

PLAGIAT MERUPAKAN TINDAKAN TIDAK TERPUJI

**THE INAUTHENTICITY OF THE MAIN CHARACTERS AS
AN IMPACT OF TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM SEEN IN
GEORGE ORWELL'S *1984***

AN UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

Presented as Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of *Sarjana Sastra*
in English Letters



Adi Renaldi

Student Number: 034214098

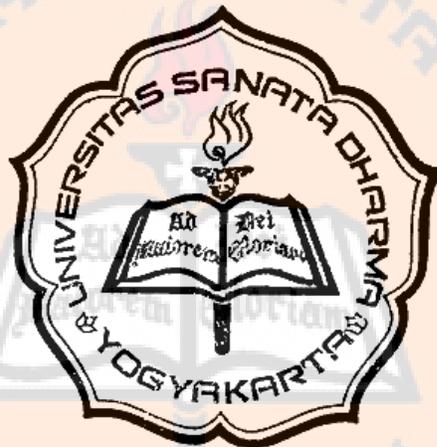
**ENGLISH LETTERS STUDY PROGRAMME
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LETTERS
FACULTY OF LETTERS
SANATA DHARMA UNIVERSITY
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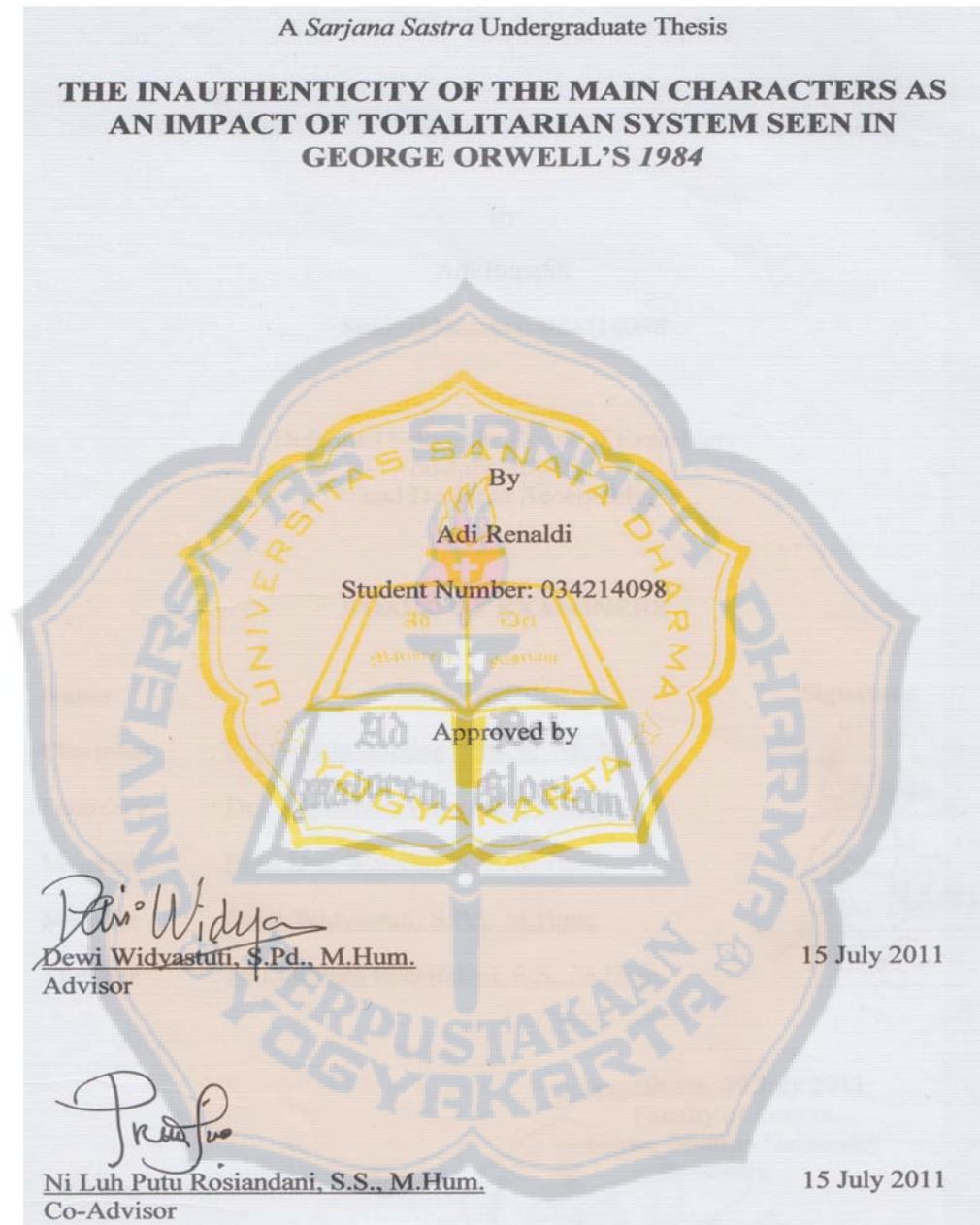


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A Sarjana Sastra Undergraduate Thesis

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GEORGE ORWELL'S 1984**

By

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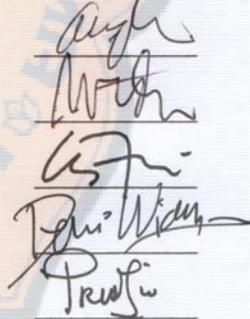
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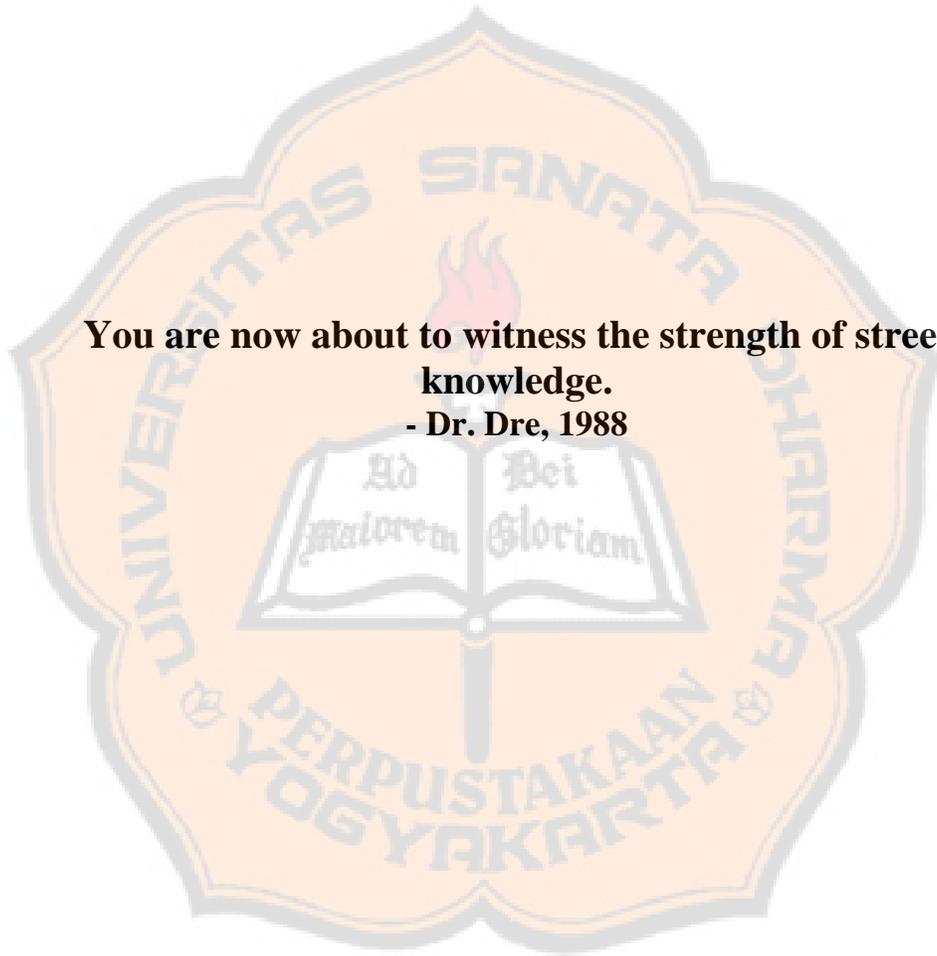
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**You are now about to witness the strength of street
knowledge.
- Dr. Dre, 1988**



