strength and patience to complete this thesis. Second time, I would praise *Shalawat* and *Salam* on Muhammad the prophet (*Sallallahu a`laihi wasallam*) who introducing and bringing Islam as a bright-shine of the truth. This thesis is not easily completed by me. Many things, problems and difficulties, technical or non-technical, are faced by me. Finally, by a great effort, I have accomplished this research. Actually, this is not merely my effort, but also upon of any supports of many people. Consequently, a word of thanks is properly uttered for whom are having good deeds by a supports, gratitude, love, appreciations, criticisms and suggestions in completing my thesis as follows:

1. The Rector of the State Islamic University of Malang, Prof. Dr. H. Imam Suprayogo. I say thank you for making this University turns into a better quality.
2. The Dean of Faculty of Humanities and Culture, Drs.H. Dimjati Ahmadin M.Pd.
3. The Head of English Letters and Language Department Dra. Hj. Syafiyah, MA
4. My supervisor, Sri Muniroch S.S., M.Hum. I say thank you and honor for the advise, criticism and suggestions.
5. My lecturers and classmates in the State Islamic University of Malang.
6. My great parents; Abdul Basith Bahar and Thayyibah Mahfudz, My grand father and grand mother; Mahfudz Husaini and Arifah Abdullah Sajjad. And also my fabulous aunts: MiWardah, BiMal, BiZai and Biyam.

7. The Brothers; Ka'Musthov and Ka'Izi (thank you for the inspirations), Khadidjah and Khatibul Umam (the little brother), *the Sabajarin* family, Ka'Hefniy-Ba'Hanun-Hadziq, *Bani Syarqawi* and *Annuqayah* cronies throughout the world.
8. Friends and colleagues; Abdussalam (the painkiller; wipe away the problem!), the heaven-sent buddies: Quraisy (all-my-live friend), Elvis Koopenk (let's jamming some tunes), Kahlil the smiley (I have no word to utter for you, too many favor I got; *mercy beaucoup pour cette amitie*). Kamal and Alka.Com (my private computer technician, you are my god and you are my dog!), Sugi Igus (my sharing partner). Mas Hanif Satriani. Iman *santri sekumpul* (what a loyal pal you are). J-Q the little boss, G-Penk, P-Jet and the Ventura Families. Uchilds kriwil (the real music mate).
9. Kuldesak&Kuldesak Revolutions; Seeme Jr., Hammad Rijady, Sunari, Anwari, Masoed Katoanah, Om Miming (the Kuldesak's Rector), Affan MOG, Fachry, Basri, Juwairiyah Mawar and Inun Mamnuhah.

ABSTRACT

Sajjad, Abdullah, 2007. Governmental Hegemony of Stalin's Totalitarian Regime in George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Thesis, English Letters and Language Department, Faculty of Humanities and Culture, The State Islamic University, Malang

Advisor: Sri Muniroch S.S., M.Hum

Keyword: Persuasive hegemony, forceful hegemony, totalitarian regime, sociology of literature

Nineteen Eighty-four was created and published just after the World War II ended. The world was under the insecurity of Europe's imperialism, communist's grasp, and World War II. In other side, Orwell who lived under the World War's brutality became the victim of unfair capitalist and cruel communism. The development of English literature in the beginning of twentieth century is approximately in line with this road of history. Then because literature is a human expression and as a human the author is certainly unable to escape from the neighborhood where he lives. *Nineteen eighty-four* as a work cannot be separated from the condition of the world in the beginning of Twentieth century.

This research is supposed to produce a descriptive knowledge and deep understanding toward the novel. The purpose of this research is to describe how the governmental hegemonies are depicted in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and simultaneously to find out whether Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* criticizes the hegemony of Stalin's totalitarian regimes.

Gramscian hegemony theory is used as the major apparatus in conducting this research. Hegemony theory underlines literature as a social power rather than merely a passive representation of real society. This is also regarded as sociology of literature study that is a multidisciplinary study based on the orientation between the work and universe. While this is a multidisciplinary study, some views are fused into a unity by way of determining a fixed pattern of correlations including the history and the life.

Hegemony is a dialectic relationship on a power based on consensus (egemonia) and forcefulness (*dominio*). From the data we knew the hegemony consists in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* are including persuasive and forceful hegemony. Hegemony in the form of consensus (persuasive) is frequently broadened from a very implicit movement, propaganda, and any tools to develop a coerce influence of ideology according to the authority (Big Brother regime in the novel). In this case, the propaganda could be variously expanded by the instrument of languages (*newspaper*), songs, processions, banners, pamphlets, the yelling of slogans or adoration, literature and mass media. Some direct controls are categorized as persuasive are *the telescreen*, hidden mike and *thought police*. While forceful hegemony is hegemony by applying a strict physical punishment such as, confining, imprisoning, kidnapping, forced labor, torture and killing without a trial. The purpose of forceful hegemony is not the punishment itself but to make somebody recant, confess, regret and finally replacing those entire heretics thought with a new "deceived consciousness" of the Party's ideology. Both

persuasive and forceful hegemony are in the aim of eternalizing the party's authority and ideology. From the analysis, the researcher concludes that Orwell is actually not writing *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in order to grab the literary hegemony officially produced by Stalin's authority since Orwell is not directly head on with the regime and there is no direct contact between Orwell's literary work and Stalin's literary works. But the more important, Orwell attempts to build perception and construction to the reader through out the world by means of the ideas of hegemony found in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Orwell carried out a criticism using the novel as an imaginary work toward the Stalin's regime as a social reality.

From this research, the researcher hopes there will be other researchers who concern to this topic and explore the social and cultural power of literary work in more details. Of course, this topic is still needed extra attention towards by using varied theories in study of sociology of literature.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPROVAL SHEET	i
LEGITIMATION SHEET	ii
MOTTO	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
ABSTRACT.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of Problems	9
1.3 Objectives of the Study	9
1.4 Scope and Limitation	10
1.5 Significances of the Study.....	11
1.6 Research Methods	11
1.6.1 Research Design.....	12
1.6.2 Data Source	12
1.6.3 Data Collection	13
1.6.4 Data Analysis	13
1.6.5 Definition of Key Terms	14
CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE	16
2.1 Literature	16
2.2 The Novel.....	19
2.3 Literature and Society.....	22
2.4 Relevance Interdisciplinary Study in Literature	25
2.5 The Sociology of Literature	26
2.5.1 The History of Sociology of Literature.....	26
2.5.2 The Relationship between Sociology and Literature	27
2.5.2.1 Literature as the Reflection of Life.....	27
2.5.2.2 The Influence of Social Background of the Author	29
2.5.3 Literature and History	30
2.5.4 The Critics' Opinion on the Sociology of Literature.....	32
2.5.5 Classification Problems on Sociology of Literature	42
2.6 The Theory of Hegemony in Sociology of Literature Study	38
2.7 Soviet Union under Stalin's Regime.....	51
2.8 Biography of George Orwell	55
2.9 Previous Studies.....	56

CHAPTER III: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS.....	60
3.1 Governmental Hegemony in Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four.....	60
3.1.1 Persuasive Hegemony	60
3.1.2 Forceful Hegemony	79
3.2 Hegemony in <i>Nineteen-Eighty Four</i> and Stalin's totalitarian regime	86
3.3 <i>Nineteen Eighty-Four</i> as a criticism to Stalin's totalitarian regime	90
 CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS	98
4.1 Conclusions	98
4.2 Suggestions	100
 BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	101
APPENDIX.....	104

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The end of nineteenth century until the beginning of twentieth century was the zenith of golden age of United Kingdom with its colonies spread out all over the world. People especially middle class enjoyed the high prosperous grade as the result of economic and technological progression. Everything seemed fine and bright in the surface. But indeed behind those all, materialism, agony, self-satisfied, esthetic bluntness and heartlessness were becoming overpowered that unconsciously effected the social-political-economic problems. At last, World War I raged together with all of its cruelty and horrible damaging-power. The end of war in 1918 was not only solving many problems but also bringing about more new problems. At the end of 1920s the greatest economic depression appeared. Unemployment became national problem and all of those turned into heavier after fascism and Nazism threaten through out Europe including England. In another hemisphere, communism which based in Uni Soviet became one and the only great rival in economic, military and ideological conflict—communism and democratic liberal—between United States and Uni Soviet (Samekto, 1976:77).

The development of English literature in the beginning of twentieth century was approximately in line with this road of history glanced above. Naturally enough, because literature is an expression of someone's heart and soul, and as a

human the man of letter is certainly unable to escape from the neighborhood where he lives, the situation and the society, so with no exception George Orwell as an author is definitely could not separated from its universe. Orwell was one of the most important novelists of that age who found his subject matter in modern political ideologies whose early works expressed pungently a profound dissatisfaction with the economic inequalities, hypocrisies and the social anachronisms of English life in 1930's (Wilson, 1958:28). His last and finest novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four* attacks the socialist which in early seemed attractive.

Nineteen Eighty-Four is a dystopian novel and first published by Secker and Warburg in 1949. The book tells the story of Winston Smith and his degradation by the totalitarian state in which he lives. Along with Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is among the most famous and cited works of dystopian fiction in literature. However, it was a novel *We* (1921) by a Russian author Yevgeny Zamyatin which influenced Orwell most (Markus Etc. in Wikipedia, 2005:226). Orwell's book has been translated into 62 languages and has left a profound impression upon the English language itself. *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, its terminology and its author have become well-known example when discussing privacy and state-security issues. The term *Orwellian* has come to describe actions or organizations reminiscent of the totalitarian society depicted in the novel. Orwell is recognized as a novelist with his specific genre that is closed to political scenes.

The late arrival of Novel on the literary scene tells us something important about the genre: above all else, a form of literature that looks at people in society.

Writers have, of course, always been interested in the world around them, but the development of the novel reflects a move away from an essentially religious view of life towards a new interest in the complexities of everyday experience. Most Novels are concerned with an ordinary people and their problems in the societies in which they find themselves.

Novels do not, however, present a documentary picture of life. Along side the fact that the novel looks at people in society, the other characteristics of the genre are that novels tell a story. In fact, novels tend to tell the same few stories time and time again. Novelists frequently focus on the tensions between individual and society in which they live, presenting characters that are at odds with that society.

Orwell—via his novel—told a story of his age. Orwell was born radical, champion of the small people who was “pushed around” by bosses of all denominations, and savage indignation as well as his humanitarianism that also reflected in *Animal Farm*—his another work that made him well-known as international author. *Nineteen Eighty Four* is a nightmare that pictures the totalitarian world in the future of England. The eternal dictator, big brother, concept of *double- think* in *Newspeak* and the notion of mutability in the past become common furniture of our minds.

Newspeak is one of Governmental hegemonies appears in the novel that continuously presents as a typical of any totalitarian regimes. *Newspeak* is a fictional language in *Nineteen eighty-four* which created by the government as the official language of *Oceania* and has been devised to meet the ideological needs

of *Ingsoc*—a term in *Newspeak* for *English socialism*. Orwell included an essay about *Newspeak* in the form of an Appendix in the novel in which the basic principles of the language are explained. *Newspeak* is closely based on English but has a greatly reduced and simplified vocabulary and grammar. This suits the totalitarian regime of the Party, whose aim is to make any alternative thinking or speech impossible by removing any words or possible constructs which describe the ideas of freedom, rebellion and so on. The purpose of *Newspeak* is not only to provide a medium of expression for the world view and mental habits proper to devotee's *ingsoc* (*English socialism* in the novel) but in order to avoid all other modes of thought become impossible (Orwell, 1982:241). For example, even the word *free* still existed in the *Newspeak*, but it could be used only in such statement as “This dog is free from lice”. It could not be used in its old sense like in the word phrase *politically free* or *intellectually free*, since political and intellectual freedom are no longer existed even as concepts so therefore it is not necessary named. Basically, newspeak has come to mean any attempt to restrict disapproved language by a government or other powerful entity.

Through this kind of comprehension, it is clearly understood that *Nineteen eighty-four* contains many aspects of politic and ideology. Since the freedom in bringing any matter of ideas into a work especially the novel, automatically literatures display varied aspects of live and society. In this relation, the author inclined to function as a philosopher or even as a scientist. Without any deep comprehension and understanding to the common knowledge of the universe then literary works become poor (Kutha Ratna, 2005:500). With such valued content of

the work, literatures tend to function as a critic toward its social environment. As Andre Hardjana (1985:22) states that literatures also can arouse the consciousness and lighten the conscience. From this simple quotation it is known that literature could be an idea as means of communications between the author and listener. For further purpose, literature could be containing of many ideas that probably take an advantage to develop a certain social attitude even to arouse a certain social event (Damono, 1979:2).

In the matter of literature as social criticism, Nineteen eighty-four cannot be separated from the condition of world of that age. Orwell directly argued about totalitarian regime commonly. But in specific connection to this research, the writer particularly relates the novel to the Stalin's totalitarian regime. Joseph Stalin as the heir of Lenin leadership became general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party in 1922. Democratic-centralism, that became the power of Marxist movement which successfully realized by Lenin then was twisted by Stalin for eternalizing his reign. He prevailed in a power struggle over Leon Trotsky, who was expelled from the Communist Party and deported from the Soviet Union before finally killed (*Wikipedia*, free encyclopedia). Stalin claimed his policies were based on Marxism-Leninism—then often considered to represent a political and economic system called Stalinism. On the other hand, Stalin replaced the *New Economic Policy* (NEP) of the 1920s with *Five Years Plan* in 1928 and collective farming at roughly the same time. The Soviet Union was transformed from a peasant society to a major world industrial power by the end of the 1930s. In the 1930s Stalin initiated the *Great Purge*, a campaign of political

repression, persecution and executions that reached its peak in 1937 (Microsoft Encarta library 2005). And at last Stalin got his bad image after his decision and policy in aggression and colonialism of East Europe that resulted in the deaths of millions people.

Besides as social criticism and social document, spontaneously literatures belong to a social institution that using a particular language as the medium and the language itself is a social creation. Literature performs the picture of life and the life is a social reality. In this case, life covers the relationship between one's societies to another, society to person, person to person, and between many events happen. However, the relationship between the authors, works and societies has always been compulsory (Damono, 1972:1). So in this case, researches which incorporate a literary work and the society come to be inspiring a great interest and important.

Sociology of literature is a study in literature that considers social aspects (Damono, 1979:2). Even though sociology and literature are not entirely the same field of study but indeed they complete each other. Literature has also certainly inter-related with another peculiar aspect of human being and creates new inter-disciplinary study. For example sociology of literature studies about how society and literature inter-related, relationship between literature and psychological symptoms is in the field of psychology of literature and so on (Rahardjo, 2004:6). It is similar to another multi and inter-disciplinary studies such as sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics etc.

Specifically, many theories could be employed in sociology of literature. Marx's theory with all its denominations is the most relevant and essential equipment in conducting sociological research in literature. Goldman's genetic structuralism and Gramsci's hegemony theory are the highly developed theory in this kind of research, and the researcher applied hegemony theory since it's considered suitable as well as interesting toward this study. The core of hegemony in regard to this study is that the act of government's politic to dominate another party, society and citizens through a leadership with the result that the dominated classes will be accepted at will. Hegemony is not anything other than physical object but also a discourse. It is stronger and more awful rather than any other form of power since not limited only by space and time (Kutha Ratna, 2005:600).

Essentially, besides the hegemony in the novel, we can explore many of unique aspects from *Nineteen Eighty-Four* especially for extrinsic research, for example ideology, imperialism, totalitarianism and politics in common it becomes the substances of this novel and also interesting to discover. On the subject of imperialism, different from Rudyard Kipling (1856-1936) who praises imperialism as religion and viewing imperialism as a civil force to civilize the primitive or underdeveloped nation, Orwell has different opinion on imperialism. On the contrary, imperialism gain heavier of humanity problems such as oppression, starvation, confinement, lack of freedom. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* also has similarity with Herbert George Wells (1860-1946) works in the matter of "the future". Some of H.G Wells' works treat about fantastic events as the result of development of technology in the future. *Time Machine* (1895), *the first men in*

the moon (1901) are scientific romance. H.G. Wells also include some ideas of socialism in a modern utopia (1905). *Nineteen Eighty-Four* itself is a fearful prediction of a future—even past or current—regarding of an ideology and politics. But according to the researcher, the most important and interesting about Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is the ideas of government hegemonies by means of persuasive ways such as language (*Newspeak*) and harsh power. Simplicity of Characters and chains of story also exactly become superiority of Orwell's style of story telling.

Based on short and brief explanation mentioned, those all explanations become a background to analyze and answer the problems argued by the writer related to Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Actually Orwell never explicitly cited about the social politic condition where he lives moreover about Stalin, but in fact there are some details presupposes as parallel and alike. As a result, there are two big questions which are interesting to dig. The first one is to describe the ideas of hegemonies in the novel then substantiating the relationship between Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and its universe especially the fact of Stalin's totalitarian regime.

Almost all of researches in the world especially in academic neighborhood today are not the first researches that had been conducted. Works always have a discourse, converse and dialogue with another works. The other researches are closely related to this study such as CW.Watson *The Sociology of Indonesian novels 1920-1955* (1972) university of Hull (master of art). CW.Watson used Goldman's genetic-structuralism as the basic theory in conducting his research. In

general, he explores about Indonesian novels since 1920 until 1955 from the side of worldview consisted in the novel and the socio-cultural background that develops the worldview itself. The second research comes along from Yushe Marleyna entitled *The Relationship between the Societies in John Steinbeck's the Pearl and the Real Society of that Age* (1994) Gajayana University Malang. Marleyna explores the social conflict among the classes found in the novel and then compares to the reality of that age. She used Marxist theory to answer the problem of the study.

1.2 Statements of the Problems

There are many themes and events could be revealed in the novel. In order to have a deep comprehension of the study the researcher formulates two research problems. The problems are presented as follows:

1. How are governmental hegemonies depicted in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*?
2. Does Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* criticize the hegemony of Stalin's totalitarian regime?
3. How Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* criticize the hegemony of Stalin's totalitarian regime?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The objective of the study is supposed to produce a descriptive knowledge on problem of the study as follows:

1. To describe how the governmental hegemonies are depicted in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.
2. To find out whether Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* criticizes the hegemony of Stalin's totalitarian regimes.
3. To describe how Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* criticizes the hegemony of Stalin's totalitarian regimes.

1.4 Scope and Limitation

The problems of literature are very complex and wide. Various theories and approaches could be applied. Hegemony theory becomes the major tool in processing the data of this study. In order to get a good and valid result of the study, it is important to give the research a clear scope and limitation. In this case the researcher limits the discussion on the research only in the matter of government's political hegemonies specifically in persuasive and forceful hegemonies. Persuasive hegemony is regarded as "the kind hegemony" that uses influential ways such as language, mass media, and strict regulation. While forceful hegemony considered as harsh and brutal ways by means of prison, punishment without jurisdiction and executions. It is also important to recognize that sociology of literature is the paradigm of this research and the sociology of literature itself is very complicated due to the researcher limits the problem only in the aspect of literature as social criticism all together as reflection of the society. On the other words literature considered as the document of social culture

which functions to reveal the author's ideas and also to criticize by means of literature.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Incentive factors of the study being held have already mentioned in the background of the study. The purpose of this research has a tight relationship with academic matters especially theory and practice. This research hopefully will be profitable in contribute to literature and related field of study. Specifically this research is hoped to give useful information, as material discussion and add the reader's knowledge about sociology of literature. Even many of similar researches has been done but in this way the researcher expects to complete any previous studies which may consist different opinions until it gains various kinds of understanding and interpretation with respectively have different point of view so its must be scientifically dependable. Eventually, the result of this study may be beneficial for students, teachers and common competent readers also for next researchers who are conducting a similar research next to this topic.

1.6 Research Methods

Methods are considered as a way, a strategy to understand any realities, a systematic stage to figure out a chain of cause and effect. As instruments, methods function to simplify a problem in order to make easier to work the problem out. Methods as technical matter in conducting an examination become very significant since it is determine the fact of the research (Kutha Ratna, 2004:34).

1.6.1 Research Design

This research also included as a literary criticism. Literary criticism is usually regarded as the analysis, interpretation and evaluation of literary works but it does not mean to find a fault with. Criticism as an academic activity expresses the reader's sense of what is happening in the text (Peck&Coyle, 1986:149). The main function of literary criticism is to preserve and save humanity experience that is poured in the form of literary works as well as to compose the ideas implied in the works turn into a meaningful structure (Hardjana, 1985:24).

Gramscian hegemony theory is used as the major apparatus in conducting this research. Hegemony theory underlines literature as a social power rather than merely a passive representation of society. This theory, besides genetic-structuralism, is a part of theory sociology of literature study which is an interdisciplinary study based on the orientation of universe. While this research is an interdisciplinary study, some involved knowledge and views fused into a unity by way of determining a fixed pattern of correlations including the history and the life (Kutha Ratna 2004:331). Consequently by determining sociology of literature as the paradigm of the study, it is expected to comprehend the literary work extrinsically and wholly.

1.6.2 Data Source

The object of this research is the novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four* by *George Orwell*. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* first time was published by Martin Secker and

Warburg in 1949 then published in Penguin Books in 1954. The novel that becomes the source in this study was reprinted and made in Suffolk, Great Britain in 1982 issued by Penguin Books.

1.6.3 Data Collection

Some steps will be taken to collect the data of this research. Textual investigation used in collecting the data in the novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four* by George Orwell. While the steps are: reading and understanding the text on the novel and the history of Stalin's totalitarian regime then attempt to comprehend the description of George Orwell's and Stalin's ideas about hegemony. The next step is selecting, transcribing, and classifying the data of hegemonies in the novel and Stalin's history. The last one is preparing to conduct and arrange the analysis toward the novel.

1.6.4 Data Analysis

After classifying and obtaining the data on the novel then the researcher begins to analyze. To answer the problem of the study the researcher has a systematic investigation toward the data as the following steps: First of all, the researcher has to maintain principal theme on the study then formulating and defining the research problems including how the ideas of hegemonies implicated in the novel and whether the ideas of Orwell criticizes Stalin's leadership. Afterward the researcher performs bibliography study in order to found a tentative explanation for the phenomenon by reading the primary sources and the secondary

data sources, used as the basis for further investigation. Next step is presenting the data sources by classifying any texts that contain the values of governmental hegemony specifically persuasive and forceful hegemony. The central stage of this research is processing the data by way of analyze and interpret the hegemony in the novel then associated with the Stalin's totalitarian regime. In this case the researcher conducting a comprehend activity by reading and understanding some references including the primary data, secondary data, theories and discussion then obtaining a valid interpretation based on researcher's comprehension and viewpoints on the frame hegemony theory. The last stage of the study is giving a conclusion based on the result of data analysis (Chamamah Soeratno, 1994:22).

1.7 The Definitions of Key Terms

To avoid ambiguousness in the sentences, the researcher lists the concepts of meaning in many terms deal with the research as follows:

1. **Sociology of literature** is a branch of study in literature that considered social aspects (Damono ,1979:2). Sociology of literature included all sorts of approaches and each of them based on a certain attitude and views. And all of the approaches show to one unity in the interest of that literature as social institution, which molded by the author as a social community.
2. **Governmental Hegemony** is the government's political action to dominate another party, society and citizens through a leadership with the result that the dominated classes will be accepted the ideology or any policies at will. Hegemony is not anything other than physical object but also through a

discourse. It is stronger and more awful rather than any other form of power since not limited only by space and time.

3. **Newspeak** is a fictional language in George Orwell's novel *Nineteen eighty-four*. *Newspeak* was the official language of Oceania and had been devised to meet the ideological needs of *Ingsoc*, or English socialism. For example, the *Newspeak* term for the *English language* is *Oldspeak*. *Oldspeak* was intended to have been completely eclipsed by *Newspeak* before 2050. (Orwell, 1982:241).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Literature

Long before, since the old Greek civilization, the argument of literature became unfinished discussion. Literature as a social institution that comes out in our daily life pays many attention since of its uniqueness'. There are no precise definitions in embracing a whole-definition of literature. For examples literature is an imaginative written works that literally regarded as not true or not right. It looks very simple but if we have a deeper vision of literature; this definition is definitely insufficient in representing whole meaning of literature. As Terry Eagleton states in his *Literary Theory* (1988:1), seventeenth century of English literature was not only covered by Shakespeare, Webster, Marvell and Milton, but also covered by various essays of Francis Bacon, Bunyan's religious autobiography, and Sir Thomas Browne's works. Occasionally literature was also covered by Hobbes's *Leviathan*, or history of Rebellion by Clarendon. France literature in seventeenth century covered Racine, Bossuet's *Funeral Orations*, Boileau's booklet about poetry, de Sevigne's letters, even Descartes and Pascal.

So the distinction between *fact* and *story* comes to be not truly important, because the difference itself is doubtful. In the end of sixteenth century, the term of novel was used to state neither factual nor fictional events. Without any doubt Gibbon as a historian states that he wrote the facts of history, Newman considers that.

We need completely a different approach in defining literature from the commonly we found. Literature could be defined not because of its character as a fiction or something imaginative, but because of the extraordinary use of language. Literature changes the traditional role of daily languages. It is a group of divergence of language that differs from the ordinary one; language of literature is a kind of “special language” in proportion with the use of “common” daily languages. This definition is what Russian formalist declared. The problem is the different of “special language” and “common language” becomes ambiguous. In this case, the concept of “common language” between an academic and an unskilled laborer are obviously different

Another definition states that literature is any kind of a “good” writing (belle lettres). But if in that way, we can not find any “bad literature” since all literature must be “good”. Also the unclear boundaries of “good” itself precisely make the specialization of literature become vague. Perhaps some people judge Raymond Chandler’s work and *Superman* comic books as “good” but not included yet as a literary work (Eagleton, 1988:11).

If we make a list of definition of literature perhaps it will takes a hundred pages. One thing that must be underlined is that there are several reason why those are very difficult to decide limitation in literature. First, literature is an art that emphasizes on the feeling, value, spirit, and belief. Then, literature depends on time and space while a definition constantly has a character of universality and enduringness. On the other hand, even the definition of literature could be made

its only embrace literature as a genre not in the whole definition of literature. (Jan Van Luxemburg, 1986:6)

The definitions of literature are always raising and increasing. It does not mean that literature could not be defined. As Jan Van Luxemburg (1986:6) affirmed, there are some aspects and meaning we can underline about literature:

- a. Literature means a creation, not in the meaning of imitation. The author continuing and relay the process of creation, and even to complete.
- b. Literature is an autonomic matter. The author is looking for a harmonization inside the work itself.
- c. Literature has a character of coherence. Coherence means that literature can be interpreted as a deep unity between form and content.
- d. Literature presents and combines different elements into whole in the form of unified work.
- e. Literature can revealed the “unrevealed”. Literature expresses something by implicit utterance or explicit utterance.

It can be concluded that literature is a liberate discipline. It not tends to limit and confine like the science did. The difference between literature and non-literature is determined by the types of meaning consisted in a certain written works (Kleden, 2004:07). That is, whether the meaning is produced in its relation between a text and the reality outside the text (referential meaning) or whether the meaning is appeared in its internal relation inside the text itself as a textual meaning. Literature is dialectic relationship between events (the universe) outside the text and the world inside the text. So if the concept of a science is constructed

by eliminating a connotation and ambivalence as far as possible in order to achieve a fixed substance and limitation in a denotation, just on the contrary, a connotation in literature is a possibility and ambivalence is precisely activated in order to turn up the character of symbolization of literature such as metaphor, allegory, cynicism et cetera.

2.2 The Novel

Novel is a long work of written fiction. Most novels involve many characters and tell a complex story by placing the characters in a number of different situations. Because novels are long—generally 200 pages or more—novelists can tell more richly detailed tales than other authors of briefer literary forms such as the short story. Many readers consider the novel the most flexible type of literature, and thus the one with the most possibilities. For example, writers can produce novels that have the tension of a drama, the scope of an epic poem, the type of commentary found in an essay, and the imagery and rhythm of a lyric poem. Over the centuries writers have continually experimented with the novel form, and it has constantly evolved in new directions.

The word novel came into use during the Renaissance (14th century to 17th century), when Italian writer Giovanni Boccaccio applied the term *novella* to the short prose narratives in his *Decamerone* (*Ten Day's Work*: 1353 as in Encarta References Library 2005). When his tales were translated, the term novel passed into the English language. The word *novella* is now used in English to refer to short novels.

The arising of Novel on the literary scene tells us something important about the genre, above all else, a form of literature which looks at people in society. Writers are having, of course, always interested in the world around them, but the development of the novel reflects a move away from an essentially religious view of life towards a new interest in the complexities of everyday experience. Most Novels are concerned with an ordinary people and their problems in the societies in which they find themselves.

Novels do not, however, present a documentary picture of life. Along side the fact that the novel look at people in society, the other characteristics of the genre is that novels tell a story. In fact, novels tend to tell the same few stories time and time again. Novelists frequently focus on the tensions between individual and the society in which they live, presenting characters that are at odds with that society.

Writers have pushed traditional literary boundaries so that the characteristics of many types of literature complete each other, but looking at certain differences between novels and other literary forms can give readers a basic guide to the novel's distinctive traits. (David Madden, Encarta References Library 2005).

Like the short story, the novel tells a story, but unlike the short story, it presents more than one episode. In a novel, the writer has the freedom to develop plot, characters, and theme slowly. The novelist can also surround the main plot with subplots that flesh out the tale. Unlike short stories, most novels have numerous modifications in time, place, and focus of interest.

Like epic poetry, the novel may celebrate grand designs or great events, but unlike epic poetry it also may pay attention to details of everyday life, such as people's daily tasks and social obligations. For example, the epic the Iliad by ancient Greek poet Homer depicts the Trojan War in grand terms but does not comment on the experience of the common soldiers. By contrast, in his novel *Madame Bovary* (1857), French writer Gustave Flaubert shows the main character shopping and worrying about household expenses (David Madden, Encarta References Library 2005).

Like a playwright, a novelist tells a story, but a novelist has more freedom than a playwright to portray events outside the framework of the immediate story, such as historical events that happen at the same time as the story. The playwright is more limited in this way because description in dramas is generally conveyed through dialogue between characters. In a play, rarely does a narrator speak directly to the audience, as the narrator of a novel can. Novelists can also make smoother changes in time and place than can playwrights, who must write their works so that they can be performed on stage.

Finally, the novel may adapt patterns of mythology, but the novelist does not simply retell the myth. Instead, the novelist structures the story around the underlying themes of the myth while featuring unique characters and settings. In *Ulysses* (1922) by Irish writer James Joyce, the experiences of the character Leopold Bloom have some similarity to those of the hero Odysseus in the *Odyssey* by ancient Greek poet Homer. But Bloom's experiences take place entirely within his world—the Ireland of his time. Joyce thus uses the ancient

material of Odysseus's mythical experiences to create a new interpretation of contemporary experience (David Madden, Encarta References Library 2005).

2.3 Literature and Society

Literature is created by man of letters to be enjoyed, understood, and taken an advantage by the society. The author himself is a member of society and he was brings together with a certain society. Literature is a social institution that uses a language as a medium; the language itself is a social creation. Literature shows up the picture of life and the life itself is a social reality. In this understanding, life is including relationship inter-society, between society and person, person to person, and between any events happening in someone's mind. However the events that happen in someone's hearts, which frequently become the idea of literature, is the reflection of someone's interaction within his social environment (Damono, 1979:1).

In *Introduction to Literature*, Jan van Luxemburg (1986:23) explained that literature—in its relation with the society--could be seen as social indication. Literatures which are written in a certain period of time are directly connected with the norms, customs, and traditions coeval. The author as a part of society creates his work and speak by way of his novel to the reader which similarly a segment of society. Furthermore, Jan Van Luxemburg illustrated with the story *Uncle Tom Cabin's* by Harriet Beecher-Stove. This novel opened many American's eyes according to the fate of slavery in United States in the beginning of America's development.

The relationship between literature and society according to Luxemburg (1986:23) could be observed in such two ways. First, the researcher can analyze the outer factors of the text itself, the symptom of context of literature; the text itself is ignored. For example somebody analyzes the author's position or class in society, members of a reading circle, book publications, et cetera. Of course, the problems that relate to literature are clearly standardized, and in this case the researcher is borrowing the methods in sociology's field. The second way is, the researcher analyzed the relationship between the aspects of text in particular literature and society. In the matter of this, literature is used as a source to be analyzed the systems of society based on a certain social view, culture or political view of the researcher. The author has an argument on how the society should be and behave critical to the systems of society hold. The researcher does not determine only in how the author brought the social network forward in his work, but also to consider the author's view.

Literature has close relationship with and depends on society. Abrams (1981:192) states that The changes of historical evolution of somebody and his institution is determined in the basic mode of economic production: that such changes effects alteration in the structure of the social classes, which in all eras carry struggle for economic, social, and political advantage and that the thought culture of any epoch--including (at least in some part) art and literature—are ideologies and super structures in a dialectical, fashion, derive from the structure and struggle of distinctive for the era.

Further more, Karl Max adds that Marxist criticism is concerned with the economics, class, and ideological determinant of the way an author thinks and writes but especially with the social reality of this time. Marxist critics do not only discuss the relation between literature and society, as stated in Wellek and Warren in their *theory of literature* that Marxist critics also have their clearly defined conception of what these relations should be, both in our present society and in a future classes society.

Literature represents life; and life is, a large measure, a social reality even though the natural world and the inner of subjective world of the individual have also been objects of literary imitation. (1956:94).

An author has sensitive sense on the change of the social condition of his society. He is the apposition of the power that dominates in his society. As Faruk states that the writers are the ordinary individual in whom they are members of society, therefore, they often face with the social value problems in their life (1994:40).

Although literature can be the social document that can be made to view the outlines of the social history, we should realize the social literature is one kind of imitation of social life. Therefore its not substitutes for sociology.

Literature and society display the humanity relationship, which entirely evoked by way of human desire intended to fulfill God's willingness. In this relation literary works are considered as the fourth way straight to the truth besides philosophy, science, and religion. Even though literature has weaknesses

related to the logic, objectivity, and belief, in the other hand literature also has specialty dealing with the imagination and creativity (Kutha Ratna, 2005:274).

The relationship between literature and society is not something feigned as the structuralism judge. Literature and society are potentially related. Refusing the intensity of its relations is to mean denying the potentials of both aspects in developing humanity values (Kutha Ratna, 2005:275).

2.4 Relevance Interdisciplinary Study in Literature

Multidiscipline suggests a set of disciplines tied together to solve similar problems. Because those disciplines are having a different truth, so the theory, method, and point of view used as an approach are different too. In spite of, the dissimilarity does not mean to adjust the object involved in, in contrast, the distinction is precisely purposed to examine and strengthen the object all at once (Kutha Ratna, 2005:54).

Multidiscipline hold not to separate and to turn the understanding of subject into confusion, but precisely multidiscipline raises the intensity of understanding itself (Kutha Ratna, 2005:55). The reason is that any objects, whatever the form, have the character of multidimensional. So, every object is insufficient to be researched in the way of mono-discipline. In the end, mono-discipline will castrate and cut down the essential of the object. Multidiscipline will reveal the problem entirely and completely.

Each science in a multidiscipline, according to its ability, is attempted to gather a certain aspect, certain aspect which never found before in mono-

discipline research. There are some steps in operating this research. First, multidiscipline has to fix the main discipline which function as principal foundation. Then every discipline can take an advantage of its each methods and theories. The distinction between theory and method make possible to gain a similar conclusion of the study since the similar conclusion itself is determined by the one similar purpose of study. Even though, there are some multidisciplines such as sociology of literature which has obtaining particular theory and method for example genetic structuralism proposed by Lucien Goldman. Basically literature and culture multidiscipline have already owned a certain theories and methods; post -structuralism, especially deconstruction is developed by Barthes, Lacan, Derrida, Foucault, Lyotard, Baudrillard, et cetera (Kutha Ratna, 2005:57).

2.5 The Sociology of Literature

2.5.1 The History of Sociology of Literature

Historically, the theory of sociology of the literature had been presented since before Christ age (Djoko Damono, 1975:16). The sociological approach in literature had arisen since the problems dealing with man's social behavior were not fully explained by the other fields. According to Kutha Ratna (2004:332) there are three main indicators related to the genesis of a new discipline. One of the first indicators are, the raising of new problems that are interesting and needed to be solved. Then the fix relevance theories that are available. And the new discipline must be institutionally recognized.

Sociology of literature had been considered as a new independent discipline since eighteenth century after the appearance of Madame de Stael writing entitled *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales* in 1800 (Kutha Ratna, as in Swingewood 2004:331).

Sociology of literature had increasingly developed since the researches that provide structuralism theory to assist considered had been decline, stagnant, even regarded as not relevant anymore. Structuralism considered ignoring the relevance of society that precisely as the origins. Literature with sociological approach triggered by the consciousness that literary works must be equally behaved with another cultural aspects, hence the sole way is to bring the literature back to its origins; society, then comprehend as can not be separated part with the communication system wholly (Kutha Ratna, 2004:332).