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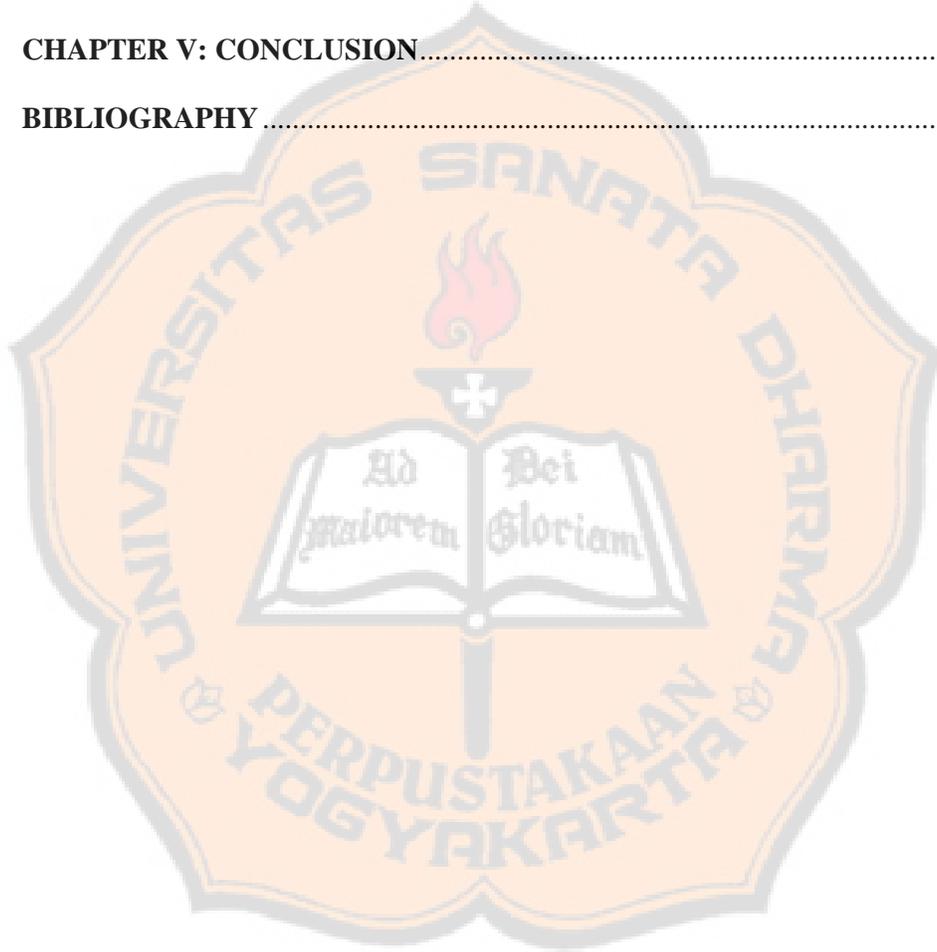
PLAGIAT MERUPAKAN TINDAKAN TIDAK TERPUJI

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE	i
APPROVAL PAGE	ii
ACCEPTANCE PAGE	iii
MOTTO PAGE	iv
APPROVAL PRONOUNCEMENT PAGE OF THESIS PUBLICATION FOR ACADEMIC CONCERN	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
ABSTRACT	ix
ABSTRAK	x
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
A. Background of the Study	1
B. Problem Formulation	4
C. Objectives of the Study.....	4
D. Definition of Terms	5
CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL REVIEW	7
A. Review of Related Studies.....	7
B. Review of Related Theories.....	10
1. Theory of Character	10
2. Theory of Characterization.....	11
3. Theory of Totalitarianism.....	13
4. Theory of Human Freedom.....	19
5. Theory of Alienation	20
6. Existential Authenticity and Inauthenticity	23
C. Theoretical Framework.....	26
CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY	29
A. Object of the Study	29
B. Approach of the Study	30
C. Method of the Study	31
CHAPTER IV: ANALYSIS	33
A. The Description of the Characters	33
1. Winston Smith	34
2. Julia.....	43
B. The Description of Totalitarian Power.....	49
1. The Structure of Society of Oceania	50
a. Big Brother.....	51
b. Inner Party.....	53
c. Outer Party.....	55
d. The Proles.....	57

PLAGIAT MERUPAKAN TINDAKAN TIDAK TERPUJI

2. The Totalitarian Domination	59
a. Propaganda	59
b. Terror.....	62
c. Total Indoctrination.....	65
C. The Inauthenticity as the Impact of Totalitarian System.....	68
1. Lack of Freedom Experienced by the Main Characters	69
2. Alienation Experienced by the Main Characters.....	73
3. The Inauthenticity as the Impact of Totalitarian System.....	76
CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION	84
BIBLIOGRAPHY	89



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ABSTRACT

ADI RENALDI. **The Inauthenticity of the Main Characters as an Impact of Totalitarian System Seen in George Orwell's *1984***. Yogyakarta: Department of English Letters, Faculty of Letters, Sanata Dharma University, 2011.

Totalitarianism is probably the most terrifying ideology until nowadays. It is not merely a political system but also movement that goes beyond private, public, and political sphere. Totalitarianism leaves no freedom for the people. The society lives without freedom for expression in any forms and they are lack of culture since everything has been dictated by the government. Totalitarian government dreams of uniformity in all aspects of life and they pursue for global domination. In order to reach their ideal version of life, they use strategies to seize the power as well as to control and dominate the people. It is no wonder if the society lives under terror and fear everyday.

The writer chooses the novel *1984* by George Orwell because it clearly describes the life under totalitarian regime. First, in order to get the analysis about the inauthenticity as the impact of totalitarian system in *1984*, the writer analyzes the description of the main characters. The next step is to analyze the totalitarian power and strategies that are done by the totalitarian government. Then the last, the writer analyzes the inauthenticity of the main characters as an impact of totalitarian system.

In this study, the writer uses library research method. The writer obtains the data from books as primary source and internet as secondary source. The theories which are applied in this study are theory of character, theory of characterization, theory of freedom, theory of alienation, and theory of existential inauthenticity. The writer uses Moral Philosophical approach to analyze the inauthenticity as the impact of totalitarian system.

The analysis of this study obtains some conclusions that in order to reach for global domination and their ideal version of state, totalitarian government does not allow freedom in all aspects of life. The main characters then, decide to rebel against the totalitarian government. The pursuit of global domination requires some strategies in order to make the society in uniformity. The strategies used are propaganda, terror, and indoctrination. These strategies, somehow, make the main characters lose the freedom and become alienated from the self and the society. Alienation and the lost of freedom also lead to inauthenticity, since they are related to each other. Inauthenticity can be caused by repression from external agent in which a person cannot do anything spontaneously since he is being dictated by other people and he cannot express what they feel freely.

PLAGIAT MERUPAKAN TINDAKAN TIDAK TERPUJI

ABSTRAK

ADI RENALDI. **The Inauthenticity of the Main Characters as an Impact of Totalitarian System Seen in George Orwell's *1984***. Yogyakarta: Jurusan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Sanata Dharma, 2011.

Hingga saat ini totalitarianisme adalah ideologi yang paling menakutkan. Totalitarianisme tidak hanya berlaku sebagai sebuah sistem politik tetapi juga pergerakan yang melampaui ranah pribadi, publik, dan politik. Masyarakat hidup tanpa semua bentuk kebebasan berekspresi dan mereka tidak memiliki kebudayaan karena semua telah didikte oleh pemerintah. Pemerintahan totaliter bercita-cita membentuk keseragaman dalam semua aspek kehidupan dan mengejar dominasi global. Untuk mencapai kehidupan ideal versi mereka, mereka menggunakan beberapa strategi untuk memperoleh kekuatan dan mengontrol serta mendominasi masyarakat. Tidak mengherankan jika masyarakat hidup di bawah teror dan ketakutan setiap hari.

Penulis memilih novel *1984* karangan George Orwell karena novel ini menggambarkan kehidupan dibawah rezim totaliter dengan jelas. Pertama, untuk menganalisis ketidakotentikan sebagai akibat dari sistem totaliter, penulis menganalisis penggambaran tokoh-tokoh utama. Langkah selanjutnya adalah menganalisis kekuatan totalitarian dan strategi-strategi yang digunakan oleh pemerintahan totaliter. Kemudian, penulis menganalisis inotentisitas tokoh-tokoh utama sebagai akibat dari sistem totaliter.

Dalam studi ini, penulis menggunakan metode penelitian pustaka. Penulis mengumpulkan data dari buku-buku sebagai sumber utama dan internet sebagai sumber pendukung. Teori-teori yang digunakan adalah teori tokoh, teori penokohan, teori kebebasan, teori alienasi, dan teori inotentisitas eksistensial. Penulis menggunakan pendekatan Moral Filosofis untuk menganalisis inotentisitas sebagai akibat dari sistem totaliter.

Analisis dalam studi ini menghasilkan beberapa kesimpulan bahwa untuk mencapai dominasi global dan negara ideal versi mereka, pemerintahan totaliter tidak memberi kebebasan dalam semua aspek kehidupan. Tokoh-tokoh utama kemudian memutuskan untuk memberontak terhadap pemerintah totaliter. Untuk mencapai dominasi global dibutuhkan beberapa strategi untuk membuat masyarakat yang seragam. Strategi-strategi yang digunakan adalah propaganda, teror, dan indoktrinasi. Strategi-strategi ini membuat tokoh utama kehilangan kebebasan dan terasing dari diri sendiri dan masyarakat. Keterasingan dan hilangnya kebebasan juga menyebabkan inotentisitas, karena hal tersebut terhubung satu sama lain. Inotentisitas dapat disebabkan oleh represi dari pihak luar yang menyebabkan seseorang tidak mampu melakukan apapun secara spontan dan mengekspresikan apa yang mereka rasakan secara

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Study

Unlike communism, totalitarianism has its own distinguished characteristics that set it apart from other ideologies. Although totalitarianism is closely related to military dictatorship, those two are rather different. Military dictatorship is not always fascist; on the other hand, fascist is always using the military power (in this case military dictatorship) to rule the country strictly. The distinction between fascism and military dictatorship can be elucidated by exploring further the distinction between authoritarian and totalitarian forms of government.

Totalitarianism is the complete control of all aspects of human social life. There is no part of human endeavor, under a totalitarian regime, that does not fall within the purview of the state, which is typically run by individual. For example of totalitarianism, we can look back to the Stalinist Russia, Nazi Germany, and Maoist China. As a conclusion, pure fascism was totalitarian. Totalitarian system is always identical to fascism as in *Today's Isms* by Alan O. Ebenstein, William Ebenstein, and Edwin Fogelman:

Stripped to its essential, fascism was the totalitarian organization of government and society by a single-party dictatorship, intensely nationalist, racist, militarist, and imperialist. While communism has been historically linked with poor and underdeveloped nations, totalitarian typically grew in comparatively wealthier and technologically more advanced nations (1994: 79).

By means to study further about the totalitarian dictatorship, the writer chooses the magnum opus *1984* authored by Eric Arthur Blair or well-known as George Orwell, since it can give us a clear view about the rise and fall of totalitarianism. George Orwell is very famous for his dystopian novel, which depict the plague and catastrophe caused by the wrong ideology.

If we examine the meaning of dystopia further, we can at least glance at the background of the novel. In most dystopian fiction, a corrupt government creates or maintains the poor quality of life, often conditioning the masses to believe the society is perfect. Most dystopian fiction takes place in the future but often purposely incorporates contemporary social trends taken to extremes. Dystopias are frequently written as warnings and *1984* works as an alarm that there is no guarantee that totalitarianism will not resurrect again even in modern era like nowadays.

The writer chooses George Orwell's *1984* as the literary work to be studied because it is the closest representation of the historical events happened in Russia, Germany, Japan, and Argentina as a matter of totalitarian reigning regime. The atmosphere, settings, and the condition of the society under totalitarian system are clearly depicted in the novel.

Orwell depicted how the fascist totalitarian system, which is run by single party or elite, reigned the country with the iron fist completed with its high technology, concentration camps, classless society, war, and centralized economic system in order to make the society in uniformity and live under fear as well as to control to make them obey.

Orwell described the details of the single-party government that is similar to the German Nazi while on the peak. The government in *1984* keeps people in line by controlling how they think. The government uses high technology to deceive the society, indoctrinate them, and to spread their propagandas to associate them with what they do not want the people do. Through the party slogan “War is Peace, Freedom is Slavery, and Ignorance is Strength”, the totalitarian party put the ideology in the fundamental element of the society.

They also use newspeak - a new language that removes words that could be used to think negatively about the government. The idea is that if the word "freedom," for instance, did not exist, then no one would even think about the concept of freedom. This government also seeks to control people by controlling history. If the government does not like something that has happened, they erase it from the record as if nothing happened.

They also tend to deceive people by giving twisted news so that people would think that the country does all right. As long as people believe that the country is fine, the legitimating power is always at safe. As far as the people are concerned, they are conditioned to think only of the present. This also includes the termination of culture such as music, books, and movies.

There is no creativity and freedom, because the government has made and provided the cultures that of course fulfilled with propagandas and doctrines. They are too afraid that cultures could weaken the totalitarian supremacy and give people the power to attack the government. Totalitarian

government would not tolerate individual creativity that threatened the conformity and obedience required of citizens in a totalitarian state.

To give other details toward the novel, *1984*, Orwell divides the fictional super states in the book according to the division that can be found in our history's own Cold War. Oceania stands for the United States of America, Eurasia for Russia and Eastasia for China. The fact that the two socialistic countries Eastasia and Eurasia (in our case Russia and China) are at war with each other, corresponds to our history.

B. Problem Formulation

There are three major problems that are going to be analyzed, they are:

1. How are the main characters characterized?
2. How is the power of totalitarianism described in the novel?
3. How does the totalitarianism cause the inauthenticity toward the main characters?

C. Objectives of the Study

Based on the problem formulation above, this study has several aims to be achieved. First of all, the writer will analyze the description of the main characters that are the Party members. By examining the characters, we can look deeper to the condition of the Party and society portrayed in the novel that experienced the oppression done by totalitarian government. The second aim would be the identification of how the totalitarian system described in the novel.

Then the third aim is to find out the connection between totalitarianism and the inauthenticity of the main characters. With those three objectives of the study, they will give evidence about the unique characteristics of George Orwell's *1984* in setting up the totalitarian oppression through literary work using the moral philosophical approach.