2.5.2 The Relationship between Sociology and Literature

2.5.2.1 Literature as the Reflection of Life

Literature as a social institution concerns human being in society. This assumption supported by Alan Swingewood that “at the basic level, that is content, sociology and literature share a similar conspectus (1970:11)”. Sociology is essentially the scientific, objective study of man in society, the study of social institution and of social processes. Here, the similarity of both literature and society is the object study that is human being in society.

The relationship between literature and society is usually discussed by starting with the phrase, derived from de Donald; “literature is an expression of

society”(Rene&Welek, 1956:110). They also said that literature is primarily an imitation of life as it is and of social life particularly (1956:169). Those statements do not mean that literature reflects the current social situation correctly. It will be better if it means only that literature depicts some aspects of social reality.

After some experts begin to explore the literature critically the question floated was how far the literature reflects reality. The reality intended in literature is anything outside the literature and referred by literature, for example any matters could be touch, society formations, thought, feeling, et cetera.

Literature that which reflects reality or literature should reflect reality is definition of mimetic interpretation to literature. As uttered by Plato and Aristotle, mimetic theory was formerly used in art theories. According to Aristotle the raising of realities and idea every object in reality contained ideas that cannot be separated from the object itself. Mimetic not merely copying reality, but it is a united creative process that pointed from a reality in the social life, and then creates something new; the author recreates the reality itself (Luxemburg etc, 1986:17).

In renaissance era, appears an interpretation of mimetic concept that is influenced by Plotinus. This theory interpreted, art as not the reflections of visible reality but in as the direct reflections of ideas. This outlook produce an opinion that word formation in a literary work is not merely copying superficially the sensory reality, but it’s reflects more sublime factual truth (Luxemburg etc, 1986:17). Wellek and Warren have maintained (1956:95) that literature is a

specific evaluating criterion to say that an author should express the life of his own time, which he should be representative of his age and society.

Commonly, truth of society and culture are the reality, while the truth of literature is imagination. Referring to those problems it is need to be explained that literature is not entirely an imagination. First, even the truth of the literature is a story but it is reconstructed based on the reality. Second, in any artwork especially literature contained a certain aspect that is considered as objective facts. Objective facts in literature are included peoples, places, events, et cetera. Third, literature that is completely an imagination is exactly cannot be analyzed (Kutha Ratna, 2005:313).

2.5.2.2 The Influence of Social Background of the Author

Since every writer is a member of society he can be studied as a social being. As an individual, author similar to another member of society. An author was a part of integral collectivity in where he lives. Though his biography is the main source, such a study can easily be widened into one of the whole milieu from which he comes and in which he lives (Wellek&Austin, 1956:96). The environment where somebody lives is much influenced to his work. Social provenance, politics outlook, family backgrounds, the economic position of writer will be possible to accumulate information in order to help the objectivity of study.

In sociology of literature, the instance of the author is the reality itself. The author is the direct subject. According to the sociology of literature paradigm,

with the involvement aspects of sociology itself, the concrete role of the author become crucial, since it definite concrete result of the author's works. In this relevance literary works mentioned as social documents (Kutha Ratna, 2005:329).

It still reflects to the same topic, in the next statement Wellek&Austin stated that the social origin of a writer plays only a minor part in the questions raised by his social status, allegiance and ideology. It can be studied not only I his writing but also, frequently, in biographical extra-literary document (1956:97).

The writer assumes that the statement means that to know the social background of the author, it cannot be studied only in the literary work, but the important thing is the biographical extra-literary document. From this reality, we know how important literature is if it is related to the social reality.

At the end, the writer assumes that in fact, literature and society are two branches that could not be separated since it's related to each other. A backward glance to the author's position in society and his social involvement is helping to comprehend the work totally.

2.5.3 Literature and History

In multidiscipline researches, fused both disciplines such as history and literature is required to strengthen the result of the study as well as apparatus in conducting the research. As the response of a certain society, literature has included the aspect of culture, social and politics. Literature gives a priority in the story, figure and background. The third aspect mentioned hold essential position in the history. Even literary woks as an imagination, but an imagination is always

depart from the facts. In other words, the history can be functioned to help in understanding the literature and on the contrary literature could be containing the facts of history.

The relevance of history to the literature, as introduced by Kuntowijoyo and Taufik Abdullah is in the advantages to observe the history of intellectuality or thoughts. There are three problems regarding the relevance of history to the literature. First, the relevance of history facts, in this case related to the substance of the literature. Second, the aspects of homology that treats about the relation of the structure of the literature. The last is the relevance of creativity process that relates to the development of literary genres (Kutha Ratna, 2005:355).

Another argument comes from Wellek and Warren relating to the historical approach used to seek the relationship between the social problems of the novel and the history at the time. They state, the term of historical should properly be reserved for study of literature that concentrates on its change in time and is thus centrally preoccupied with the problems of history. (1976:73). But in this study the writer does not regard the history as the main problem of the study but as another application assistance of the study.

Daiches in his "critical approach" viewed that through a history has provided us the perspective within which we can see the work properly, we are in position in looking at the work and realizing that perspective is implicit in it. Only we have been blinded by exposure too long to other kinds of work and so could not see it until it was shown to us by the historical approach. (1974:265).

Through the story, literature and history explains the author's intention. The truth of the facts exactly contains in the history and the result of the history still a story. Then, through the truth of fiction, through a narrative discourse, literature pays attention to the inter-relationships, figure-to-figure, figure-to-event, events to events, events and backgrounds. As Aristoteles and Genette state, its totally could be have a form of developed-quality (Kutha Ratna, 2005:360).

Whatever kind of theory including post structuralism is a strategy to comprehend the object wholly and deeply. History is not only related in the factual way by means of the elements of the history included but also conceptually through intrinsic dimensions, from this way we could emerged a new understanding. As a system of communication, texts always dwell behind the history. Text is the representation of a certain social class. If we put the text aside from the context of history, automatically the text had become no meaning. The meaning of the text is substance in the context.

2.5.4 The Critics' Opinion on the Sociology of Literature

The sociology of literature is a branch of literary study that considers the aspects of history and social background and not the literary work only. It will be about milieu, class forces, personal biography, and anything considered in the matter of sociology fields. Sociology of literature in this kind of definition is covers some approach that based on a certain attitude and theoretical view. But those various theoretical approach are pointed to one similar understanding;

literature is a social institution that created by the author as the member of its society (Damono, 1975:02).

Literary works are created to be enjoyed, understood, and used by society. The author himself is a member of a certain society, he possesses a specific social status; he receives so degrees of social recognition and reward; he addresses an audience, however hypothetical. Because of this position, the background, social class, and ideology of the author cannot be separated from his work.

Literature is social institution that uses language as medium: the language it self is created by society. It shows us that literature and society related to another includes the relationship between societies and individual, man and man and also events that happen in the heart of a person. From those realities raise the statement that “all events that happen in the heart of person are the reflection of the relationship between someone’s interaction with the other and society” then it becomes the sources of literary work (Djoko Damono, 1975:1).

This explanation shows that literature does not come without any reasons, background, and just taken for granted. The relationship between the author, literature, and society is not something impossible. Alan Swingewood, in his *Sociology of Literature* said that literature is pre-eminently concerned with man’s social world, his adaptation to it, and his desire to change it (1970:12).

This respect, the critic emphasizes that literature presents man’s social world with his all behaviors and his relationship with the other. It supported by Swingewood opinion that the literature transcends mere description and objective

scientific analysis penetrating the surface of social life, showing the ways in which men and women experience society as feeling (1970:12).

Besides, he has an opinion that literature clearly reflects norms, attitudes to sex in the working class and middle class (1970:15). It also reflects, value in the sense of the writer's own intention, and it might be suggested that reinforce and illuminate purely sociological material (Swingewood, (1970:15).

Marx and Engels as the pioneer of Marxist Theory—in the relationship with sociology of literature study—argued, art for Marxism is the part of superstructure of the society. Art is the part of an ideology from a certain society. So understanding the literature mean to comprehend the whole social process in which the literature itself becomes the segment of society. Marxist literary criticism centered an attention in the unity of aspects of society including texts, ideology, social relationships, and the productive powers (Eagleton, 2002:13-19).

Relating to literature, Lukacs argues that all literature is written from the point of view of a class, a worldview and thus implies a perspective (swingewood 1970:54). Furthermore, he declares that the class struggle is crucial for grasping the meaning of modern art and literature (1970:53). Those opinions emphasizes that the level of social class and class struggle also become the focus and object of literature. Plekhanov has the same ideas that literature reflects the class struggle. Sapardi added that sociology of literature is the direct reflection of several elements, such as family relationship and class contradiction.

Marxist theory is actually the most dominant approach in sociology of literature because of theoretic and ideological reasons. But it is not mean that

Marxist theory is the one and only approach in sociology of literature.

Functionalism, phenomenology, dialogist, and postmodern theory are also another approach in sociology of literature. For example, some primary problems discussed in functionalism are what problems made the society became united, how the basic of social regularity been preserved, and how the individual actions contribute to society entirely both whether it is mindlessly realized or not.

In consequence all opinions above come together in the same melting point of meaning. They emphasizes that the sociology of literature is the study about the relationship between human being and the society with all his problems that completely processed in obtaining a literary work. Based on that opinion, most of critics assume that literature reflects and picture the social, political, and cultural situation with its relation to the author.

2.5.5 Problem Classifications in Sociology of Literature

Some experts have attempted to compose problem classifications on the sociology of literature study. Wellek and Warren in his *Theory of Literature* (1956:89) have classified as follows. The first, the author's sociology that is issued on social status, social ideology, and so forth related to the author as the producer. The second, sociology of the literature that is issued on the literary work itself, the problem is what implicit meaning included and what intended purpose involved in the work. The last is the sociology of literature that issued on the readers and its social influence of literature.

Another problem classifications are argued by Ian Watt in his essay titled *Literature and Society* (Djoko Damono, 1979:3-5). The problems are explained as follows:

The first is the Author's social context. This problem points up the author's social position in the society in its relation with the group of readers. It is also involved the social factors which can affect the author as an individual person besides to affect the content of the work. Some important questions of author's social context are:

- a. How the author gains the knowledge; does the author receive from patron, or directly from the society in his neighborhoods, or both of them.
- b. How far the author considers his occupation—as an author—as professional thing.
- c. What kind of society the author aimed. The relationship between the author and society in this substance is exactly important, the society aimed frequently definite the form and the content of a particular literature.

The Following problem is the literature as the reflection (mirror) of the society—how far the literary works are reflecting the factual situation of society. But in this case, the term of “mirror” has a vague meaning. Hence, many distorted and misinterpreted. This problem has pay attention along these lines:

- a. The literature may not constantly reflect the society appropriate with the author's age, because many of society's character has displayed in the

literature was no longer appropriated with the author's period of time, once the works had written.

- b. The typical character of the author correspondingly influences in selecting and showing the social facts in the work.
- c. The literature's genre is commonly reflecting simply one part of social group's attitude, not all-inclusive social attitude of society.
- d. The literature that totally attempts to picture an accurate situation of specific society is can not to believe as a social mirror entirely. Likewise, in the contrary, literature that completely is not intended to denote a factual society can be used as a reference to comprehend the society's condition.

The final classification of problem is the social function of the literature.

The social function of literature looks into how far the literature's value in correlating to the social value and how far the literature's value influenced by the social value. There are three points of problems that must be underlined:

- a. Romantic's extreme outlook, for example considers the literature as holy as the priest or prophet's words. Thereby, the literature regards as reorganization, demolition, and even as guidance.
- b. Another point of view considers literature as merely an entertainment and recreation.
- c. The last problem is a kind of compromise, the literature has to teach, giving a new knowledge simultaneously comforted and entertained.

2.6 The Theory of Hegemony in Sociology of Literature Study

Marxist approaches to literature occupy a wide field. Marxism is a theory of economics, history, society and revolution before it has much to do with literary theory. Marxist literary theorist does not constitute a school like the Moscow and Petersburg exponents of formalism, the Prague structuralist or the *Tel Quel* theorist in Paris. Marxism is a living body of thought and a set of real political practices. It is both influenced by transformation of the world and aims to intervene to change the world. During this century there have been many developments, rifts and reassessments in Marxism, and these have reproduced themselves to an extent in work on literature produced by Marxist. Finally, Marxist thinking, however rigorous in it self, tends to have a hybrid character (Forgacs, 1986:166). Marxism has taken shape by examining and sharpening itself not only on the real world and not only on its own texts but also against non Marxist thinking.

Despite their diversity, all Marxist theories of literature have simple premise in common: that literature can only be properly understood within a larger framework of social reality. Marxist hold that any theory which treats literature in isolation—for an instance as pure structure, or as a product of a writer's individual mental processes—and keeps in its isolation , divorcing it from society and history, will be deficient in its ability to explain what literature really is.

Hegemony theory as a part of Marxist literary criticism in sociology of literature study is not recognizing only the literary existence as an autonomic social institution, but it has also the ability of formative effect to the society. This

theory is found in Gramsci's cultural/ideological theory which later applied in literary criticism; the sociology of literature study.

The word of *hegemony* essentially has used by Plechanov, Lenin, Axelrod and Lukacs to show the political proletariat leadership especially when they cooperate with the farm worker. The word *hegemony* itself is derived from the ancient Greeks *hēgemonia* that's used to refer into the stronger position owned by Athena—and then Sparta, after conquering Athena—among of the ancient cities in Greeks (Magniz-Suseno, 2003:188).

Literally, hegemony means “leadership”. The term of hegemony is more frequently used by the political commentator to revere the meaning of domination but for Gramsci, hegemony means complicated matters. Through the concept of hegemony, Gramsci used to examine the political forms, cultural, and a certain ideology in the society and then a fundamental class could developed its leadership as a different domination forms from the coercive one. Hegemony introduces a dimension of moral and intellectual leadership which definitely not existed in other analytical forms of orthodox Marxist (Faruk, 1994:63).

Hegemony theory indicated various ways that inside the leadership itself the hegemony has been historically developed.

Gramsci conducted the examination in some ways. Gramsci introduces a different scopes and analytical forms—in the Marxism framework—that only schematically and roughly formulated in the past. For example, Gramsci examines the series of functions and effects in a certain social stratum called as “the functionarist of hegemony” (the kinds of intellectual in a society) and also some

kinds of site of hegemony such as educations, popular and high culture, commonsense etc. The orthodox Marxist emphasizes on the oppressive role of the nation and class of the society, while Gramsci set up the dimension of “lower-class” to develop “the willingness/freewill” in the forms of the domination of the production that is extremely complicated (Faruk, 1994:63).

Through this extra dimension of hegemony, Gramsci could reformulate the intact question about the relationship between the class and culture, and then, by this way, the large field of culture becomes a strategic field in developing the types of agreement in society and also through this dimension it set up some ways to negotiate the form of ideology and culture between both dominant and subordinate class.

Gramsci made three different challenges in conducting the concept of hegemony in its varied context (Faruk, 1994:64). The first challenge is toward the idealistic-liberal tradition which comprehends the problems of culture as an apolitical substance. The second challenge is toward his Marxist colleagues who distort and reduce the culture nothing other than as a reflection of the economic based of society as Gramsci called “economism” or “vulgar materialism”. The last challenge is to his own era in order to transform the hegemony of a nation become a new democratic “moral and intellectual leadership”.

For Gramsci, there is an important and complex relation between the culture and politic rather than just a simple and mechanic relation (Faruk, 1994:64).. The culture must be separated into some kinds of form include “high” or “lower” culture, elite or popular, philosophy or *commonsense* and analyzed in its effective

boundary of unite complex leadership forms. Gramsci refuses the orthodox and rough Marxist conception about the class domination and then introduce a greater concept of “harshness and agreement”. Hegemony theory is related to a complex and comprehensive ways of cultural practice, political, and ideology, work together to make into a relative unite society—even this will never become a complete unity. Gramsci establishes a relation which never thought before. He discusses about the *commonsense* that considered as a spontaneous and plain things, interrogate the range of cultural formations between “the high” until “the lowest” culture, and clarify the historical and political sites from its interaction and formation.

There are some points in gramsci’s theoretical framework include the culture, hegemony, ideology, commonsense, folklore, the intellectuals and the nation:

1. Culture

Hegemony goes beyond culture, in its insistence on relating the whole social process to specific distributions of power and influence. The concept of hegemony goes beyond ideology. What is decisive is not only the conscious system of ideas and beliefs, but the whole lived social process as practically organized by specific and dominant values. Ideology in its normal senses, is a relatively formal and articulated system of meanings, values, and beliefs, of a kind that can be abstracted as a *worldview* or *class outlook*.

Culture in the border of hegemony theory is a part of material power that has a practical effect to the society. Gramsci refuses the concept of culture as an “encyclopedic knowledge” and considers the human merely as an institution contained by an empiric data and raw facts that has no relation each other (Faruk, 1994:65). In this case, the culture functions as a rigid instrument that unable to an adaptation. Person who believes and regards as himself as a superior from other people that is because they obtain this kind understanding from such “encyclopedic knowledge” in their mind. The more exact concept of culture for Gramsci is that a culture as an organization and someone’s inner discipline, as a higher self-consciousness achievement that produced by someone private historical values, functions in their social life, also someone’s right and obligation. The most important is that the human existence is a conscious thought, a product from a certain history, not spontaneously separated from someone’s consciousness (Faruk, 1994:66).

This kind of culture is not instantly appeared but happens through several actions and stages (Faruk, 1994:66). First of all, the society has to gain a consciousness of private inner values to win they rights from the ruling class of status-quo in an earlier ages of history. And then, the consciousness processes as a reflection from several ideas of people before finally increases as a collective idea of the class. So it means that every revolution must begun by an intent criticism and distribution of ideas. In other word, social revolution is always started by revolution of culture by means of ideas.

2. Ideology

The concept of hegemony occupies a higher place and more complex than the ideology. Hegemony contains an ideology, but not in the reverse. A repressive aspect is clearly existed in hegemony. Briefly, the ideology means a system of thought and in a larger term, an ideology also points out a certain worldview and paradigm. The word of ideology has its origin from the ancient Greek's *idea* and *logos*. In contemporary theory, ideology is used in many field of science with varied definition. Commonly, the definitions cover knowledge of goals, a way of thinking and any paradigm or school correlates with a certain group such as communism. According to Jorge Larrain in Kutha Ratna (2005:180), the term of ideology initially used by Antoine Destutt de Tracy in the end of eighteenth century and then commonly wide spread in nineteenth century.