D. Definition of Terms

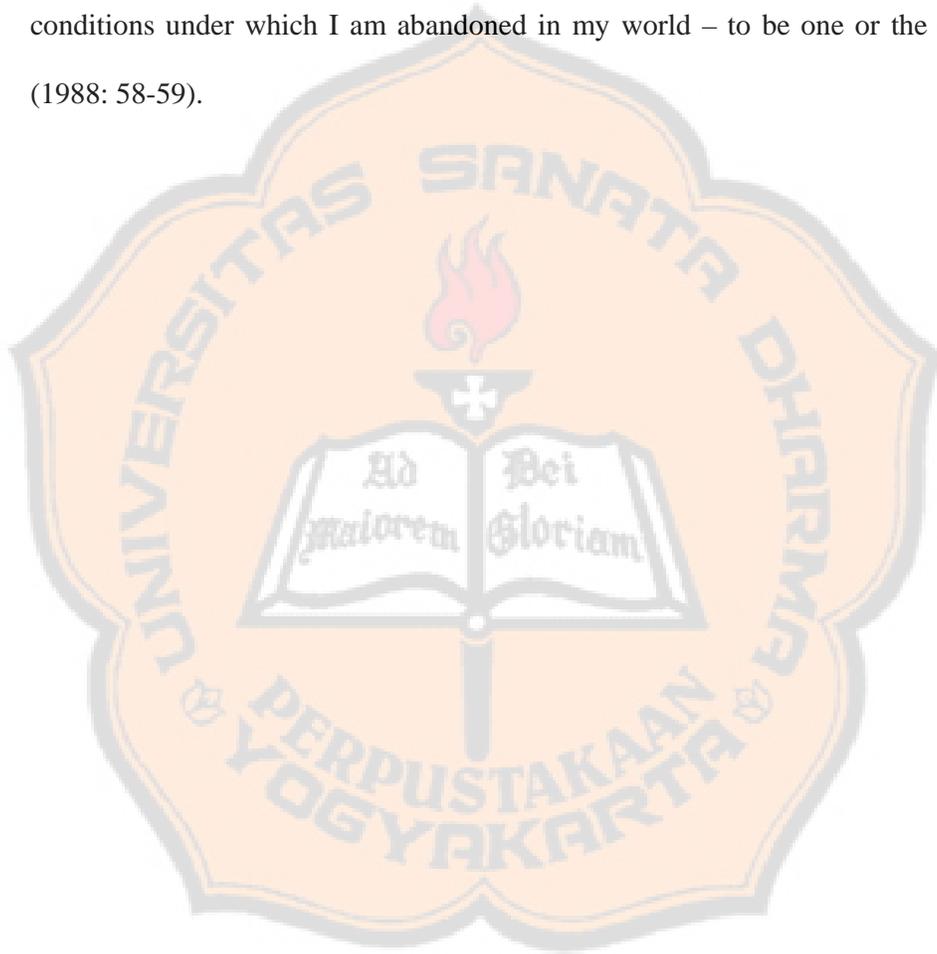
In order to avoid misunderstanding and to give clear background and meaning about the term used in the study, it is important to state the definition of terms.

1. Totalitarianism

Frank M. Nagill in the book *International Encyclopedia of Government and Politics* stated that totalitarianism is the government system, which developed in the first half of the twentieth century, characterized by the dictatorial rule of a single political party and its leader in the pursuit of a political ideal. Totalitarian government requires that individual citizens should be completely dependent to the state. The characteristic of totalitarian political system is in the role of ideology, which becomes the basic of their movement. Totalitarian leaders have an imagination and vision of perfect society that should happen in their countries, by forcing and mobilizing all the human and natural resources of the society for the realization of the ideal society (1996: 1367).

2. Inauthenticity

Eugene Francis Kaelin in his *Heidegger's Being and Time: A Reading for Readers* stated that Inauthenticity (Uneigentlichkeit) means to forego normal choice and to adopt those offered by the world or other people. Such are the conditions under which I am abandoned in my world – to be one or the other (1988: 58-59).



CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL REVIEW

This chapter covers some reviews related to the work of literature and some theories relevant to support the analysis on the topic discussed in this thesis. Reviews and theories will be arranged into two subchapters. The first one, review of related studies that contain some important criticisms and comments about the work of literature. The second subchapter will consist of some related theories used to analyze the topic.

A. Review of Related Studies

1984 is recognized as Orwell's best work of literature as well as his last before he passed away in 1950. *1984* does not merely stand alone to criticize dictatorship. Before Orwell wrote *1984*, Aldous Huxley had shocked the world with his brilliant novel *Brave New World*, but none could describe totalitarianism as clear as *1984*.

George Orwell was really concerned about the details of his work as William Steinhoff wrote on his book *George Orwell and the Origins of 1984*. He wrote that *1984* could be understood on both comprehensiveness and richly significant detail only by regarding it as a culminating work, which expresses even epitomizes, a lifetime's ideas, attitudes, events, and reading. The history of the atmosphere, details, insights, and judgments in *1984* is embedded in Orwell's life and earlier work (1976: 4).

Besides giving us the depiction of terrifying totalitarian system with all its consequences, George Orwell was able to use direct vocabulary and plain language that resulted in straightforward narration. This is due to his experience as a journalist and essayist that closely related to the poor as Krishan Kumar wrote in his book *Utopia and Anti-Utopia in Modern Times*. He explained that the main limitation of Orwell as a novelist is that he was never able to transfer his experience completely into the universality of art. His voice as the essayist and journalist shadows and presents in all his fictional works including *1984* (1991: 293-294).

Leslie Tentler in his article *I'm Not Literary, Dear: George Orwell on Women and the Family* in the book of *The Future of Nineteen Eighty-Four* writes that in relation with Orwell's theme in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is the necessary connection between private life and public life, between sex, gender roles, family relations, and politics. The younger reader may find that Orwell has considered and placed woman, sex, and family not in the same level of equality toward its political importance. They will consent on Orwell's most obvious sexual them that means as rebellion as affirmation individual identity (1984: 47).

As George Orwell pointed out the danger of totalitarian system in *1984*, he created a despotic figure of a totalitarian leader called the Big Brother who stands on top of hierarchy of the government and society. There is always someone above all in the totalitarian regime that society has to obey. Kit Reed in his book *Barron's Book Notes: George Orwell's 1984* writes that Orwell has

several things in mind when he created Big Brother. He was certainly thinking of the Russian totalitarian leader Joseph Stalin and German Nazi leader Adolph Hitler. The creation of Big Brother is to represent the totalitarian leaders of the world. Orwell may have been thinking about figures in certain religious faiths when he created Big Brother: the mysterious, powerful, god-like figure who sees and knows everything (1984: 14). Alan O. Ebenstein, Edwin Fogelman, and William O. Ebenstein in their book *Today's Isms* described the similarity between fascist totalitarian leaders and Big Brother:

Only the leader need not kneel before anyone. Below the top leader-“Big Brother”, as George Orwell called this authoritarian figure in his novel *1984*, the classic fictional portrait of totalitarianism-each member of the party and government hierarchy must kowtow to someone higher up, although in return he or she may tread on those lower down (1994:85).

Indeed, inside a totalitarian state, people outside the ruling class, however, have no one to command; they have only to obey. Freedom of expression and individuality do not exist at all and as one who respects freedom above all.

The oppression, violence, and hatred done by the despotic government will then result in the loss of identity to the society due to the lack form of culture, self-expression, and freedom to determine their own life. Everything had been set up by the government and people only have to follow the system without even dare to fight against the government's policies.

Today, even totalitarianism has been buried deep down inside the earth; it does not mean that it cannot reemerge. The fear of the rise of totalitarianism still can be felt today and no one cannot guarantee that it will not resurrect. The writer sees that through the novel *1984* we should be aware of another

despotism and dictatorship to rise as experienced by Indonesia during the Soeharto regime, German under Adolf Hitler, and Russia under Stalin. Although the Soeharto regime cannot be easily said as totalitarian regime, however, still it carried the spirit of tyranny and part of totalitarianism. Thus, the writer focuses on certain characteristics of totalitarianism revealed in the novel *1984* to be analyzed concerning to the inauthenticity as the impact. Totalitarianism, by all means, has a direct impact to the condition that leads to the inauthenticity as they use the excessive power, fear, and terror to dictate the society. This research will focus on the excessive totalitarian power and its strategies to control over the society and the impact that is inauthenticity of the main characters.

B. Review of Related Theories

In order to do the analysis in this study, the writer uses several theories that will support the analysis.