Just at the moment, ideology is the most essential thought of Marx in its relation with the culture. Marx argues the human life is not determined by the individual consciousness but through the social-collective consciousness. A subject individual doesn't precede the social condition, but every subject individual only function as an agent in its social system (Kutha Ratna, 2005:182). Further, this concept points out to the ruling class idea, class becomes material power simultaneously as an intellectual power. The dominant idea is created in the name of the ruling class purposes. This concept also head for the Marx's well-known dichotomy called ideological superstructure and material infrastructure (Kutha Ratna, 2005:182). In the Gramscian analysis, the ideology has comprehended as an idea in supporting the power of a certain social class. Bennet

in Kutha Ratna (2005:183) compares the concept of culture according to Gramsci and Foucault. Foucault's focus of culture is the government whereas the center of culture for Gramsci is the ideology. Power for Foucault has no origin and doesn't have a character of single but for Gramsci, the power (hegemony) flowing down into the struggling of oppressed class to against the single power.

Consequently, ideology holds an important position in this concept since it takes a complicated process inside. The ideas and opinions not automatically established from the individual, but it has a center of formation, irradiation, dissemination, and persuasion. When the ability of an idea or opinion powered the whole society as the highest achievement, it was that Gramsci mentioned as hegemony (Faruk, 1994:62). As illustrated by Faruk, the French revolution as a physical revolution couldn't be happened without the ideological revolution in advance through the wide-spread of *renaissance* philosophy.

3. Hegemony

The concept of *hegemony* is genuinely developed by Italian philosopher, Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937). The concepts of hegemony developed based on Gramsci's deconstruction from the orthodox Marxist. In this concept, Gramsci consider that the world of idea, culture, and superstructure are the material power itself where the ideology functions to organize the society (Faruk, 1994:62). The relationship between *ideas* and *material* not just "walking in the same line" to the same aim, but it has a character of dependence each other and interactive. The *material power* is the substance, and the *ideology* is the form. The *material power*

couldn't be understood historically without any *form* and the ideologies merely become individual superstition without the material power.

As common characters of Marxist theory, Gramsci's hegemony involved the ideas of radical social revolution. But Gramsci has another some different opinion from orthodox Marxist. Gramsci rejected the concepts that uphold absolute truth. Orthodox Marxist regards as that the society rising from primitive, feudalism, capitalism, laborer revolution, and socialism. But according to Gramsci, in its connection to Mussolini regime, capitalism and all kind form of oppressions not automatically obtained social revolution. In the contrary, *deproletarization* would occur; working class precisely would "voluntarily" accepted oppression, suffering, even support the existence of Mussolini's regime (Kutha Ratna, 2005:185).

In *Marxism and Literature*, Raymond William (1985:108) stated that Gramsci made a distinction between *rule* (*dominio*) and *hegemony*. Rule is expressed in directly political forms and in time of crisis by direct or effective coercion. Hegemony is a concept which at once includes and goes beyond two powerful earlier concepts: that of *culture as a whole social process*, in which men define and shape their whole lives; and that of *ideology*. In any of its Marxist senses, a system of meanings and values is the expression or protection of a particular class interest.

Hegemony not nothing but physical form, it could be a discourse, with a similar effect of power. The hegemony of discourse is exactly considering more dominant because the whole form of physic could be changed into a discourse.

Hegemony by a discourse extremely more fatal since it could be controlled from any places, from a long distance, not directly without any direct intervention.

According to hegemony theory, the dominant class controlling the dominated oppressed class with cruelty and persuasion. Hegemony is not a domination using an authority, but it consists from the agreement using an approach in political leadership and ideology, hegemony could be achieved from the combination of force and willingness (Kutha Ratna, 2005:188).

4. Language, *Commonsense* and Folklore

Gramsci criticizes his others Marxist colleagues who are denying the conscious dimension. Gramsci argues that actually the folklore and others similar opinions also become a material power. In this case, the opinions spread out in society and influence somebody's worldview. According to Gramsci (Kutha Ratna, as in Bennet 2005:188), there are three ways in forming an argument: language, *commonsense*, and folklore. Language was a principal instrument in distributing a certain concept. More language could be commanded, so it will be easier in distributing an ideology. And also, someone's education degree and knowledge could determine how to speak visibly so they able to transfer an idea very well and could be understood by the entire classes especially the proletariat. A person who speaks a dialect and comprehend a standard language incompletely will have a limited intention, provincial and anachronistic, in its relation with the mainstream thought in the world history. His knowledge and interests are becoming partial (Faruk, 1994:71).

The Second is the *commonsense*. *Commonsense* is the most pervasive conception of world even not systematic. It is based on the popular experience but not represent a whole world conception as the philosophy. Furthermore the *commonsense* has a character of collective. Gramsci argues that every social stratum has its particular *commonsense* that settles from every philosophical ideas of mankind. *Commonsense* is a document from its historical effectiveness. *Commonsense* itself is not something stagnant and can not be expanded but always transformed, enriching with scientific ideas and philosophical opinion in the human's life (Faruk, 1994:71).

Commonsense stands between the folklore and philosophy and in the future transformed become "a higher or developed folklore" as a stronger stage of popular knowledge in a certain time and place. Philosophy has a typical of individual thought elaboration whereas *commonsense* typically spread out and uncoordinated that appear from the form of collective thought in a definite popular environment and period. In the other hand, philosophy also has a tendency to turn out to be a *commonsense* in a limited environment such as in a limited intellectual group (Faruk, 1994:72) but it could only possibly happen in frequent cultural contacts.

Gramsci is not simply explaining his order of thought but simultaneously face it, criticize and attempt to transform it to develop a new hegemony for the subordinated class. As the common Marxist thinker, a philosophy can not represent only in a polemic and a critical argument but in an implementation. First

of all, the philosophy should become a criticism to someone's *commonsense*.

With the *commonsense*, people have to show that every person are philosopher.

A *commonsense* is not seen in a border of negative understanding. Common sense and pop culture became an important instrument in the argument of ideology. Common sense is a place where the ideology developed or opposite.

The last one, folklore is also has an influence in forming the argument. Folklore that commonly consists of system of belief, opinion, and superstition also play a role in hegemony to "tie up" the society without harshness.

5. The Intellectuals.

A group of intellectual in society has important role in hegemony theory. In order to achieve the hegemony, the ideology must be spread out. According to Gramsci, the distribution of ideology is not automatically happened but through a certain social institutions that become the center of distribution. There are some functionaries inside those institutions that hold important role in distributing the ideas. The functionaries are the intellectuals. Those intellectuals are not merely understood in a peculiar comprehension but as a whole social stratum that is running an organizational function also in wide understanding—whether in the field of productions, culture, or in politics (Faruk, 1994:75).

Based on Gramsci, every social class is created its own intellectual stratum. Gramsci separated those intellectual groups into two categories, *traditional intellectual* and *organic intellectual*. *Traditional intellectual* is any intellectual that tends to isolate her or himself from the common society and forming his own

group floating upon common society since of her/his peculiarity of intellectual activity. While *organic intellectual* is an intellectual awareness, that somebody is organically connected with the society, and “not separated from the society” (Franz Magniz-Suseno, as in Gramsci, 2003:195). Organic intellectual expresses objective tendencies in society; they are in the side of the class worker as Karl Marx did; they have the feeling of empathy with the common society; they are able to reveal what the working class feel unquestionably, either by means of simple word of philosophical languages or within literature as the vehicle.

6. The Nation

Gramsci divides two different areas of the nation: the world of civil society and political society (Faruk, 1994:77). The first is precisely significant in the concept of hegemony since included as “civil agreement” and freewill, while the second one is a world full of deception, harshness, forcefulness and interventions. Yet those both of worlds have to be seen in a particular definition of a nation, a nation for Gramsci is not only covered the governmental instruments but also the civil society and the hegemony apparatus. A nation is a complex whole-theoretical and praxis activities. The authority is not only justifying and defending his domination of power but also attempt to win an “active agreement” in the commanded society.

The broadening concept of the nation for Gramsci is a result of the crucial aspect of culture in hegemony theory. Subsequently Gramsci also clarifies about the “ethical” nation or “cultural” nation. A nation will be considered as “ethical”

as far as it is rolling to increase the moral and cultural values in society. The positive function of education of school and the “authority” as a repressive-negative function are incorporated as the essential activities of the nation in this particular definition. Finally, a nation will be regarded as an “educator” as long as it has the tendency of creating a new level of culture. And it is not spontaneously happened but through systematic and organized activities with all its political associations included.

Hegemony theory is deemed as an important theory in sociology of literature study. There are some indicators determine the significant of hegemony theory in Sociology of Literature study (Kutha Ratna, 2005:179).

1. Based on the relevance of social structure to the individual condition and any theories orientate to the Marxism that viewing the art and literature are nothing other than an imitation of real life, but a literature is a specific representation that socially reconstructed through the story in the novel.
2. Based on the conceptual reconstruction to the society’s system of ideology, feminism theory, postcolonial and oriental argue that there are some intentional efforts occurs in the society during the old period until recent time to form the ruling class autonomy, and dominant class with the result in the degradation of the minor class.
3. Based on the relevance of interrelation and multidiscipline that is considering the object study as not merely separated-subject but as an intact trans-individual subject (sociology and literature).

4. Hegemony theory in sociology of literature study offers a different outlook of theory besides the post-structuralism theories such as reception, inter-text and deconstruction theories including feminism and postcolonial.

Besides Lucien Goldman's genetic structuralism, the theories of hegemony hold an important position in sociology of literature study. In literary study the theory of hegemony is a research that treats about the correlation of society and literature, relation between the author and society. How the social power developed inside the text in literature. Literature not just behaves as a passive mirror—such as in *mimetic* theory—but literature is the cultural phenomenon itself with its own mechanism and autonomy. Literature is the energy where the whole cultural features are manifested (Kutha Ratna, 2005:191). In the matter of this, literature is called “a world inside the words”. In this model of analysis the researcher still exploits the words, but in the way of permanently found its relationship with the cultural world been represented. Goldman uttered this relation in his Genetic structuralism as homology and symmetry.

2.7 Soviet Union under Stalin's Regime

The death of Lenin in January 1924 triggered a struggle over political power and policy within the Central Committee and the Politburo (the top leadership body of the Communist Party). Stalin, Lenin's deputy for organizational matters, was victorious in the power struggle, demoting rivals like Trotsky, Grigory Zinovyev (the head of the Comintern), and Nikolay Bukharin to secondary positions. Whereas Lenin had ruled mostly from his post as head of government,

Stalin, as the party's general secretary, relied for political and administrative support mostly on the growing bureaucracy of the party itself, becoming chairman of the Soviet government only during World War II (Encarta references library 2005). Actually when Stalin became the party's general secretary in April 1922 he was not thought to be the substitute of Lenin's leadership (A. Riff, 1995:146). Trotsky as Lenin's assistance and the second leader in Politburo was expected to keep on Lenin's struggle.

Stalin adopted "socialism in one country" as the basis for his regime. Contradicting to the earlier Marxist doctrine, Stalin maintained that the complete victory of socialism within the Soviet Union was not depending upon the success of other proletarian revolutions in the West. At the end of the 1920s Stalin revoked the New Economic Policy and inaugurated the first of a series of Five-Year Plans, committing the regime to a program of breakneck industrial development and forced collectivization of agriculture. The result was a radical transformation of Soviet society (*Wikipedia*, the free encyclopedia.htm). The government built hundreds of factories to produce machine tools, automobiles, agricultural machinery, motors, aircraft, generators, chemicals, iron and steel, coal, oil, and armaments. Construction—in which forced labor played an ever-increasing role—was begun on a vast network of new railroads and canals (A. Riff, 1995:146). The police chased small traders out of urban marketplaces. In the countryside, the policy of collectivization terminated private ownership of land and farm machinery and forced the Soviet Union's vast peasantry into large collective farms under state and party control. State planners, subordinated to

party leadership, and then assigned binding production quotas, targets for raw materials and labor utilization, and other directives to all economic units (Timothy j.Colton, Encarta references library 2005).

Lenin's personal modesty and unbridled use of force had tempered the dictatorial ways of the Communist regime until 1924. Stalin soon revealed himself to be immodest, ruthless, and the absolute truth of the party. Beginning with his fiftieth birthday in 1929, he was celebrated by an extravagant cult of personality. Nearly all his adversaries of the 1920s met a violent end during the Great Purge of the late 1930s. A handful were convicted in public show trials and shot; many more were seized by the Soviet political police, the NKVD (the Russian acronym for People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs), and put to death without trial or dispatched to labor camps in Siberia or other remote areas. Trotsky was assassinated in 1940 while in exile in Mexico. Stalin's campaign of terror was not confined to the Soviet elite; it penetrated all corners of society. Untold numbers of innocent peasants, workers, party members, government officials, army officers—essentially anyone alleged to have reservations about his policies—immediate death by shooting or suffered slow death in labor camps. By some estimates, 10 million or more people were arrested for political offenses during the Stalin period. Roughly 1 million were executed. Several million at a time populated the Gulag—the far-flung network of concentration camps, forced labor camps, and exile sites. Millions of informers passed on tips about their fellow citizens to the police. The Stalinist regime also exerted totalitarian controls over artists, writers, musicians, scientists, and other intellectuals, cutting all dissent and forcing

Stalin's ideology. Thousands of intellectuals killed in the terror wave of the 1930s, and smaller numbers died in persecutions after World War II (Andy Blunden 1993, Google.com).

Stalin's foreign policy centered on securing the borders of the Soviet state and, when there is an opportunity presented, expanding the state's influence. He converted the Comintern into a strict tool of Soviet policy. Like the domestic bureaucracy, it was mercilessly purged in the 1930s to anyone not fully obedient to Stalin's will. One of the Comintern's most difficult assignments was to propagandize the distortions and turns of the Soviet party line. For most of the 1920s' policy, is that the Comintern pressured foreign communists to go it alone politically. Then, in the mid-1930s, the party is encouraged "popular front" alliances with social democrats and liberals against right-wing and fascistic parties. In 1939, upon conclusion of an alliance with Nazi Germany (the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact), this policy was reversed—only to be returned in 1941 when the Nazis' invasion brought the Soviet Union into World War II as an ally of the Western powers. In 1943 Stalin ordered the Comintern disbanded, concerned that it would inhibit wartime collaboration with the Allies. In 1947 Stalin instituted the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau), consisting only of the ruling communist parties of Eastern Europe and the French and Italian parties (International: The Communist Information Bureau). Of limited payoff to Soviet policy, it was terminated in 1956 (Timothy J. Colton, Encarta References Library 2005).

An important tendency within Soviet communism from the middle 1930s onward was glorification of certain aspects of Russia's national heritage. The terrible losses suffered during World War II—estimated to be up to 30 million people—impressed upon Stalin the imperative regime's sources of authority. For the Russian majority of the population, Russian nationalism was the most obvious such source. Stalin reinstated the reputations of past military heroes and of state-building tsars such as Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great. He commanded the crusade against the Russian Orthodox Church, which had endured government persecution since 1917, and enlisted it in the war effort. And, after the down of the Nazi forces, his government spent some great reconstruction of palaces, churches, and other landmarks robbed during the occupation (Encarta References Library 2005).

2.8 Biography of George Orwell

George Orwell is a pen-name of Eric Arthur Blair (1903-1950), British writer, whose brilliant reporting and political conscience fashioned an impassioned picture of his life and times. Orwell was born in Motihari, India, and was educated in England at Eton College. He served with the Indian Imperial Police in Burma (now known as Myanmar) from 1922 to 1927, when he returned to England. In poor health, and striving to become a writer, he lived for several years in poverty, first in Paris and then in London. Out of this experience came his first book, *Down and Out in Paris and London* (1933), an account of the sordid conditions of the homeless poor. *Burmese Days* (1934), an indictment of

imperialism, is also largely autobiographical. In 1936 Orwell joined the Republican forces in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). The description of his experiences, in *Homage to Catalonia* (1938), forms one of the most moving accounts of this war ever written. Also belonging to this period is *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1937), a harrowing report on the conditions of unemployed coal miners in the north of England (Encarta References Library 2005).

When Orwell resigned from his position in Burma, he resolved to speak out against the domination of any person over another. His condemnation of totalitarian society is expressed in the brilliantly witty allegorical fable *Animal Farm* (1945) and in the satirical novel *Nineteen Eighty-four* (1949). The latter presents a terrifying picture of life under the constant surveillance of “Big Brother”.

Among all Orwell's other writings are basically autobiographical such as *Keep the Aspidistra Flying* (1936), *Shooting an Elephant and Other Essays* (1950), considered models of expository prose; and *Such, Such Were the Joys* (1953), recalling the hardships of his school days. *The Collected Essays, Journalism, and Letters of George Orwell* was published in four volumes in 1968 (*Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.htm*).

2.9 Previous studies

As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the function of the literary criticism is to preserve and save the humanity experience—which poured in the form of literature—and to tie together into a meaningful structure. The virtue of

sociology of literature is that, further, namely the tendency to explore a deeper understanding as regards to literature. Literary criticism with sociology as co-instrument in conducting the research points out to the element of background of the author and the work.

Research almost has constantly connected, inspired, and have a mutual shared-opinion with another research, knowledge and any related literature. Almost all of researches in the world especially in academic neighborhood today are not the first research had been conduct, also with no exception including literary research. The latest research continuously attempts to add, renovate, enrich, and complete the previous researches. Likewise, many former studies encourage the writer in order to make a better involvement especially regarding in sociology of literature study through their earlier contributions in the same fields; the researcher learns and accomplishes all at once how to apply this approach and how to operate the research.

Some similar paradigms of study also used by another researchers which closely related to this study such as CW.Watson “the sociology of Indonesian novels 1920-1955” (1972) University of Hull (Master of Art). In this case, Watson investigated the Indonesian novels as a macro. He observed the Indonesian novels generally since 1920 until 1955 from the side of worldview consisted in the novel and the socio-cultural background that develops the worldview itself. Explicitly, Watson used Goldman’s genetic structuralism that is an extension theory from Georg Lukacs as the based of the study. He limits the object of the study to the novels which issued since 1920s especially published by Balai Pustaka.

Watson argued that the genesis of Indonesian novel was not immediately appeared but it has a long and complicated history. Indonesian novel history was begun since the increasing activities and communication between Java and Sumatra in the middle of nineteenth century, principally after the emerged of native Indonesian press and most of them influenced by traditional Chinese literature—many material of stories in Malayan press were adapted from Chinese translation.