1. Theory of Character

Sir Gerald Barry and J. Bronowski in their book *The Doubleday Pictorial Library of the Arts, Man's Creative Imagination*, wrote that there are two types of characters based on the basis of importance. They are the major and minor characters. The major character is the focus of the story, or other words, the story is about this character. However, the major character cannot stand alone. There must be another character to make the story convincing and alive. Here, the story and the major character needs a minor one (1974: 71).

In *A Glossary of Literary Terms* written by M.H. Abrams, characters are the persons described in a certain literary work that have moral and natural qualities that can be identified by seeing what they say as in the dialogue and what they do in as the action (1981: 23). To understand what the characters say and act is very important in analyzing the character because through the analysis of what the characters say and act, we can go further in doing the analysis on the characterization of the characters.

Mario Klarer in his *An Introduction to Literary Studies* stresses on the rendering of characters either as types or as individuals. A character in types in literature is dominated by one specific trait and can be referred to as a flat character. Moreover, the term round character usually denotes a persona with more complex characteristics and distinctive features (1999: 17).

2. Theory of Characterization

M.J. Murphy in his *Understanding Unseens: an Introduction to English Poetry and English Novels for Overseas Students* (1972: 161-173), there are nine ways to make the characters easier to be understood that the authors usually use:

a. Personal Description

The author can explain a character from his physical appearance such as his body or his clothes.

b. Character as Seen by Another

The author can describe a character by using the perspective of other characters.

c. Speech

Character can be described through speech or what the character says. Whenever a person speaks or in conversation with other character, or puts forward opinion, he or she is giving the reader some clues to his or her characteristic.

d. Past Life

By letting the readers know about the character's past life, the author can give some clues to the readers to understand the character itself. This can be done by the direct comment of the author, character's thoughts, his or her conversation and also through the medium of other character

e. Conversation of Others

The readers can understand a character by noticing conversations of other characters and things they say about him or her.

f. Reaction

The readers can get to know the characteristics of a character in his or her reaction toward various situations and events since reaction shows the character's tendency.

g. Direct Comment

In direct comment, the author gives comments or personal opinion directly to the character he creates.

h. Thoughts

The author can show the characteristics of a character by using thought of a character. If the readers are subjectively involved in the character's thought, they can easily understand the personalities and the position of a character, as if they are the character itself.

i. Mannerism

The author can also describe the character's mannerisms, habits, or idiosyncrasies to let the readers understand the characteristics of a character.

Hugh Holman and William Harmon in their book entitled *A Handbook to Literature: Fifth Edition* wrote that characterization basically can be done in three ways. First, is called the explicit presentation, which means that the author gives direct exposition of the characters so that the readers can grasp the characteristics of the character that are already certain directly. Second, is the presentation of character in action meaning that there is no explicit comment by the author, and the reader examines the characters' characteristic by seeing the action of the characters. The last one is the presentation from within a character "without comment on the character by the author, of the impact of actions and emotions on the characters inner self" (1986:83).

3. Theory of Totalitarianism

In her magnum opus *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Hannah Arendt clearly stated the typical and basic form of totalitarianism. Totalitarian government is characterized by powerful leader or supreme power. Between the

supreme power and the ruled there are no reliable intervening levels, each of which would receive its due share of authority and obedience. The will of the leader can be embodied everywhere and at all times, and he himself is not tied to any hierarchy (1951: 405).

Arendt wrote that totalitarian movements are mass organizations of atomized, isolated individuals. If we compared with all other parties and movements, their most conspicuous external characteristic is their demand for total, unrestricted, unconditional, and unalterable loyalty of the individual member (1951: 323). According to Hannah Arendt, there are four characteristics of totalitarianism: the leader, terror, propaganda, and indoctrination.

Totalitarian leader, in the center of the movement, acts as the motor that swings it into motion. He is separated from the elite formation by an inner circle of the initiated that spread around him an aura of impenetrable mystery which corresponds to his “intangible preponderance”. His position within this intimate inner circle depends upon his ability to spin intrigues among its members. Totalitarian leader is seen as such an “idol”. Such idolatry is hardly proof – as is sometimes asserted – of pseudoreligious or heretical tendencies. The “idols” are mere organizational devices, familiar from the ritual of secret societies, which also used to frighten their members into secretiveness by means of frightful, awe-inspiring symbols. It was usual that both German Nazi and Bolshevik Russia did such ritual or mass meeting as propaganda. In the center of the Nazi ritual was the so-called “blood banner”, and in the center of the Bolshevik ritual stands the mummified corpse of Lenin, both of which introduce a strong element

of idolatry into the ceremony (Arendt, 1951: 373-377). The mass meeting is the strongest form of propaganda because each individual feels more self-confident and more powerful in the unity of a mass (Arendt, 1951: 357). Propaganda is used to win the masses, which contains in it practical lies, predictions, and ideological doctrines. In Russia, Stalin decided to rewrite the history of the Russian Revolution, the propaganda of his new version consisted in destroying, together with the older books and documents, their authors and readers (Arendt, 1951: 341-342).

Meanwhile, terror as the execution of a law of movement whose ultimate goal is not the welfare of men or the interest of one man but the fabrication of mankind, eliminates individuals for the sake of the species, sacrifices the "parts" for the sake of the "whole" (Arendt, 1951: 465). Totalitarian terror achieved its most terrible triumph when it succeeded in cutting the moral person off from the individualist escape and in making the decisions of conscience absolutely questionable and equivocal (Arendt, 1951: 152). Propaganda is indeed part and parcel of "psychological warfare"; but terror is more. Terror continues to be used by totalitarian regimes even when its psychological aims are achieved: its real horror is that it reigns over a completely subdued population. Where the rule of terror is brought to perfection, as in concentration camps, propaganda disappears entirely (Arendt, 1951: 344).

Authority, no matter in what form, always is meant to restrict or limit freedom, but never to abolish it. Totalitarian domination, however, aims at

abolishing freedom, even at eliminating human spontaneity in general, and by no means at a restriction of freedom no matter how tyrannical (Arendt, 1951: 405). Total domination, which strives to organize the infinite plurality and differentiation of human beings as if all of humanity were just one individual, is possible only if each and every person can be reduced to a never-changing identity of reactions, so that each of these bundles of reactions can be exchanged at random for any other. The problem is to fabricate something that does not exist, namely, a kind of human species resembling other animal species whose only "freedom" would consist in "preserving the species." Totalitarian domination attempts to achieve this goal both through ideological indoctrination of the elite formations and through absolute terror in the camps. The camps are meant not only to exterminate people and degrade human beings, but also serve the ghastly experiment of eliminating, under scientifically controlled conditions, spontaneity itself as an expression of human behavior and of transforming the human personality into a mere thing. Under normal circumstances this can never be accomplished, because spontaneity can never be entirely eliminated insofar as it is connected not only with human freedom but with life itself, in the sense of simply keeping alive. It is only in the concentration camps that such an experiment is at all possible (Arendt, 1951: 438).

Any neutrality, indeed any spontaneously given friendship, is from the standpoint of totalitarian domination just as dangerous as open hostility, precisely because spontaneity as such, with its incalculability, is the greatest of all obstacles to total domination over man. Total power can be achieved and

safeguarded only in a world of conditioned reflexes, of marionettes without the slightest trace of spontaneity. Precisely because man's resources are so great, he can be fully dominated only when he becomes a specimen of the animal-species man. Therefore character is a threat and even the most unjust legal rules are an obstacle; but individuality, anything indeed that distinguishes one man from another, is intolerable. As long as all men have not been made equally superfluous - and this has been accomplished only in concentration camps - the ideal of totalitarian domination has not been achieved (Arendt, 1951: 456-457).