In other side, specifically Watson observed of the worldview consisted in the novel. In this case Watson should identify the origin of the author's class and the author's position in the society in a class structure wholly—according to Goldman and Racine's theory. But in the reality Watson didn't do that. Watson identified only the changes in values system in the society. Other Watson's departure, he changes from the expected way by observing the hegemony between Balai Pustaka's literature and the other (non-Balai Pustaka).

Yushe Marleyna also conducted a similar theme about sociology of literature. The research is entitled *The Relationship between the Societies in John Steinbeck's the Pearl and the Real Society of that Age* (1994) Gajayana University Malang. Marleyna analyzes the social conflict among the classes found in the John Steinbeck's *The Pearl* and then compares to the reality of that age. She used Marxist theory in the point of view literature as the reflection of society (mimetic theory) to answer the problem of the study. But in this research Marleyna didn't give a clear orientation about "the real society of that age". She didn't points

directly about the real society she compared so the conclusion of the research is too general.

Still many other researchers related to these fields especially in the sociological study of Indonesian literature. Some competent figures are Subagyo Sastrowardoyo, Umar Kayam, Goenawan Mohammad, Sapardi Djoko Damno et cetera. They enthusiastically discussed and debated in the area of literary criticism principally sociology of literature using various perspectives and theories intended to dig our self-consciousness and to guide our understanding about the meaning and the values of life.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1 Governmental Hegemony in Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*

3.1.1 Persuasive Hegemony

Hegemony is a dialectic relationship on a power based on consensus (*egemonia*) and forcefulness (*dominio*) (Magniz-Suseno, 2003:189). In *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Hegemony in the form of consensus is frequently broadened from a very implicit movement, propaganda, and any tools in the purpose of developing a coerce influence in an ideological understanding according to the ruling class of government—in this case the term of government is equal to or denote to the party and Big Brother, since Oceania (as a nation in *Nineteen-Eighty Four*) just adopted a single ruler. The ideological propaganda as the party's mission could be specifically explored in the various kind of demonstrations, pamphlets, songs, languages and slogans.

These ranges of party's medium of influence are clearly stated in the novel on page 23.

...On the contrary, they adored the Party and everything connected with it. The songs, the processions, the banners, the hiking, the drilling with dummy rifles, the yelling of slogans, the worship of Big Brother — it was all a sort of glorious game to them... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 23)

According to the data above, persuasive hegemony becomes one of the equipments in holding and maintaining the power of politics in Big Brother regime. Processions, pamphlets, banners, songs and slogans are the various ways

to implant intensely somebody's mind and consciousness as behavior pattern, thought and belief.

The effectiveness of persuasive hegemony that is ruled by Big Brother regime is clearly understood since it has an indirect influence to the common society of Oceania. Through persuasive hegemony, view, thought and ideology can be sent by means of a discourse. The discourse in this kind of hegemony can be in the form of songs, the processions, the banners, pamphlets, the yelling of slogans and adoration. With this kind of strategy, persuasive hegemony becomes more efficient rather than any revolutionary and direct force even though it is needed a gradual stage not an instant outcome.

In more detail explanation, language turns out to be the most fundamental aspect in breeding the doctrine in hegemony. As the ideas of language in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the standardization of language had a tight relationship with and pushes into totalitarianism. The authorized government made a certain category to judge the official or unofficial language, the good or bad one in the purpose of retaining political position. Above those all, the most dangerous thing about the standardization of language is that the language is made as simple as possible, to decrease and even by abolish some entries—which is considered harmful for the government—to destroy the critical ability of society toward the government. Standardization of language in fact hampered its own growth.

In empiric life, the control of language in society in many countries in the world appears as a political conflict that also comes to be the part and determine the development and the down of the country. For example the first grammar and

dictionary arranged in the world, *Gramática sobre la lengua castellana* (Grammar of the Castilian Language) by Antonio de Nebrija in 1492 was a deliberate effort in oppressing other languages existed in Spain outside the ruling command of Castalia. Nebrija believed that a common language was essential to the strength of an empire—a belief that fortified the monarchs' plans.

Even in America, the country which is considered as the most democratic government still frequently uses a “constructed language” to mold a stigma and a common consciousness of thought specifically in its relation with America's international policy.

Such was the case, *Newspeak* in *Nineteen eighty-four* draws an elucidation about the power of language in restraining common society's perception. *Newspeak* is designed to conceal the basic truth. *Newspeak* as the official language of Oceania is closely based on English but has an extremely reduced and simplified vocabulary and Grammar. On the contrary, the *Oldspeak*, a term that given to the current language (English language in the novel) which still existed until the ruling regime of Big Brother in the novel was intended to have been completely eclipsed by *Newspeak* before 2050.

The researcher found some entries of *Newspeak* in the novel as follows:

1. *Minipax* (translated as the Ministry of Peace) as found in the text:

...The Ministry of Truth, which concerned itself with news, entertainment, education, and the fine arts. The Ministry of Peace, which concerned itself with war. The Ministry of Love, which maintained law and order. And the Ministry of Plenty, which was responsible for economic affairs. Their names, in *Newspeak*: Minitrue, Minipax, Miniluv, and Miniplenty. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 07)

Minipax means the ministry which concerns with conducting Oceania's perpetual war. The Ministry of Peace governs in the Oceanic province of Airstrip One. It serves as the militant wing of Oceania's government, and is in charge of the armed forces, mostly the navy and army. The Ministry of Peace may be the most vital organ of Oceania, seeing as the nation is constantly at war with either Eurasia or Eastasia and requires just the right force but not to win the war and just keep it in a state of closeness.

As explained in Goldstein's Book, the Ministry of Peace revolves around the principle of perpetual war. If the citizens of Oceania have a well-defined enemy, Eastasia or Eurasia, then they know who they hate, and constant homeland propaganda helps to convince them to vent all their unconscious rage for their own country against the opposing one. Since that means the balance of the country rests in the war, the Ministry of Peace is in charge of fighting the war, but making sure the war to never end, in case the war should become one-sided. Oceanic *telescreen* usually broadcast news reports about how Oceania is continuously winning every battle it fights, though these reports have little to no credibility and just a Party's fairy tales. As with all the other *Nineteen Eighty-Four* ministries, the Ministry of Peace is named the exact opposite of what it does, since the Ministry of Peace is in charge of maintaining a state of war.

2. *Miniplenty* (translated as The Ministry of Plenty) as found in the text:

But actually, he thought as he re-adjusted the Ministry of Plenty's figures, it was not even forgery. It was merely the substitution of one piece of nonsense for another. Most of the material that you were dealing with had no connexion with anything in the real world, not even the kind of connexion that is contained in a direct lie. Statistics were just as much a fantasy in their original version as in their rectified version. A great deal of the time you

were expected to make them up out of your head... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 36)

Miniplenty is a ministry that responsible for controlling food and goods and the economy of Oceania commonly. It oversees public access to food, supplies, and goods. It is also in charge of rationing these goods. As told in Goldstein's book, the economy of Oceania is very important, and it's necessary to have the public continually create useless and synthetic supplies or weapons for use in the war, while they have no access to the means of production. This is the central theme of Oceania's idea that a poor, weak populace is easier to rule over than a wealthy, powerful populace.

3. *Minitrue* (translated as Ministry of truth) found in the text:

The Ministry of Truth — Minitrue, in Newspeak— was startlingly different from any other object in sight. It was an enormous pyramidal structure of glittering white concrete, soaring up, terrace after terrace, 300 metres into the air. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 07)

Minitrue arranges the propaganda arm of Oceania's regime. *Minitrue* controls any information include mass media, political literature, the Party organization, and the *telescreens*. Winston Smith as the central character in the story works for sub department in *Minitrue*, "rectifying" historical records and newspaper articles to make them conform to Big Brother's most recent pronouncements, thus making everything that the Party says true.

4. *Miniluv* (translated as Ministry of Love) found in the text:

The Ministry of Love was the really frightening one. There were no windows in it at all. Winston had never been inside the Ministry of Love, nor within half a kilometre of it. It was a place impossible to enter except on official business, and then only by penetrating through a maze of barbed-wire entanglements, steel doors, and hidden machine-gun nests. Even the

streets leading up to its outer barriers were roamed by gorilla-faced guards in black uniforms, armed with jointed truncheons. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 07)

Miniluv is a department responsible for the identification, monitoring, arrest, and tortures the rebels. Based on Winston's experience in the novel when at the hands of O'Brien, the basic procedure is to pair the subject with his or her worst fear for an extended period, eventually breaking down the person's mental faculties and ending with a sincere embrace of the Party by the brainwashed subject. The Ministry of Love differs from the other ministry buildings in that it has no windows in it at all; the most fearful building.

5. *Speak write*

...Apart from very short notes, it was usual to dictate everything into the speak-write which was of course impossible for his present purpose... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 09)

Speak write is an instrument used by Party members "to write down" information by speaking into an apparatus as a faster alternative to an "ink pencil". For example, *speak write* is used in the Ministry of Truth by the protagonist Winston Smith.

6. *Doublethink*

...His mind hovered for a moment round the doubtful date on the page, and then fetched up with a bump against the Newspeak word doublethink. For the first time the magnitude of what he had undertaken came home to him. How could you communicate with the future? It was of its nature impossible. Either the future would resemble the present, in which case it would not listen to him: or it would be different from it, and his predicament would be meaningless. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 10)

Doublethink is an integral concept in the novel, and it is the act of holding two contradictory beliefs simultaneously, believing both belief and being unaware of their incompatibility.

As Orwell explains in the book, the Party could not protect its iron grip on power without degrading its people and exposing them to constant propaganda. Yet, knowledge of this brutality and deception, even within the Party itself, could lead to disgusted collapse of the state from within. For this reason, Orwell's idealized government used a complex system of "reality control". Though the novel is most famous for its pervasive surveillance of daily life, reality control meant that the population (*all of it*, including the ruling elite) could be controlled and manipulated merely through the alteration of everyday language and thought. Newspeak was the method for controlling thought through language; doublethink was the method of controlling thought directly.

Newspeak itself incorporated doublethink, as it contained many words that create assumed associations between contradictory meanings. That is especially true of words of fundamental importance, such as 'good and evil', 'right or wrong', 'truth and falsehood', and 'justice and injustice'.

7. *Thoughtcrime*

...He had committed — would still have committed, even if he had never set pen to paper — the essential crime that contained all others in itself. Thoughtcrime, they called it. Thoughtcrime was not a thing that could be concealed for ever. You might dodge successfully for a while, even for years, but sooner or later they were bound to get you... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 19)

In the novel, the government attempts to control not only the speech and actions, but also the thoughts of its subjects, labeling unapproved thoughts with the term *thoughtcrime* or, in Newspeak, "crimethink". In the book, Winston, the main character, writes in his diary: *Thoughtcrime* does not entail death:

thoughtcrime is the death. He also makes remarks to the effect that "*Thoughtcrime* is the only crime that matters.

8. *Vapourized*

...People simply disappeared, always during the night. Your name was removed from the registers, every record of everything you had ever done was wiped out, your one-time existence was denied and then forgotten. You were abolished, annihilated: vapourized was the usual word. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 19)

Vaporized is a word that explains about people who are killed, vanished by the state or disappeared without any clear information for somebody's orthodox thinking or revolutionary act. And it is done by the secret agent of Big Brother. And usually was always at night — the arrests invariably happened at night, a sudden jerk out of sleep, in the street, in the bathroom or in any where. In the vast majority of cases there was no trial, no report of the arrest. People who are vaporized considered as unperson, vanished from his life and history.

9. *Comrade*

'Oh, comrade,' she began in a dreary, whining sort of voice, 'I thought I heard you come in. Do you think you could come across and have a look at our kitchen sink? It's got blocked up and—' (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 20)

Comrade member is a fellow member of a group, especially a fellow soldier or a fellow supporter of a Communist or Socialist party ("Mrs." was a word somewhat discountenanced by the Party — you were supposed to call everyone 'comrade' — but sometimes some people used "Mrs." instinctively.)

10. *Unperson*

...Very occasionally some person whom you had believed dead long since would make a ghostly reappearance at some public trial where he would implicate hundreds of others by his testimony before vanishing, this time for

ever. Withers, however, was already an unperson. He did not exist: he had never existed. Winston decided that it would not be enough simply to reverse the tendency of Big Brother's speech. It was better to make it deal with something totally unconnected with its original subject. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 40)

Unperson is a person who has been "vaporized"; who has been not only killed by the stated, but effectively erased from existence. Such a person would be written out of existing books, photographs, and articles so that no trace of their existence could be found in the historical record. The idea is that such a person would, according to the principles of doublethink, be forgotten completely (for it would be impossible to provide evidence of their existence), even by close friends and family members, and mentioning his/her name is *thoughtcrime*. (The concept that the person may have existed at one time, and has disappeared, cannot be expressed in Newspeak.) Compare to the Stalinist practice of erasing people from photographs after their death.

11. *Duckspeak*

'There is a word in Newspeak,' said Syme, 'I don't know whether you know it: duckspeak, to quack like a duck. It is one of those interesting words that have two contradictory meanings. Applied to an opponent, it is abuse, applied to someone you agree with, it is praise.' (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 47)

Duckspeak is a Newspeak term meaning literally to quack like a duck or to speak without thinking. Duckspeak can be either good or *ungood* (bad), depending on who is speaking, and whether what they are saying is in following with the ideals of Big Brother or not. To be speaking rubbish and lies (ungood), or to be speaking rubbish and lies for "the good of The Party" (good). *Duckspeak* is an example of doublethink concept.

12. *Facecrime*

...In any case, to wear an improper expression on your face (to look incredulous when a victory was announced, for example) was itself a punishable offence. There was even a word for it in Newspeak: *facecrime*, it was called. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 53)

Facecrime is a word that means “a crime through somebody’s face expression”. Somebody could be considered as guilty and anti-Big Brother from somebody’s face expression.

13. *Own life*

In principle a Party member had no spare time, and was never alone except in bed. It was assumed that when he was not working, eating, or sleeping he would be taking part in some kind of communal recreation: to do anything that suggested a taste for solitude, even to go for a walk by yourself, was always slightly dangerous. There was a word for it in Newspeak: *ownlife*, it was called, meaning individualism and eccentricity... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 69)

Ownlife refers to the tendency to enjoy being solitary, which is considered subversive. Winston Smith comments that even to go for a walk by oneself can be regarded as suspicious.

14. *Goodthinkful*

‘What was she like, your wife?’ said Julia.
 ‘She was — do you know the Newspeak word *goodthinkful*? Meaning naturally orthodox, incapable of thinking a bad thought?’
 ‘No, I didn’t know the word, but I know the kind of person, right enough.’ *goodthingful*. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 108)

Goodthink, is a word that signifying a set of thoughts and beliefs that is in accordance with those established by the Party (Big Brother). In the rules of Newspeak the noun stem (which also serves as a verb) can become the adjective *goodthinkful*, the adverb *goodthinkwise*, the past participle *goodthinked*, and the

gerund *goodthinking*. Additionally, one who is "*goodthinkful*" is referred to as a *goodthinker*. The opposite of *goodthink* is *crimethink*.

15. *Crimestop*

...The first and simplest stage in the discipline, which can be taught even to young children, is called, in Newspeak, *crimestop*. *Crimestop* means the faculty of stopping short, as though by instinct, at the threshold of any dangerous thought. It includes the power of not grasping analogies, of failing to perceive logical errors, of misunderstanding the simplest arguments if they are inimical to Ingsoc, and of being bored or repelled by any train of thought which is capable of leading in a heretical direction. *Crimestop*, in short, means protective stupidity. But stupidity is not enough. On the contrary, orthodoxy in the full sense demands a control over one's own mental processes as complete as that of a contortionist over his body... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 170)

Crimestop is means to clear away oneself of unwanted thoughts, specifically thoughts that interfere with the ideology of the party. This way, a person avoids committing thought crime, or rather *crimethink*, as it is called in Newspeak.

16. *Blackwhite*

...The keyword here is *blackwhite*. Like so many Newspeak words, this word has two mutually contradictory meanings. Applied to an opponent, it means the habit of impudently claiming that black is white, in contradiction of the plain facts. Applied to a Party member, it means a loyal willingness to say that black is white when Party discipline demands this. But it means also the ability to believe that black is white, and more, to know that black is white, and to forget that one has ever believed the contrary. This demands a continuous alteration of the past, made possible by the system of thought which really embraces all the rest, and which is known in Newspeak as *doublethink*. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 171)

This word has two mutually contradictory meanings. Applied to an opponent, it means the habit of impudently claiming that black is white, in contradiction of the plain facts. Applied to a Party member, it means a loyal willingness to say that black is white when Party discipline demands this. But it means also the ability to believe that black is white, and more, to know that black

is white, and to forget that one has ever believed the contrary. This demands a continuous alteration of the past, made possible by the system of thought which really embraces all the rest, and which is known in Newspeak as doublethink.

An understanding of the word *blackwhite* is important to understanding *Nineteen Eighty-Four* because it embodies several of the essential themes of the novel. It is both an example of Newspeak and doublethink. Perhaps more important however is that the word represents the active process of rewriting the past, control of the past being a vital aspect of the Party's control over the present.

The ability to blindly believe anything, regardless of its absurdity, can have different causes: respect for authority, fear, indoctrination, even critical laziness or gullibility. Orwell's *blackwhite* refers only to that caused by fear, indoctrination or repression of one's individual critical thinking ("to know black is white"), rather than caused by laziness or gullibility.

With that kind exploration about the determination of language—Newspeak—in “preserving” Big Brother regime, we can deduce that *Newspeak* as an extreme control of language is an effectively oppression to the society, specifically for its ability in controlling people critical thought and people power. *Newspeak* is an exact strategy in strengthen the power of totalitarian regime, a government that is anti-society and anti-democracy. *Newspeak* operates as a form of governmental terrorism in the purpose of “secure” the rebels in the highest aim of uphold the domination of single power of big brother together with his ideology.

As well as *Newspeak* as the major instrument in eternalizing the status-quo, another media also performed in operating the governmental system. The media could be in the manner of monitoring such as posters, *telescreen* (cameras), hidden mike, and police (Thought police). And also, the second control comes from the books and mass media in the form of “edited and programmed literature”, edited wrong prediction, edited history, edited article, edited document, and even edited photos. The last media in obtain and accomplish the political power are in the kind of procession, songs, and food products.