Terror can rule absolutely only over men who are isolated against each other. Isolation is the fertile ground and isolated men are powerless by definition. Isolation and impotence, which is the fundamental inability to act at all, have always been characteristic of tyrannies. Political contacts between men are severed in tyrannical government and the human capacities for action and power are frustrated. But not all contacts between men are broken and not all human capacities destroyed. The whole sphere of private life with the capacities for experience, fabrication and thought are left intact. We know that the iron band of total terror leaves no space for such private life and that the self-coercion of totalitarian logic destroys man's capacity for experience and thought just as certainly as his capacity for action. What we call isolation in the political sphere, is called loneliness in the sphere of social intercourse. Isolation and loneliness are not the same. I can be isolated - that is in a situation in which I cannot act, because there is nobody who will act with me - without being lonely; and I can be lonely - that is in a situation in which I as a person feel myself

deserted by all human companionship - without being isolated. Totalitarian government, like all tyrannies, certainly could not exist without destroying the public realm of life, that is, without destroying, by isolating men, their political capacities. But totalitarian domination, as a form of government is new in that it is not content with this isolation and destroys private life as well. It bases itself on loneliness, on the experience of not belonging to the world at all, which is among the most radical and desperate experiences of man. What makes loneliness so unbearable is the loss of one's own self which can be realized in solitude, but confirmed in its identity only by the trusting and trustworthy company of my equals. In this situation, man loses trust in himself as the partner of his thoughts and that elementary confidence in the world which is necessary to make experiences at all. Self and world, capacity for thought and experience are lost at the same time (Arendt, 1951: 474-477). Hannah Arendt writes that "the only person who is still private individual in Germany is somebody who is asleep" (1951: 339).

In *Today's Isms* by Alan O. Ebenstein, William Ebenstein, and Edwin Fogelman, Plato strongly believed that only one class, the "philosopher-kings" is fit to rule a society. This concept was then applied as a principle that totalitarian government frankly opposed to what they called the "democratic fallacy", which is that people are capable of governing themselves. The concept is that only a small minority of population - qualified by birth, education, or social standing - is capable of understanding what is best for the entire community. In all human relations characterized totalitarianism as a way of life

rather than as a mere system of government. Furthermore, fascism is totalitarian; it employed authority and violence in all kinds of social relations, whether political in nature or not. It can be seen that fascist totalitarianism, unlike traditional dictatorships, sought to control all phases of human life, political or not. It used any form of coercion, from verbal threats to mass murder, to obtain its goals (1994: 91).

4. Theory of Human Freedom

Erich Fromm in his book *The Fear of Freedom* stated that positive freedom is when one can relate himself spontaneously to the world in love and work, in the genuine expression of his emotional, sensuous, and intellectual capacities; he can thus become one again with man, nature, and himself, without giving up the independence and integrity of his individual self (1960: 120).

Erich Fromm argues that the realization of the self is accomplished not only by an act of thinking but also by the realization of man's total personality, by the active expression of his emotional and intellectual potentialities. These potentialities are present in everybody, but they only become real only to the extent to which they are expressed. Positive freedom consists in spontaneous activity of the total, integrated personality. Spontaneous activity is not compulsive activity, to which the individual is driven by his isolation and powerlessness; it is not the activity of the automaton, which is the uncritical adoption of patterns suggested from the outside. Spontaneous activity is free activity of the self. This activity does not merely mean "doing something", but

the quality of creative activity that can operate in one's emotional, intellectual, and sensuous experiences and in one's will as well (1960: 222-223).

Spontaneity is also the answer of the problem of freedom. Negative freedom or "freedom from" makes an individual an isolated being, whose relationship to the world is distant and distrustful and whose self is weak and constantly threatened. Spontaneous activity is the one way in which man can overcome the terror of aloneness without sacrificing the integrity of his self; for in the spontaneous realization of the self man unites himself anew with the world – with man, nature, and himself (1960: 224-225).

Again Erich Fromm argues that the inability to act spontaneously, to express what one genuinely feels and thinks, and the resulting necessity to present a pseudo self to others and oneself, are the root of the feeling of inferiority and weakness. Positive freedom as the realization of the self implies the full affirmation of the uniqueness of the individual. Men are born equal but they are also born different. The uniqueness of the self in no way contradicts the principle of equality, that they all have the same inalienable claim on freedom and happiness (1960: 226-228).

James Collins in his book *The Existentialists: A Critical Study*, pointed out that human subjectivity is a spontaneous, autarchic center of freedom, since it underlies all its essential projects and need be under bondage to none of them. Every act of this self is free; every act proposes an intentional project and hence sets a value for itself. The gaining of authentic freedom is the sole prize of life because a man is no more than the sum of his free acts (1952: 80-81).

5. Theory of Alienation

John K. Roth in the book *International Encyclopedia of Ethics* stated that alienation can be in two forms, which are alienation from species-being (society, social consciousness) and estrangement between the self and the other (Roth, 1995: 26). Work can be alienating when it becomes self-denying activity rather than becoming the satisfaction of a need for human self-fulfillment, as it only a means as survival (1995: 26).

Alienation from species-being means that a person is alienated from the society he or she lives within. The roles open to the individual allowing him to relate his social community and are among the most central to his welfare and personal development, and they define his contact with social life. Aside from his work and his basic living and consumption unit – be it nuclear family or more extended commune – social community is the most important potential contribution to his well-being. In *Views on Capitalism*, yet when his community is ugly, vast, and impersonal and through its fragmented and impotent role structure it fails to provide adequate personal outlets, the individual becomes estranged from his community (Romano and Leiman, 1975: 376-377).

The estrangement between the self and the other means that each person is equally estranged from his or her true human essence when he is not what he really could be – when he cannot love, play, run, work, spiritualize, relate, create, empathize, or aid as much as our potential allows (Romano and Leiman, 1975: 377).

In the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, the idea of alienation remains an ambiguous concept with elusive meanings, and the following variants are being most common:

- (1) Powerlessness, the feeling that one's destiny is not under one's own control but is determined by external agents, fate, luck, or institutional arrangements,
- (2) Meaninglessness, referring either to the lack of comprehensibility or consistent meaning in any domain of action (such as world affairs or interpersonal relations) or to a generalized sense of purposelessness in life,
- (3) Normlessness, the lack of commitment to shared social conventions of behavior (hence widespread deviance, distrust, unrestrained individual competition, and the like)
- (4) Cultural estrangement, the sense of removal from established values in society (as, for example, in intellectual or student rebellions against conventional institutions),
- (5) Social isolation, the sense of loneliness or exclusion in social relations (as, for example, among the minority group members)
- (6) Self-estrangement, perhaps the most difficult to define and in a sense the master theme, the understanding that in one way or another the individual is out of touch with himself (<http://britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/15408/alienation>).

Rollo May in his book *Love and Will*, stated that anxiety (loneliness or "abandonment anxiety" being its most painful form) overcomes the person to the extent that he loses orientation in the objective world. To lose the world is to lose one's self, and vice versa; self and world are correlates. The function of

anxiety is to destroy the self-world relationship (1969: 151). Alienation, then, is felt as a loss of the capacity to be intimately personal (1969: 70).

Erich Fromm, in his book *Marx's Concept of Man* writes that labor is alienated because the work has ceased to be a part of the worker's nature and consequently, he does not fulfill himself in his work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery rather than well being, does not develop freely his mental and physical energies but is physically exhausted and mentally debased. The worker therefore feels himself at home only during his leisure time, whereas at work he feels homeless (1963: 8).

6. Existential Authenticity and Inauthenticity

Existentialism is closely-related to the authenticity that means that the attitude in which one engages in his projects as his own. Authenticity defines a condition on self-making. To be authentic can also be thought as a way of being autonomous. In choosing resolutely – that is, in committing to a certain course of action, a certain way of being in the world. Existentialism is also related to themes such as nothingness, dread, boredom, the absurd, freedom, alienation, and so on (<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/existentialism/>).

In contrast, the inauthentic life would be one without such integrity, one in which “I” allow my life-story to be dictated by the world. The inauthentic person, merely occupies such a role, and may do so irresolutely, without commitment. Thus existentialism's focus on authenticity leads to a distinctive stance towards ethics and value-theory generally. The possibility of authenticity

is a mark of *my* freedom, and it is through freedom that existentialism approaches questions of value, leading to many of its most recognizable doctrines ([http:// plato.stanford.edu/ entries/ existentialism/](http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/existentialism/)).

Dr. Dana S. Belu according to Heidegger in her paper entitled *Existentialism and Phenomenology* (2004: 2-3), argues that existence is related to the being (*Dasein*) and society (*Das man*). Our experiences with the world are the beginning of understanding what Heidegger felt was best labeled as inauthenticity. At this point, we find that people are already inauthentic beings. The way we unoriginally experience the world is through curiosity, ambiguity, and idle talk. These three channels are the way we are with one another, and they are the “fallen” ways of being.

Dasein is already fallen, he’s inauthentic, but this is not something that he can avoid. After all, he is part of the world, and part of Das Man. It is unavoidable because Dasein is always part of something. Whether they are in school, and they are aware of what is to be done, or at work. They follow the norms of what society has dictated. Falling is Dasein fleeing into Das Man and asserts his they-self. Dasein becomes anxious, which is an anxiety he is most unfamiliar with. Unlike fear, his anxiety doesn’t have an object, so out of anxiety he flees back to Das Man. Das Man offers a shelter from nothingness. It offers to take away all the things that make Dasein responsible. In fallenness, Dasein closes himself off to his possibilities. The inauthentic Dasein follows the norms and takes them for what it is. In addition, he accepts the derivative

experiences such as ambiguity, curiosity, and idle talk to be truths. (http://philosophia.blueobservatory.com/athena/phi54Heide_sarte.pdf).

F. Budi Hardiman in his book *Heidegger dan Mistik Keseharian (Heidegger and the Mystic of Everydayness)*, stated that *Dasein* is authentic only when he opens himself to his *being* by sensing his everydayness deeply. *Dasein* will be inauthentic if he drowns in his everydayness and falls into *das Man* (2008: 80). If *Dasein* falls into *das Man* without being himself, *Dasein* will be alienated, since *das Man* can make everything in uniformity. We read as the people read, we think as the majority people think, and so on. Thus, the uniqueness of *Dasein* can be vanished and he becomes inauthentic (2008: 130).

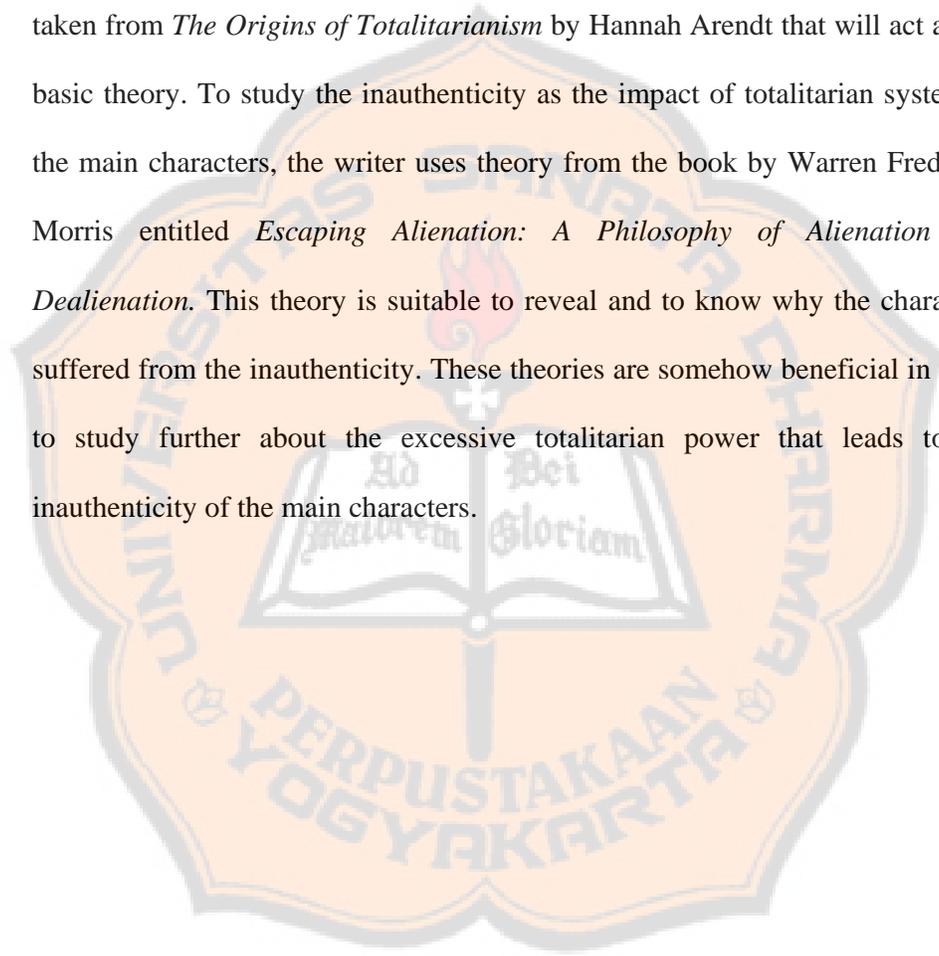
Taylor Carman in his essay *The Concept of Authenticity* published in *A Companion to Phenomenology and Existentialism* cited Heidegger that authentic is what formally unique and particular to each individual human being. Authentic, then, is what is most my own. Authenticity has to do with the unique first-person structure of existence. Heidegger maintains that fear is inauthentic, not because anything wrong with it, but because it is an intentional state directed at things outside oneself; *fear* is fear of something. Authenticity understood as resisting conformism and coming into one's own, in turn comprises distinct element that is "resoluteness". To be resolute is to remain sensitive to the unique demands of the concrete "situation". Resolute agents, that is, maintain a subtle feel for the situations they confront and so are able to deal with them intelligently, skillfully, with finesse (2006: 233-234).

Warren Frederick Morris in his book *Escaping Alienation: A Philosophy of Alienation and Dealienation*, stated that self-existence will be marked by autonomy and authenticity, not by a psycho-sociological pathology of domination by alien Others. In addition, self-existence will be marked by a conscience related to freedom, not one censoring the natural desires and aspirations of each self. Human needs will be more easily satisfied without fear of consequences, without the coercion of any repressive authority (2002: 269). When self-identification is uncoerced and meets the test of self-existence, it is authentic and autonomous. Autonomous and authenticity cannot be separated, just as freedom and rationality cannot be separated. If the self behaves only as *they* prescribe and not from its own choice and conviction, its character loses both autonomy and authenticity. It may not itself be free, but live merely a shadow life dictated by the Other(s) (2002: 101).

C. Theoretical Framework

The theories will contribute answers to the problems mentioned and the review of related studies is needed to add some more information about criticisms and comments on 1984. The review of related theories will stand in parallel with the review of related studies to give a deeper understanding about the study. The elaboration of review of related studies and review of related theories helps the writer to obtain the answers of the problem formulated previously in chapter I.

Since the topic is about the inauthenticity of the main characters within totalitarian state found in the novel *1984*, several theories included in totalitarianism are used in analysis section. To find out about the characteristics and strategies of totalitarianism of the party, the theory of totalitarianism is taken from *The Origins of Totalitarianism* by Hannah Arendt that will act as the basic theory. To study the inauthenticity as the impact of totalitarian system of the main characters, the writer uses theory from the book by Warren Frederick Morris entitled *Escaping Alienation: A Philosophy of Alienation and Dealienation*. This theory is suitable to reveal and to know why the characters suffered from the inauthenticity. These theories are somehow beneficial in order to study further about the excessive totalitarian power that leads to the inauthenticity of the main characters.



CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

A. Object of the Study

The object of the study that is going to be analyzed is a novel by George Orwell entitled *1984*. *1984* was written in 1949 and it is the most powerful yet stunning work of literature that Orwell ever made. It is published by Signet book in 1949 and contains of 237 pages that are divided into three parts.