Those monitoring media could be found in the texts as follows:

1. *The Telescreen*

Behind Winston's back the voice from the telescreen was still babbling away about pig-iron and the overfulfilment of the Ninth Three-Year Plan. The telescreen received and transmitted simultaneously. Any sound that Winston made, above the level of a very low whisper, would be picked up by it, moreover, so long as he remained within the field of vision which the metal plaque commanded, he could be seen as well as hear... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 06)

The telescreen is a straight monitoring system to public activities and movements. *Telescreen* is a machine such as camera which usually attached in the wall or anything everywhere; in the room, office, toilet, in the highway and even hidden behind any stuff. Besides to monitor, *telescreen* received and transmitted sound and scene simultaneously. Big Brother is frequently watching from this machine to announce whatever about his program and false achievements. As described in the novel, Winston arrested together with her girlfriend Julia in Mr.Charrington's shop where they rent a grimy room. Winston and Julia do not

realize that a *telescreen* hidden behind a painting in the wall. And the thing that very surprising, Mr.Charrington is actually a member of the *Thought Police*.

2. The posters of Big Brother

...On each landing, opposite the lift-shaft, the poster with the enormous face gazed from the wall. It was one of those pictures which are so contrived that the eyes follow you about when you move. BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU, the caption beneath it ran. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 05)

The poster of Big Brother is also categorized as an efficient way to control the heretic thought and underground movement. Psychologically the posters— along with the sentence beneath it, *Big Brother is watching you*—can reduce the spirit of rebellion and simultaneously can increase the obedient to Big Brother and the party. The poster spread out throughout the Oceania, in the street, office, apartments and anywhere

3. Hidden mike

‘I didn't want to say anything in the lane,’ she went on, ‘in case there's a mike hidden there. I don't suppose there is, but there could be. There's always the chance of one of those swine recognizing your voice. We're all right here. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 98)

Hidden mike has a similar function to *telescreen* despite more simply. Mike could only transfer a voice and usually hidden. As the dialogue between Julia and Winston above that happened in the rural area of the city when they arrange a meeting for rendezvous. Julia commanded Winston not to make any sound afraid of hidden mike.

4. *Thought Police*

...In the far distance a helicopter skimmed down between the roofs, hovered for an instant like a bluebottle, and darted away again with a curving flight. It was the police patrol, snooping into people's windows. The patrols did not

matter, however. Only the Thought Police mattered. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 06)

The term of *Thought Police*, come to refer to real or perceived enforcement of ideological correctness according to the party (Big Brother), or pre-emptive policing where a person is apprehended in anticipation of the possibility that they may commit a crime. It is the job of the *Thought Police* to uncover and punish *thoughtcrime* and thought criminals. The government attempts to control not only the speech and actions, but also the thoughts of its subjects.

Thought Police is like a riddle, moving like a ghost and mysterious. The members of thought police are including children, man, woman up to old man such as Mr.Charrington. How *Thought Police* plugged in on any individual thinking is guesswork. People have to aware that everybody watches closely all the time and perhaps a *Thought Police*. And they must to live in the assumption that every sound they made is overheard, except in darkness, every movement scrutinized.

Another policy in coercing and overpowering public consciousness of Oceania is by means of editing. Editing is done to change and distort by giving inaccurate information or knowledge which is considered to be unprofitable in the hand of the Party (Big brother). Editing is also conducted as pre-emptive act to hold the power. Literature, history, theories, article, news, photos or no matter what indicating nucleus of rebellion are obligatory revised and changed based on the Party's will and ideology.

The phenomena are comprehensively found in the following texts:

1. Literature editing

...Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Byron — they'll exist only in Newspeak versions, not merely changed into something different, but actually changed into something contradictory of what they used to be. Even the literature of the Party will change. Even the slogans will change. How could you have a slogan like “freedom is slavery” when the concept of freedom has been abolished?... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 46)

As in the axiom argued, when the media are silenced literature speaks. When the media are imprisoned—through a strict regulation by the government—to exterminate the opposite criticism, literature still has its opportunity in reveal a thought even though not explicitly stated. Then literature becomes a dangerous medium to expand someone’s idea particularly “an orthodox thought”—according to the Big Brother’s ideology. That the reason, literatures are compulsory fitted with the party’s ideology, whatever the way.

2. History editing

The mutability of the past is the central tenet of Ingsoc. Past events, it is argued, have no objective existence, but survive only in written records and in human memories. The past is whatever the records and the memories agree upon. And since the Party is in full control of all records and in equally full control of the minds of its members, it follows that the past is whatever the Party chooses to make it. It also follows that though the past is alterable, it never has been altered in any specific instance. For when it has been recreated in whatever shape is needed at the moment, then this new version is the past, and no different past can ever have existed. This holds good even when, as often happens, the same event has to be altered out of recognition several times in the course of a year. At all times the Party is in possession of absolute truth, and clearly the absolute can never have been different from what it is now. It will be seen that the control of the past depends above all on the training of memory. To make sure that all written records agree with the orthodoxy of the moment is merely a mechanical act. But it is also necessary to remember that events happened in the desired manner... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 171)

The novel explained that alteration of the past is necessary for two reasons, one of which is subsidiary and precautionary. The precautionary reason is that the

Party member and the public commonly have no standard comparison in tolerates the present-day conditions (Big Brother regime), so how could the public thinking about the truth whereas they have only one choice—Big Brother’s ideology—and no referent of the past—any previous thought. The Party would completely change any history that considered unprofitable and dangerous to the Party’s existence. Public must be cut off from the past. History is the prerogative of the party.

3. Mass media editing

...For some reason they were nicknamed memory holes. When one knew that any document was due for destruction, or even when one saw a scrap of waste paper lying about, it was an automatic action to lift the flap of the nearest memory hole and drop it in, whereupon it would be whirled away on a current of warm air to the enormous furnaces which were hidden somewhere in the recesses of the building. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 34)

Winston, the main character in the novel works in the sub-department of *minitru* (ministry of truth). His job is editing several information, news, announcement, prediction that considered no more appropriate with the party’s ideology. This job has a similarity to the vaporized rebels—people who executed by the state then regard as never existed before—that the information edited will be forgotten in the way of changing the subject then destroy the preceding document so there are no more evidences. A memory hole, a machine available in Winston’s office functions to destroy the preceding “dangerous document”. When any document is due for destruction, automatically Winston will lift the flap of the nearest memory hole and drop the “dangerous document” in, whereupon it would be whirled away on a current of warm air to the enormous furnaces which are hidden somewhere in building of *Minitru*.

In order to stabilize the deep influence of party's thought, songs, processions, and food marking are become extra tools to make the successful hegemony. Songs can easily sung particularly by the proletariat—a term that indicate root class—since a song tend to have the character of entertainment. Singing, at the same time could be done with other activities. As illustrated in the novel when Winston waiting for Julia in Mr.Charrington shop:

Under the window somebody was singing. Winston peeped out, secure in the protection of the muslin curtain. The June sun was still high in the sky, and in the sun-filled court below, a monstrous woman, solid as a Norman pillar, with brawny red forearms and a sacking apron strapped about her middle, was stumping to and fro between a washtub and a clothes line, pegging out a series of square white things which Winston recognized as babies' diapers. Whenever her mouth was not corked with clothes pegs she was singing in a powerful contralto:

It was only an 'opeless fancy.
It passed like an Ipril dye,
But a look an' a word an' the dreams they stirred
They 'ave stolen my 'eart awye! (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 113)

The tune sometimes without any clear meaning for the words of these songs are composed without human intervention whatever on an instrument known as a *versificator* that becomes one of the sub-music department's jobs. Just at the moment, the song implants stupidity and senselessness of proletariat class. But on the other hand, the tune that officially flowing from the *telescreen* in the office and upper class area is always been sounds more charismatic. The lyrics contain such a spirit, conviction, and obedience to the party.

A daily regular procession as another supporting tool of persuasive hegemony is also conducted by the ruling government of Big Brother. Two minutes Hate—they named—is a daily procession for the benefit of establishing

an absorbed hatred to the Big Brother's great enemy called Emmanuel Goldstein. Goldstein is a Jewish man, a former party leader but now become the head of an underground conspiracy take over the government. Even the existence of Goldstein is still mysterious—in the novel, the reader never truly finds out whether the Brotherhood exists or not, but the implication is that Goldstein is either entirely fictitious or was eliminated long ago—but a hatred will always made somebody blind.

The matter about Two Minutes Hate is explained in the paragraph:

The next moment a hideous, grinding speech, as of some monstrous machine running without oil, burst from the big telescreen at the end of the room. It was a noise that set one's teeth on edge and bristled the hair at the back of one's neck. The Hate had started. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 13)

Two Minutes Hate usually performed in every sub department. Before the program, everyone drags the chairs out of the cubicles where somebody is working and grouping them in the centre of the hall across the big *telescreen*. The programs of Two Minutes Hate are varied from day to day, but there was none in which Goldstein is not the principal figure. Goldstein is the principal rebel, the earliest defiler of the party's purity. Goldstein's doctrine is heresy. The point of Two Minutes Hate is to bear every viewer grudge against Goldstein. And nobody could stay away from that feeling, one feeling of disgust.

To put a noble impression to the ideology of the party with all its trivialities, the party named some consumption products using the word "victory":

1. Victory gin

...took down from the shelf a bottle of colourless liquid with a plain white label marked VICTORY GIN. It gave off a sickly, oily smell, as of Chinese rice-spirit. Winston poured out nearly a teacupful, nerved himself for a

shock, and gulped it down like a dose of medicine... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 08)

Victory gin is a colorless alcoholic drinks made by Big Brother's regime.

The label of "Victory" added is to put a noble impression to the Party's Authority.

This product is issued by economic department in Ministry of Plenty especially consumed by the Party's member.

2. Victory cigarette

...He took a cigarette from a crumpled packet marked VICTORY CIGARETTES and incautiously held it upright, whereupon the tobacco fell out on to the floor... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 08)

Victory cigarette is a product of cigarette made by the government of Big Brother. As the Party's product, the word of "Victory" is attached to give a success and "sublime" impression to the Party.

3. Victory coffee

Winston and Syme pushed their trays beneath the grille. On to each was dumped swiftly the regulation lunch — a metal pannikin of pinkish-grey stew, a hunk of bread, a cube of cheese, a mug of milkless Victory Coffee, and one saccharine tablet. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 43)

Victory coffee is a product of coffee made by Big Brother regime. As both Victory cigarette and coffee, a name of "Victory" is labeled in this product to emphasize the Party's "False Triumph".

3.1.2 Forceful Hegemony

Hegemony by applying a strict punishment that inflict of severe physical cruelty such as, confining, imprisoning, kidnapping, forced labor, torture and killing are include as forceful hegemony. Rather than the persuasive one, forceful

hegemony performed directly both vividly in the front of the public—such as the executions in the gallows pole—or secretly like a torture and killing by the secret agents somewhere without a clear information. The purpose of forceful hegemony is not the punishment itself but to persuade somebody confessing or recant something had been done before. And the confession is not the highest aim of forceful. The thing that more important is to confess and regret than forgot it as something never been thought and done before and finally replacing all those orthodox manners with a new consciousness of ideology as a complete obedience to the Big Brother. As the character of dystopian novel, at the end of the story, Winston Smith, the main character in *Nineteen Eighty-four* finally surrenders, become a pure follower of *ingsoc*—Big Brother's ideology—even without true awareness from himself as the effect of forceful brutality.

Like many common iron curtain regimes, beside as a final way to eternalize the status-quo of Big Brother, forceful hegemony becomes an action as a simple to do. Killing and torture completed without any deep consideration to the problems. Killing is such ordinary thing. It is merely a pre-emptive action. In spite of not as the main purpose, forceful hegemony is done after the failed influence of persuasive hegemony. Destroying is short cut to the victory.

Varied punishments are held as a consequence from different actions. It depends on from its stage of infliction. It could be the force labor camp, vaporization, torture and even the gallows pole. As pictured in the novel, one moment when Winston started to write a diary, he hesitated whether it was an illegal activity or not.

The thing that he was about to do was to open a diary. This was not illegal (nothing was illegal, since there were no longer any laws), but if detected it was reasonably certain that it would be punished by death, or at least by twenty-five years in a forced-labour camp...(Nineteen-Eighty Four, 09)

The text explained about the effect of writing a diary that could be an illegal activity. Even Winston could not confirm because nothing is illegal since there are no longer regulations except dependent on the Party's will. But at best, Winston might be sent to the labor camp as a consequence.

Forced labor camp is the most moderate punishment, but definitely none of those choices are regarded as without pain. Whatever kind of punishment you got is alike. Another kind of forceful hegemony found in the novel is about "vaporization":

Syme had vanished. A morning came, and he was missing from work: a few thoughtless people commented on his absence. On the next day nobody mentioned him. On the third day Winston went into the vestibule of the Records Department to look at the notice-board. One of the notices carried a printed list of the members of the Chess Committee, of whom Syme had been one. It looked almost exactly as it had looked before — nothing had been crossed out — but it was one name shorter. It was enough. Syme had ceased to exist: he had never existed. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 121)

Syme who works in the Research Department of *minitrue* (department of truth) is helping prepare a new dictionary of *Newspeak*. He is so smart, frank and straightforward. Since the first sight, Winston predicts that Syme is destined to be purged. Syme's lack of discretion and extra-intelligent precisely could bring him into ignorance even basically he is loyal to Big Brother. And at last, Winston's estimation is true despite the reason of being vanish is still a mystery. Syme is vaporized without a clear reason and explanation. Syme is disappeared; melt away

as the party's policy. He never been existed the history, even the time still write the story. The story is written in the wind.

Syme vaporization could be as a pre-emptive action of the party—or perhaps for another reason. Killing as preventive action was always been done for the sake of security:

...In Oceania there is no law. Thoughts and actions which, when detected, mean certain death are not formally forbidden, and the endless purges, arrests, tortures, imprisonments, and vaporizations are not inflicted as punishment for crimes which have actually been committed, but are merely the wiping-out of persons who might perhaps commit a crime at some time in the future. A Party member is required to have not only the right opinions, but the right instincts... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 170)

This statement is mentioned in Goldstein's book. An illegal book that given by O'Brien. O'Brien is one of the members of Big Brother's inner party that in the later trapped Winston by pretending having a similar revolutionary thought opposite to the Party. Others point of Goldstein book is that Big Brother's Party not only demanded member of the Party to have the right view, but also the right instinct because eventually a punishment is not as the result of someone's orthodoxy truly had been done in the past but merely as the effort of destroying people which considered will made a crime in the future.

Vaporization as a secret punishment has its tendency to easily forgotten. Nevertheless, the hanging—the breaker of party's ideology or constitution which is punished in the gallows pole—will always been come to rest in the people's memory. The hanging is performed in front of the open public:

'Why can't we go and see the hanging?' roared the boy in his huge voice.

'Want to see the hanging! Want to see the hanging!' chanted the little girl, still capering round. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 23)

The hanging becomes such an attraction to the children. The punishment collides between the feelings of horridness, entertainment, and warning simultaneously as worship to the party's victory. That is Mr. Parson's son who forces to watch the hanging performed in the park in the evening. Some of Eurasian prisoners guilty of war crimes will be executed. The hanging frequently happened about once a month and become a popular spectacle.

In addition to those varied punishments such as the endless purge, arrest, imprisonments, hanging, and vaporization, deathful tortures is performed as the peak solution to the heretic thought—that of course, sentenced as contradict to the party's ideology. Torture has the purpose of purification, a sinner's brain-washing. Almost the entire story in the third part of the novel depicts about torture, especially about Winston Smith. It is treats about the stages of torture or execution somewhere in a secret chamber:

‘There are three stages in your reintegration,’ said O'Brien. ‘There is learning, there is understanding, and there is acceptance. It is time for you to enter upon the second stage.’ (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 209)

That was O'Brien's words at the moment interrogating Winston. O'Brien is the integrator and torturer which performed somewhere—Winston guessed it was in the *miniluv* (ministry of love) since the chamber was stuffy, without any ventilation and made somebody hard to breath. Also, Winston can not confirm the time and there was no light came in from outer place. He is just guessing whether it was night or daylight. The room might be located far away beneath the underground.

The first stage of interrogation is about “learning”. The novel explained that is Winston had some question to ask. Among them, the fact of war between Oceania and Eastasia is that the war had been roared from the past until now and Oceania never been in war with Eurasia. Even the reality is the reverse; once Oceania was in war with Eurasia. But the history is vanished by the party’s authority. Another thing mattered is about Winston’s belief that Jones, Aaronson and Rutherford are not guilty. Even Winston once was holding the proof; a photograph of the third, one time in party’s conference in New York. The last thing in learning stage is about the power and the Party’s authority. Party’s had the very basic will of authority. Party can do and decide anything he likes. The party controls the past, present and the future. History and sciences are in the hand of the Party.

The next stage is “understanding”. In this level, O'Brien explains to Winston that, among other things, Goldstein's book was in fact a Party’s creation. Goldstein’s book just appealed someone into heresy. Then O’Brien explored the understanding how the party and why the party eternalize and strictly hold to its authority. Actually Party did not seek power for its own purpose, but only for the good and the welfare of the majority even by means of harshness. At last, the choices for mankind lay between freedom and happiness, happiness is better than the freedom itself.

Acceptance stage is about the main and most determined level. Acceptance is held in Room 101. In the end the time comes for that step, and O'Brien sends

Winston to Room 101, where each individual's darkest fear comes true. Room 101 is the most dreadful thing in the story:

‘Do anything to me!’ he yelled. ‘You've been starving me for weeks. Finish it off and let me die. Shoot me. Hang me. Sentence me to twenty-five years. Is there somebody else you want me to give away? Just say who it is and I'll tell you anything you want. I don't care who it is or what you do to them. I've got a wife and three children. The biggest of them isn't six years old. You can take the whole lot of them and cut their throats in front of my eyes, and I'll stand by and watch it. But not Room 101!’ (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 190)

Room 101 is a torture chamber in which a prisoner is subjected to his or her own worst nightmare of somebody's live. So the punishment is depends on the accused. Such is the knowledge of the Party to the society of Oceania that even a citizen's nightmares are known to the authorities. The nightmare of Winston is to have his face gnawed by rat. Winston saves himself by begging to O'Brien to let his lover, Julia, have her face gnawed out instead. Winston betrayed Julia, one thing that expected by O'Brien:

...But he had suddenly understood that in the whole world there was just one person to whom he could transfer his punishment — one body that he could thrust between himself and the rats. And he was shouting frantically, over and over.

‘Do it to Julia! Do it to Julia! Not me! Julia! I don't care what you do to her. Tear her face off, strip her to the bones. Not me! Julia! Not me!’ (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 230)

Winston betrayal to Julia is one of the important alterations of thought in this level. The torture utterly destroys the feelings between Winston and Julia, rubbing their youthful idealism, their dreams for the future. And in the end of the story, Winston is completely changed after he deeply confessed for the past

crimes; Oceania was at war with Eastasia not with Eurasia, two and two make five (Party have the authority of science), freedom is slavery and he love Big Brother.

It becomes clear, however, that the purpose of the punishments is not to produce forced confessions and then kill its victims, but to “cure” the confessors, to enable them to see the truth of their confessions and the “correctness” of the Party's doublethink, in which “War is Peace,” “Freedom is Slavery,” and “Ignorance is Strength.” The Party is not content with negative obedience but must have the complete and true belief of all members. No one is executed before coming to love Big Brother.

3.2 Hegemony in *Nineteen-Eighty four* and Stalin’s totalitarian regime

Nineteen eighty-four was been written between 1947 and 1948 by George Orwell. Originally the book titled *The Last Man in Europe*, but the publisher—Warburg—suggest to change the titled for commercial purpose. The setting of the novel takes place in London, which is the part of a country called Oceania. Oceania is one of three world superpowers, and it is continually at war with one of the other two superpowers, Eastasia and Eurasia. Frequently Eurasia becomes allies to destroy Eastasia and reverse. The reality of war, allies and enemy are can be changing over night—the Party automatically rewrites history when this happens so that no one will remember that circumstances were ever any different.

Orwell was published his novel just after the World War II had just ended. Consequently, Orwell psychologically could not hide from the situation and condition where he lived. Even there was no whole direct parallel such as

geographical named but it definitely has its similarities in the theme and the story. The perpetual state of war throughout the world, poorness, lack of foods, are just the story tells in the novel as Orwell suffer for his life in England during World War II.

In this case, the researcher particularly compared with Joseph Stalin's regime in Russia. Stalin became General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party in 1922 following the death of Vladimir Lenin in the 1920. Stalin prevailed in a power struggle over Leon Trotsky. In the 1930 Stalin begin the Great Purge, a campaign of political repression, persecution and executions that reached its peak in 1937.

Democratic-centralism that became the power of Marxist movement which successfully realized by Lenin then was twisted by Stalin for eternalized his power of authority. Stalin claimed his policies were based on Marxism – Leninism, they are now often considered to represent a political and economic system called Stalinism. The novel pointed about the distorted ideology of socialism:

... Socialism, a theory which appeared in the early nineteenth century and was the last link in a chain of thought stretching back to the slave rebellions of antiquity, was still deeply infected by the Utopianism of past ages. But in each variant of Socialism that appeared from about 1900 onwards the aim of establishing liberty and equality was more and more openly abandoned. The new movements which appeared in the middle years of the century, Ingsoc in Oceania, Neo-Bolshevism in Eurasia, Death-Worship, as it is commonly called, in Eastasia, had the conscious aim of perpetuating unfreedom and inequality. These new movements, of course, grew out of the old ones and tended to keep their names and pay lip-service to their ideology. But the purpose of all of them was to arrest progress and freeze history at a chosen moment. The familiar pendulum swing was to happen once more, and then stop. As usual, the High were to be turned out by the Middle, who would

then become the High; but this time, by conscious strategy, the High would be able to maintain their position permanently. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 164)

The text is a part of Goldstein thought. The point is explaining about *ingsoc* as official ideology of the party which is in the past had made revolutions under the flag of equality, but in its practice exactly had established a new tyranny as soon as the old one was over thrown. Farthermost, the so-called ‘abolition of private property’ they made in the meaning of equality finally distorted, that the new owners of property is a group—the party itself—instead of a mass of individuals. The party’s authority is an individual property. Parallel to Stalin did, the equality promised is by betraying the revolutions. Human right equivalence is started by destroying the civil right itself. Stalin did anything he likes to stand for his ideology. Millions of people were suffered and killed through famines, executions, deportations and gulag labor camp. The equality just becomes the subordination of individuals to "the Party”.

There are some available direct comparisons mentioned on the subject of Russian Communist. Even Stalin was not directly named but the researcher opines that Russian Communist indicating to the Stalin’s regime since it was the cruelest government in Russia:

...Later, in the twentieth century, there were the totalitarians, as they were called. There were the German Nazis and the Russian Communists. The Russians persecuted heresy more cruelly than the Inquisition had done. And they imagined that they had learned from the mistakes of the past; they knew, at any rate, that one must not make martyrs. Before they exposed their victims to public trial, they deliberately set themselves to destroy their dignity. They wore them down by torture and solitude until they were despicable, cringing wretches, confessing whatever was put into their mouths, covering themselves with abuse, accusing and sheltering behind one another, whimpering for mercy. And yet after only a few years the same thing had happened over again... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 204)

In satiric way the text argued about the ignorance of Russia Communist in treating the enemies. Something to understand is that there are no martyrdoms in *ingsoc* punishment. Russian Communist should read the religious persecutions of the past. There was the Inquisition in middle age—an organization in the Roman Catholic Church founded in the 13th century to find, question, and sentence those who did not hold orthodox religious beliefs. Inquisition set out to eradicate heresy but exactly ended by perpetuating it. For every heretic that burned at the stake, made thousands of others rose up. It was because the Inquisitor killed its enemies in the public while they were still unrepentant. The defendant killed without abandon their beliefs. They were the hero, the inspiration. Communist ought to learn as the *ingsoc* did. The heretic have to confess and regret their “orthodoxy” before replaced and vanished.

Thought police, Great purge, and Gulags are other parallels activities of Stalin to *Nineteen Eighty-four*. Thought police in the novel is an adaptation of NKVD, Soviet political police whom worked to seize and put to death without trial or dispatched to labor camps in Siberia or other remote areas. Great purge which is the follow-up of NKVD refer to “vaporization” in the novel. By some estimates, 10 million or more people were arrested for political offenses during the Stalin period. Roughly one million were executed. Several million at a time populated the Gulag—the widespread network of concentration camps, forced labor camps, and exile sites.

Three-Year Plan is a similar policy in the novel appropriate with Stalin’s Five-Year Plan:

The music from the telescreen stopped and a voice took over. Winston raised his head to listen. No bulletins from the front, however. It was merely a brief announcement from the Ministry of Plenty. In the preceding quarter, it appeared, the Tenth Three-Year Plan's quota for bootlaces had been overfulfilled by 98 per cent. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 232)

The text above tells about the Three-Year Plan report that usually announced through the *Telescreen*. According to the Stalin's economic policy, by the end of the 1920s he cancelled the New Economic Policy that formerly performed by Lenin and then changed by starting the first of a series of Five-Year Plans, carrying the regime out to a program of rapid industrial development and forced collectivization of agriculture. The result was a radical transformation of Soviet society. The government built hundreds of factories and finally has a result of overproduction in the country.

Big Brother and Emmanuel Goldstein as both of the main characters are undoubtedly inspired by Stalin and his political rival Leon Trotsky. Big Brother is parallel to Stalin's cruelty, the iron fist, the all-knowing leader of the totalitarian society and a god-like icon to the citizens he rules. While Leon Trotsky as the opposite person comparably as Emmanuel Goldstein. Trotsky is the revolutionary leader, a theoretician and journalist. He lived irregularly from place to place under the prowl of Stalin regimes before finally was assassinated in 1940 while in place of exile in Mexico.

3.3 *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as a criticism to Stalin's totalitarian regime

Nineteen Eighty-four was created and published just after the World War II ended. The world was under instability of Europe's imperialism, Nazi and

communist's grasp. England's allies had been Russia, which was ruled by a cruel dictator named Joseph Stalin. Stalin ruled with an iron fist, and was famous for his midnight purges: he would arrest hundreds of citizens and murder them somewhere in a secret place without a trial. The citizens are "vaporized." Stalin's victims were people who regard as contradicted with his authority and ideology including political dissidents, artists, proletariat and Jews.

Orwell lived under the threat of unemployment, poverty, starvation, and World War's brutality. He lived on uncertainty, rise and down as drifter, a schoolteacher and mixed journalist. Once, while in Paris Orwell was taking a menial job. Even he had lived as unemployment who saved his live through "the evacuation camp's generosity". More than half of his life, he faced a reality as the victim of unfair social-capitalist structure and the World War's disarray.

On the other hand, Orwell is an intelligent person. He came as a fellow of Eton school at fourteenth—a prestigious and historical school founded in 1440 by Henry VI, king of England—and had begun to write a poem published in local newspaper since he was eleventh years old. Orwell said that he started to write a poem in early age of fourth by dictated while his mother noted. Orwell was one of the European intellectuals and authors who sympathized to International Marxist movement especially Bolshevik revolutionary act when Russian Marxist was under Lenin leadership. Lenin successfully realized the Marxist philosophy as a concrete guidance revolutionary movement in the direction of socialism truth they long for.

Thus, the explanation above is developed for further discussion. Regard to this research, the researcher necessarily still needed to glance the context of the novel in advance including the condition of the world during World War II and the author's role in society. Even this is not a Genetic study which emphasized on the sequence of author's creative process. But the history of the universe according to the novel is available as a way and consideration to gain a clear conclusion and answers the problem of the study.

In the matter of fact, Orwell is not writing *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in the purpose to grab the literary hegemony or any art works officially published and produced by Stalin's authority since Orwell is not directly head on with the regime—Orwell was lived in England and Stalin was a Russian, yet *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was not published in Russia until the death of Stalin so there is no direct contact between Orwell's literary work and Stalin's literary works. But rather than just to grab hegemony, the more important, Orwell attempt to build perception and construction to the reader through out the world. Orwell is carrying out a criticism, by means of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as an imaginary work toward the Stalin's regime as a social reality. Such was the case, Orwell is responsible for spreading an intact comprehension about the effect of totalitarian authority by means of hegemony—both persuasive and forceful hegemony—in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

Consequently, to comprehend whether *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as a criticism and above of Orwell's intention trough his autonomy as an author, the hegemony contained in the novel can be reconstructed become a systematic concept—by this

way, the textual meaning of the novel ruled by the researcher's interpretation. In fact, the concept itself is not in the form of "a constructed thought" which explicitly well-explained in the novel, but it appears in the form of casual and random ideas of hegemony established from the author's reflective experience, imagination and even a narration. Then in order to make a comprehension about the focus of this research researcher attempts to reconstruct the ideas consisted in the novel as follows;

The first concept is about the hegemony commonly found in the novel. Most of policies found in Big Brother regime in the novel are contain the aspects of hegemony. It is illustrates to us about occupying an influence both through persuasive ways including languages, mass media and literature or by using strict forceful hegemony such as a frontal activities between the authority and the rebels, imprisonment, arrest, concentration camp, and killing without trial. Finally, those activities held by forcing upon the party's influence are in the aim of holding and eternalizing the party's authority (Big Brother).

The second concept is about the organic intellectual and traditional intellectual. Winston is exactly representing as an organic intellectual. That even though Winston is a part of Party's member, a part of the authorized regime, but in other side Winston also could sympathize and feel of what most people think about especially the proletariat. Quite the reverse, Julia, Winston's girlfriend is portraying as a traditional intellectual since she just longs for her private freedom especially in sexuality. Julia who is also a member of the Party is forbidden to think about sexuality moreover to make a sexual intercourse. This is because

sexuality regarded as something could reduce the member's militancy and obedience to the Party. It is clear enough that Julia views the freedom in the way of narrow-minded. Julia gives a priority for herself, her own sexuality. She is an egoistic person. Actually Julia is depicted as a smart girl but has no awareness to the Party's propagandas had developed. This is just the typical of traditional intellectual. Academically Julia is satisfying the intellectual requirement, but because of his exclusivity, precisely making her floats upon common society's needed. Julia is trapped in an obstruction of bright spark of intellectuality. She never knows behind his curtain of highbrow; a real freedom to live and to think that most of people long for.

The last concept found in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is about to breaking down the "bourgeois" hegemony as the form of Party's authority. The main struggle consists in the novel is that the revolution is in the hand of proletariat. One time in the novel, Winston was written down in his diary; *if there is hope, it lies in the proles* (proletariat). Because only in those disregarded masses, the proles as eighty five percent of Oceania's population, the power to destroy the Party could be generated. The Party could not be overthrown from within. So in this case, Winston as a picture of organic intellectual in the novel is responsible for spreading a spirit and understanding to the proletariat as an intact power to vanish Big Brother's totalitarian regime.

With those kind of argumentations, after the researcher has tried to reconstruct the ideas contains in the novel become a more systematic concept, it is clear enough that the ability of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in revealing a whole

understanding of hegemony could become an instrument of criticism simultaneously a learning to the social reality that represented by Stalin totalitarian regime. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is successfully developed a deep and genuine ideas of hegemony. It is so surprising, even of course this is not the point of this research, that the novel explains some similar details as Gramsci has described about the concept of hegemony especially concerning the common ideas of hegemony, organic and traditional intellectual, and the lower-class (proletariat) as the power of revolution. The researcher believes this is just an incidental and unintentional subject. That because, so far, based on the data got by the researcher, Orwell is never to have a contact with Gramsci's work. Furthermore, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was published in 1949 in England, more than ten years before *The Prison Note Book*—Gramsci's work that was written in Italian fascist prison—was edited and issued in 1960's. Gramsci was noted down his argument in a disorder sheet of paper and toilet tissues. Before he died, the works successfully saved by her sister in law. Orwell of Gramsci are a genuine intellectual. By the path of truth, they flow into one and some parallels quality of thought.

Nineteen Eighty-four accomplished a criticism to its universe and Orwell is perfectly developed his idea by mean of story. This is also become, what the critics called the authorial meaning. In this case, the ideas appeared in *Nineteen Eighty-four* is completely under the author's autonomy. As Orwell had written in his essay, frequently he wrote to against the authority and nothing of any written works that completely free from political purpose. So by the way of *Nineteen*

Eighty-four, Orwell intended to transfer a message that whatever the purpose of repression and destroying, even considered as “positive aim”, harshness will always obtain another terrible effect. Orwell develops an understanding to the readers. Through hegemony in the novel Orwell attempts to wake and raise the reader consciousness about the negative of iron curtain regime particularly Stalin. That because Orwell had lived under the World War chaos especially produced by Stalin’s brutality. Besides, Stalin swirls Lenin’s social-democratic become Marxism-Leninism as the base of party’s policy. Finally, Stalin who in the beginning comes to hide behind the holy verse of socialism, emerging as Lenin’s substitute to struggle against heartless group of capitalism but afterward he precisely become an extremely more brutal oppressor.

Stalin interprets social-democratic at will, just to preserve his powerful authority. How Stalin claims his policies and ideology as the absolute truth whereas on the other side moreover he never tries a little to open a communication, discussion and mutual shared-opinion between his colleagues even less to his political opposition such as Trotsky. Stalin should better to embrace the opposition positively so the presence of Trotsky and other opposition becomes a more effective thing in developing the nation especially with the socialism ideology. On the contrary, Stalin arrests and sends them to the jail, concentration camp, or killed without a supreme judgment whoever critical to the ideology. He wipes off any dust of heresy with no pity.

But it does not mean that Orwell is anti-socialism. Orwell stands between the heartless capitalism and brutal communism. He fights in the name of justice

above all of denominations. So in this case, Orwell tends to behave as an organic intellectual. Orwell comes out to go across and go beyond his academic boundary, profession, ethnic, and his nationality. He cares about Trotsky even he is not a pure Trotskyist. He defends his idea about totalitarianism even he is not a Russian. He sympathizes to the Jews even he is not belonging to that ethnic. Orwell fights for the freedom to live and to think by making no exception about the race, nationality, group and ideology.

Nineteen Eighty-Four comes to notice us to preserve the holy aim of struggling for the oppressed people in order not to trap on a new more brutal oppressor. Even to live in sorrow, Orwell as an author is not to express his feeling by writing a romantic and whine stories or even a philosophical one when people around him yearn for a defense to face the bitter and threatened of life. That because Orwell is not gaining his novel through supervision and an idea, but he works by means of real experience. Of course, an idea is still has its roles; experience and idea melt away in a unity of thought. Orwell is somebody belongs to include within.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

4.1 Conclusions

Nineteen Eighty-Four generally treats about Governmental hegemony.

Hegemony is a dialectic relationship on a power based on consensus (*egemonia*) and forcefulness (*dominio*). The hegemony is conducted politically by government (the Party or Big Brother in the novel) to dominate the society with the result that the dominated society will be accepted the ideology at will. The highest aim of hegemony is to implant and eternalize the Party's ideology and authority. There are two kind of hegemonies found in the novel:

1. Persuasive hegemony

Persuasive hegemony is regarded as a “kind” or “soft” hegemony that using an influential discourse and auspices to produce a coerce obedience to the Party. The effectiveness of persuasive hegemony is clearly understood since it has an indirect influence to society of Oceania. Through persuasive hegemony, view, thought and ideology can be sent by means of a discourse. The discourse in this kind of hegemony can be in the form of languages, songs, the processions, the banners, pamphlets, the yelling of slogans or adoration, literature and mass media. Other direct controls—as instruments in persuasive hegemony—are also found in the novel by using *the telescreen*, hidden mike and *thought police*.

2. Forceful hegemony

Forceful hegemony is a coerced hegemony by using a strict punishment that inflicts severe physical cruelty such as, confining, imprisoning, kidnapping, forced labor, torture and killing. Forceful hegemony is performed directly both in the front of the public—such as the executions in the gallows pole in order to intimidate the rebels—or secretly like a torture and killing by the secret agents somewhere without a supreme trial. The aim of forceful hegemony is not the punishment itself but to persuade somebody confessing or recanting something that had been done before, to confess and regret, and finally replacing all those “heretic” thoughts and attitudes with a new consciousness of ideology as a complete obedience to the Party (Big Brother).

Besides the hegemonies, a second focus of this research is *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as a criticism of Stalin's totalitarian regime. Before we jump into the conclusion, it is important to know that there are some activities found in Stalin's regime that parallel with the Big Brother authority in the novel. The distorted ideology of democratic centralism, Five-Year Plan economic policy, NKVD (Stalin's secret agent), Great Purge, and Gulags are parallel activities to the Three Year Plan, *Thought Police*, concentration camps and vaporization in the novels.

Orwell is actually not writing *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in order to grab the literary hegemony officially published and produced by Stalin's authority since Orwell is not directly head on with the regime and there is no direct contact between Orwell's literary work and Stalin's literary works. But the more important, Orwell attempts to build perception and construction to the reader

through out the world by means of the ideas of hegemony found in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Orwell is carrying out a criticism using the novel as an imaginary work toward the Stalin's regime as a social reality.

4.2 Suggestions

The highest purpose of this research is that the researcher hopes the *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* readers to have a new and deeper understanding about the ideas containing in the novel. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* comes to notice us to preserve the holy aim of struggle especially about to fight against the authority. Academically, through this simple research, the researcher is wishing to give a little contribution to the scientific horizon specifically in sociology of literature study. As we knew, sociology of literature is a branch of literary study that considered as a new field of study. And finally, this thesis is hoped to enrich the sociology of literature study and become a choice of references for the further researcher.

Nineteen Eighty-Four has a wide range of criticism. The researcher hopes in the future there will be many others to write a criticism of the novel based on different theories of literature. Almost of Orwell's works such as *Animal Farm* (1945), *Down and Out in Paris and London* (1933), *Burmese Days* (1934), *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1937) *Homage to Catalonia* (1938), are talking about politic. There are an interesting literary works, as the researcher hopes to the next researcher to criticize and explore those works with various view of functionalist, phenomenology, dialogic, and post-structuralism then later on can give a contribution to development of literarily study especially extrinsic study.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abrams, M.H., 1971. *The Mirror and the Lamp*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Ananta Toer, Pramoedya, 2003. *Realisme Sosialis dan Sastra Indonesia*. Jakarta: Lentera Dipantara
- A.Riff, Michael, 1995. (Terjemahan) *Kamus Ideologi Politik Modern*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar
- Bressler, Charles E., 1994. *Literary Criticism*. Prentice-Hall Inc.
- Chomsky, Noam, 2001. (Terjemahan) *Maling Teriak Maling: Amerika Sang Teroris?*. Bandung: Mizan
- Djoko Damono, Sapardi, 1979. *Pengantar Sosologi Sastra*. Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka
- Eagleton, Terry, 2002. (Terjemahan) *Marxisme dan Kritik Sastra*. Depok: Desantara
- Eagleton, Terry, 1988. (Terjemahan) *Teory Kesusastraan: Suatu Pengenalan*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka,
- Endraswara, Suwardi, 2004. *Metodologi Penelitian Sastra*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Widyatama,
- Faruk, DR, 1999. *Pengantar Sosiologi Sastra: Dari Strukturalisme Genetic sampai Post-Modernisme*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar
- Gove, Philip Babcock, 1993. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary: of the English Unabridged*. USA: Merriam – Webster Inc
- Hardjana, Andre, 1985. *Kritik Sastra: Sebuah Pengantar*. Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka
- Jabrohim (Penyunting), 1994. *Kumpulan Materi Penataran Penelitian Sastra: Teori Penelitian Sastra*. Yogyakarta: Masyarakat Poetika IKIP Muhammadiyah
- Jefferson, Ann & David Robey, 1986. *Modern Literary Theory: A Comparative Introduction*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd.
- Kleden, Ignas, 2004. *Sastra Indonesia dalam Enam Pertanyaan*. Jakarta: Freedom Institute

- Kutha Ratna, Nyoman, 2004. *Teori, Metode, dan Teknik Penelitian Sastra*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar
- Kutha Ratna, Nyoman, 2005. *Sastra dan Cultural Studies: Representasi Fiksi dan Fakta*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar
- Luxemburg, Jan Van, Mieke Bal, & Willem G. Weststeijn, 1986. (Terjemahan) *Pengantar Ilmu Sastra*. Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka.
- Madden, David. © 1993-2004 [CD-ROM]. Microsoft Encarta Reference Library 2005. Microsoft Corporation. All rights reserved.
- Magniz-Suseno, Franz, 1999. *Karl Max: Dari Sosialisme Utopis ke Perselisihan Revisionisme*. Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka
- Magniz-Suseno, Franz, 2003. *Dalam Bayangan Lenin: Enam Pemikir Marxisme dari Lenin sampai Tan Malaka*. Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka
- Manser, Martin H, 1995. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Marleyna, Yushe, 1994. Thesis. *The Relationship between the Societies in John Steinbeck's the Pearl and the Real Society of that Age*. Malang: Gajayana University.
- Mohammad, Goenawan, 1993. *Kesusastraan dan Kekuasaan..* Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus
- Orwell, George, 1982. *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Great Britain: Penguin Books
- Orwell, George, 2002. (Terjemahan) *Animal Farm*. Yogyakarta: Sumbu
- Peck, John & Koyle, Martin, 1986. *Literary Terms And Criticisms*. England: Macmillan
- Rahardjo, Mudjia, 2004. *Makalah: Materi Mata Kuliah Untuk Penelitian Bahasa*. UIN Malang
- Samekto, 1976. *Ikhtisar Sejarah Kesusastaan Inggris*. Jakarta: PT. Gramedia
- Selden, Raman, (editor) 1999. *The Theory of Criticism: From Plato to the Present*. England: Longman
- Swingewood, Alan & Diana Laurenson, 1972. *The Sociology of Literature*. London: Paladin

Wellek, Rene & Austin Warren, 1965. *Theory of Literature*. New York: A Harvest Book, Harcourt, Brace & World Inc.

Wikipedia, *The Free Encyclopedia*.htm

Williams, Raymond, 1985. *Marxism and Literature*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, Printed in Hong Kong.

Yudi Latif & Idi Subandi Ibrahim (Penyunting), 1996. *Bahasa dan Kekuasaan: Politik Wacana di Panggung Orde Baru*. Bandung: Penerbit Mizan.

Appendix I

- ...On the contrary, they adored the Party and everything connected with it. The songs, the processions, the banners, the hiking, the drilling with dummy rifles, the yelling of slogans, the worship of Big Brother — it was all a sort of glorious game to them... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 23)
- ...The Ministry of Truth, which concerned itself with news, entertainment, education, and the fine arts. The Ministry of Peace, which concerned itself with war. The Ministry of Love, which maintained law and order. And the Ministry of Plenty, which was responsible for economic affairs. Their names, in Newspeak: Minitrue, Minipax, Miniluv, and Miniplenty. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 07)
- But actually, he thought as he re-adjusted the Ministry of Plenty's figures, it was not even forgery. It was merely the substitution of one piece of nonsense for another. Most of the material that you were dealing with had no connexion with anything in the real world, not even the kind of connexion that is contained in a direct lie. Statistics were just as much a fantasy in their original version as in their rectified version. A great deal of the time you were expected to make them up out of your head... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 36)
- The Ministry of Truth — Minitrue, in Newspeak— was startlingly different from any other object in sight. It was an enormous pyramidal structure of glittering white concrete, soaring up, terrace after terrace, 300 metres into the air. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 07)
- The Ministry of Love was the really frightening one. There were no windows in it at all. Winston had never been inside the Ministry of Love, nor within half a kilometre of it. It was a place impossible to enter except on official business, and then only by penetrating through a maze of barbed-wire entanglements, steel doors, and hidden machine-gun nests. Even the streets leading up to its outer barriers were roamed by gorilla-faced guards in black uniforms, armed with jointed truncheons. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 07)
- ...Apart from very short notes, it was usual to dictate everything into the speak-write which was of course impossible for his present purpose... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 09)
- ...His mind hovered for a moment round the doubtful date on the page, and then fetched up with a bump against the Newspeak word doublethink. For the first time the magnitude of what he had undertaken came home to him. How could you communicate with the future? It was of its nature impossible. Either the future would resemble the present, in which case it

would not listen to him: or it would be different from it, and his predicament would be meaningless. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 10)

- ...He had committed — would still have committed, even if he had never set pen to paper — the essential crime that contained all others in itself. Thoughtcrime, they called it. Thoughtcrime was not a thing that could be concealed for ever. You might dodge successfully for a while, even for years, but sooner or later they were bound to get you... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 19)
- ...People simply disappeared, always during the night. Your name was removed from the registers, every record of everything you had ever done was wiped out, your one-time existence was denied and then forgotten. You were abolished, annihilated: vapourized was the usual word. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 19)
- ‘Oh, comrade,’ she began in a dreary, whining sort of voice, ‘I thought I heard you come in. Do you think you could come across and have a look at our kitchen sink? It's got blocked up and—’ (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 20)
- ...Very occasionally some person whom you had believed dead long since would make a ghostly reappearance at some public trial where he would implicate hundreds of others by his testimony before vanishing, this time for ever. Withers, however, was already an unperson. He did not exist: he had never existed. Winston decided that it would not be enough simply to reverse the tendency of Big Brother's speech. It was better to make it deal with something totally unconnected with its original subject. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 40)
- ‘There is a word in Newspeak,’ said Syme, ‘I don't know whether you know it: duckspeak, to quack like a duck. It is one of those interesting words that have two contradictory meanings. Applied to an opponent, it is abuse, applied to someone you agree with, it is praise.’ (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 47)
- ...In any case, to wear an improper expression on your face (to look incredulous when a victory was announced, for example) was itself a punishable offence. There was even a word for it in Newspeak: facecrime, it was called. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 53)
- In principle a Party member had no spare time, and was never alone except in bed. It was assumed that when he was not working, eating, or sleeping he would be taking part in some kind of communal recreation: to do anything that suggested a taste for solitude, even to go for a walk by yourself, was always slightly dangerous. There was a word for it in

Newspeak: ownlife, it was called, meaning individualism and eccentricity... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 69)

- 'What was she like, your wife?' said Julia.
'She was — do you know the Newspeak word goodthinkful? Meaning naturally orthodox, incapable of thinking a bad thought?'
'No, I didn't know the word, but I know the kind of person, right enough.' goodthingful. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 108)
- ...The first and simplest stage in the discipline, which can be taught even to young children, is called, in Newspeak, crimestop. Crimestop means the faculty of stopping short, as though by instinct, at the threshold of any dangerous thought. It includes the power of not grasping analogies, of failing to perceive logical errors, of misunderstanding the simplest arguments if they are inimical to Ingsoc, and of being bored or repelled by any train of thought which is capable of leading in a heretical direction. Crimestop, in short, means protective stupidity. But stupidity is not enough. On the contrary, orthodoxy in the full sense demands a control over one's own mental processes as complete as that of a contortionist over his body... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 170)
- ...The keyword here is blackwhite. Like so many Newspeak words, this word has two mutually contradictory meanings. Applied to an opponent, it means the habit of impudently claiming that black is white, in contradiction of the plain facts. Applied to a Party member, it means a loyal willingness to say that black is white when Party discipline demands this. But it means also the ability to believe that black is white, and more, to know that black is white, and to forget that one has ever believed the contrary. This demands a continuous alteration of the past, made possible by the system of thought which really embraces all the rest, and which is known in Newspeak as doublethink. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 171)
- Behind Winston's back the voice from the telescreen was still babbling away about pig-iron and the overfulfilment of the Ninth Three-Year Plan. The telescreen received and transmitted simultaneously. Any sound that Winston made, above the level of a very low whisper, would be picked up by it, moreover, so long as he remained within the field of vision which the metal plaque commanded, he could be seen as well as hear... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 06)
- ...On each landing, opposite the lift-shaft, the poster with the enormous face gazed from the wall. It was one of those pictures which are so contrived that the eyes follow you about when you move. **BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU**, the caption beneath it ran. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 05)

- 'I didn't want to say anything in the lane,' she went on, 'in case there's a mike hidden there. I don't suppose there is, but there could be. There's always the chance of one of those swine recognizing your voice. We're all right here. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 98)
- ...In the far distance a helicopter skimmed down between the roofs, hovered for an instant like a bluebottle, and darted away again with a curving flight. It was the police patrol, snooping into people's windows. The patrols did not matter, however. Only the Thought Police mattered. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 06)
- ...Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Byron — they'll exist only in Newspeak versions, not merely changed into something different, but actually changed into something contradictory of what they used to be. Even the literature of the Party will change. Even the slogans will change. How could you have a slogan like "freedom is slavery" when the concept of freedom has been abolished?... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 46)
- The mutability of the past is the central tenet of Ingsoc. Past events, it is argued, have no objective existence, but survive only in written records and in human memories. The past is whatever the records and the memories agree upon. And since the Party is in full control of all records and in equally full control of the minds of its members, it follows that the past is whatever the Party chooses to make it. It also follows that though the past is alterable, it never has been altered in any specific instance. For when it has been recreated in whatever shape is needed at the moment, then this new version is the past, and no different past can ever have existed. This holds good even when, as often happens, the same event has to be altered out of recognition several times in the course of a year. At all times the Party is in possession of absolute truth, and clearly the absolute can never have been different from what it is now. It will be seen that the control of the past depends above all on the training of memory. To make sure that all written records agree with the orthodoxy of the moment is merely a mechanical act. But it is also necessary to remember that events happened in the desired manner... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 171)
- ...For some reason they were nicknamed memory holes. When one knew that any document was due for destruction, or even when one saw a scrap of waste paper lying about, it was an automatic action to lift the flap of the nearest memory hole and drop it in, whereupon it would be whirled away on a current of warm air to the enormous furnaces which were hidden somewhere in the recesses of the building. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 34)
- Under the window somebody was singing. Winston peeped out, secure in the protection of the muslin curtain. The June sun was still high in the sky, and in the sun-filled court below, a monstrous woman, solid as a Norman

pillar, with brawny red forearms and a sacking apron strapped about her middle, was stumping to and fro between a washtub and a clothes line, pegging out a series of square white things which Winston recognized as babies' diapers. Whenever her mouth was not corked with clothes pegs she was singing in a powerful contralto:

It was only an 'opeless fancy.
It passed like an Ipril dye,
But a look an' a word an' the dreams they stirred
They 'ave stolen my 'eart awye! (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 113)

- The next moment a hideous, grinding speech, as of some monstrous machine running without oil, burst from the big telescreen at the end of the room. It was a noise that set one's teeth on edge and bristled the hair at the back of one's neck. The Hate had started. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 13)
- ...took down from the shelf a bottle of colourless liquid with a plain white label marked VICTORY GIN. It gave off a sickly, oily smell, as of Chinese rice-spirit. Winston poured out nearly a teacupful, nerved himself for a shock, and gulped it down like a dose of medicine... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 08)
- ...He took a cigarette from a crumpled packet marked VICTORY CIGARETTES and incautiously held it upright, whereupon the tobacco fell out on to the floor... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 08)
- Winston and Syme pushed their trays beneath the grille. On to each was dumped swiftly the regulation lunch — a metal pannikin of pinkish-grey stew, a hunk of bread, a cube of cheese, a mug of milkless Victory Coffee, and one saccharine tablet. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 43)
- The thing that he was about to do was to open a diary. This was not illegal (nothing was illegal, since there were no longer any laws), but if detected it was reasonably certain that it would be punished by death, or at least by twenty-five years in a forced-labour camp...(Nineteen-Eighty Four, 09)
- Syme had vanished. A morning came, and he was missing from work: a few thoughtless people commented on his absence. On the next day nobody mentioned him. On the third day Winston went into the vestibule of the Records Department to look at the notice-board. One of the notices carried a printed list of the members of the Chess Committee, of whom Syme had been one. It looked almost exactly as it had looked before — nothing had been crossed out — but it was one name shorter. It was enough. Syme had ceased to exist: he had never existed. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 121)

- ...In Oceania there is no law. Thoughts and actions which, when detected, mean certain death are not formally forbidden, and the endless purges, arrests, tortures, imprisonments, and vaporizations are not inflicted as punishment for crimes which have actually been committed, but are merely the wiping-out of persons who might perhaps commit a crime at some time in the future. A Party member is required to have not only the right opinions, but the right instincts... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 170)
- ‘Why can't we go and see the hanging?’ roared the boy in his huge voice. ‘Want to see the hanging! Want to see the hanging!’ chanted the little girl, still capering round. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 23)
- ‘There are three stages in your reintegration,’ said O'Brien. ‘There is learning, there is understanding, and there is acceptance. It is time for you to enter upon the second stage.’ (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 209)
- ‘Do anything to me!’ he yelled. ‘You've been starving me for weeks. Finish it off and let me die. Shoot me. Hang me. Sentence me to twenty-five years. Is there somebody else you want me to give away? Just say who it is and I'll tell you anything you want. I don't care who it is or what you do to them. I've got a wife and three children. The biggest of them isn't six years old. You can take the whole lot of them and cut their throats in front of my eyes, and I'll stand by and watch it. But not Room 101!’ (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 190)
- ...But he had suddenly understood that in the whole world there was just one person to whom he could transfer his punishment — one body that he could thrust between himself and the rats. And he was shouting frantically, over and over.
‘Do it to Julia! Do it to Julia! Not me! Julia! I don't care what you do to her. Tear her face off, strip her to the bones. Not me! Julia! Not me!’ (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 230)
- ... Socialism, a theory which appeared in the early nineteenth century and was the last link in a chain of thought stretching back to the slave rebellions of antiquity, was still deeply infected by the Utopianism of past ages. But in each variant of Socialism that appeared from about 1900 onwards the aim of establishing liberty and equality was more and more openly abandoned. The new movements which appeared in the middle years of the century, Ingsoc in Oceania, Neo-Bolshevism in Eurasia, Death-Worship, as it is commonly called, in Eastasia, had the conscious aim of perpetuating unfreedom and inequality. These new movements, of course, grew out of the old ones and tended to keep their names and pay lip-service to their ideology. But the purpose of all of them was to arrest progress and freeze history at a chosen moment. The familiar pendulum swing was to happen once more, and then stop. As usual, the High were to

be turned out by the Middle, who would then become the High; but this time, by conscious strategy, the High would be able to maintain their position permanently. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 164)

- ...Later, in the twentieth century, there were the totalitarians, as they were called. There were the German Nazis and the Russian Communists. The Russians persecuted heresy more cruelly than the Inquisition had done. And they imagined that they had learned from the mistakes of the past; they knew, at any rate, that one must not make martyrs. Before they exposed their victims to public trial, they deliberately set themselves to destroy their dignity. They wore them down by torture and solitude until they were despicable, cringing wretches, confessing whatever was put into their mouths, covering themselves with abuse, accusing and sheltering behind one another, whimpering for mercy. And yet after only a few years the same thing had happened over again... (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 204)
- The music from the telescreen stopped and a voice took over. Winston raised his head to listen. No bulletins from the front, however. It was merely a brief announcement from the Ministry of Plenty. In the preceding quarter, it appeared, the Tenth Three-Year Plan's quota for bootlaces had been overfulfilled by 98 per cent. (Nineteen-Eighty Four, 232)