Part I includes eight chapters that describe Winston Smith's life under the thumb of the ruling Party. In Chapter I, it describes Winston's loneliness and his thought about being a Party member and how he really dislikes the Party. It is also an introduction towards the Party's policies among the society.

Part II consists of ten chapters that cover the love affair between Winston and Julia – female Party member and activist in Junior Anti-Sex League - and how they start to make a subversive plan toward the Party. In this part, Winston meets O'Brien, member of the inner Party and Thought Police that is disguised and believed to be the member of the Brotherhood – an underground movement that fights against the Party as long as Winston could remember.

The secret Brotherhood has a printed doctrine entitled *The Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism* written by the Brotherhood leader named Emmanuel Goldstein, whose existence remains a question. According to the Party, Emmanuel Goldstein is also the leader of this underground movement. He

always appears in *Two Minutes Hate* as an eternal enemy and symbolizes evil. The book is spread clandestinely and believed to be just a myth. No one would ever know the shape or even read it. People in the country would only call it as *The Book*. In this part, Winston finally gets a copy of the Brotherhood's doctrine from O'Brien and starts to study the Brotherhood's ideas in order to seek for the ways to overthrow the Party.

Part III contains of six chapters that depict the details of the Party's conspiracy about the secret Brotherhood. At the final chapter, it depicts how Winston undergoes the brainwashing conducted by O'Brien who is in fact works as double agent. What makes the novel interesting is that the novel is completed with appendix that explains the description of the Newspeak – a new kind of English, which terminates unnecessary words that is used by all Party members. Almost all of the Party members use Newspeak.

The main purpose of the Newspeak language is mind control. For example if the word *freedom* does not exist, than no one would think about the concept of freedom. Another purpose of the Newspeak language is to simplify English language. For instance, if there is already the word *good*, there is no need for the word *bad*. On the other hand, they would use the word *ungood*, and so on. The setting of *1984* is in London, in a country named as Airstrip One. Airstrip One lays in Oceania continent and has been in endless war with Eurasia and Eastasia.

B. Approach of the Study

Since the study is dealing with the inauthenticity, the writer uses moral philosophical approach to analyze the object of the study. Literature and philosophy are influencing each other and since the moral philosophical approach deals with the moral values, it is appropriate to apply this approach in this literary work (1984).

Wilfred L. Guerin in *A Handbook of Critical Approaches to Literature* writes that:

Moral philosophical approach is as old as Classical Greek and Roma critics. Plato, for example emphasized moralism and utilitarianism; Horace stressed *Dulce et utile* (delight and instruction) (1979: 29).

Guerin continues, as the principle of moral philosophical approach is dealing with moral value and the philosophy of life, then it should transfer its function in finding the truth inside the literary work. The basic position of this approach is in relation to the function of literature itself in teaching morality and finding philosophical issues. These two aims would interpret literature within a context of the philosophical thought or paradigm of a period or group (1979: 29).

The moral philosophical approach is appropriate to reveal the inauthenticity of the characters since the writer should go through philosophical perspective. This study will apply the approach in order to reveal the connection between the inauthenticity of the characters and the totalitarian system. In addition, when we are talking about existentialism, it is always connected with characters or being (*Dasein*) and society (*Das man*). Existentialism tries to find out why a character or being (*Dasein*) cannot be separated from society (*Das*

man), and since a character cannot be separated from the society, we can conclude that he is no longer authentic since a character is dictated by norms, regulations, or laws.

C. Method of the Study

In analyzing the study, the writer used library research since the primary data to support the analysis are available in textbook form. The source in which the writer used in this study is taken from the library such as the novel *1984*, which is the basic data. Other textbooks that the writer found very helpful are *The Origins of Totalitarianism* by Hannah Arendt that helped the writer revealed the history and characteristic of totalitarianism. Book by Edwin Fogelman, Alan O. Ebenstein, and William Ebenstein entitled *Today's Isms* is also helpful to understand the theory of dictatorship.

Then to find out the concept of inauthenticity of human being, the book *Escaping Alienation: A Philosophy of Alienation and Dealienation* acts as a basic theory. The second data source is taken from the Internet. Its aim is to support the primary data source as well as to obtain data that is not available through the library.

The writer used systematic steps to do the analysis. First, the writer read the novel several times to get deeper and detailed understanding. Second, the writer obtained the references and data to support the topic on inauthenticity and totalitarianism. Third, the writer used the theories that were already obtained, and then combined them to answer the problem formulation as the main analysis

of the study. Finally, the writer answered the problem formulation through analysis and drew conclusion about the inauthenticity that is caused by totalitarian system.



CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

This chapter contains the answer of the problems formulated previously in Chapter I. This chapter consists of three main parts. The first part is about the characterization of the characters in the novel. The second part is about the description of totalitarian party and its strategies. While the third part discusses the inauthentic self-being or characters as the impact of totalitarian strategies that appears in the novel.

A. The Description of the Characters

In the novel *1984* by George Orwell, the major characters are only two characters. They are Winston Smith and Julia. Both Winston Smith and Julia are members of the Outer Party and they are falling in love with each other. They decided to rebel against the Party by joining the underground movement called The Brotherhood. This study is focusing on the condition and the struggle of two major characters to fight against the totalitarian party. These two characters will be the main focus of the analysis in this subchapter. The writer will describe the characterization of the major characters by elaborating the theory of characterization proposed by Hugh Holman and William Harmon and M.J. Murphy in describing the characters. The theory from Hugh Holman and William Harmon is very helpful to describe the characters by identifying the utterances spoken and action done by the characters, the description given by the author, and

the representation from within the characters. By using M.J. Murphy's theory, the writer can analyze the description of the characters through the identification from the author in nine ways. Those are personal description, character as seen by another, speech, past life, conversation of others, reaction, direct comment, thoughts, and mannerisms. The writer classifies the major characters into two characters.

1. Winston Smith

Winston Smith is the main character and becomes the main focus in the novel. He is 39 years old and a member of the Outer Party who works in the Records Department of the Ministry of Truth. His job is to rewrite the history of London (Airstrip One) to suit with Party's ideologies. The writer examines this character and concludes that Winston Smith has four characteristics.

a. Fatalistic

Winston Smith is fatalistic because he does not care about the consequences and risks of his acts that might lead him to punishment. His fatalism is also the result of desperation and helplessness. He loathes the Party and Big Brother but this is a very serious crime. No one could stand against the Party. Winston Smith knows it, and that what makes him feel helpless and desperate, because he cannot do anything to overthrow the Party.

In the beginning of the novel, Winston Smith decided to write a diary. This diary is aimed to be the record of the existing events that Winston Smith experienced, because he believes that the Party manipulates and alters every fact of the event that happened in the past. He bought the book in ordinary shop where

Party members were not supposed to go there. Winston Smiths knows that the act of writing a diary could be punished by death or at least by twenty-five years in forced-labor camp (1950: 8-9). Although it is such a dangerous act, Winston Smith still writes on his diary though he knows exactly what kind of punishment and risk that he will face.

This, if we refer to Hugh Holman and William Harmon in their book *A Handbook to Literature: Fifth Edition*, is the explicit presentation, which means that the author gives direct exposition of the characters so that the readers can grasp the characteristics of the character that are already certain directly (1986: 83).

One day, he writes “Down with Big Brother” in his diary. Although Winston Smith feels a twinge of panic, he is not tempted to tear out the page because he knows that it is useless since he had committed the essential crime: Thoughtcrime, they called it (1950: 17). Thoughtcrime is the most terrible crime and it will lead anyone who commits doing that to the most horrible punishment or death. Although Winston Smith really knows about the risk, he keeps on writing on his diary. He does not care at all. Even then he writes in a hurried untidy scrawl and lets the diary open on the table:

Theyll shoot me I dont care theyll shoot me in the back of the neck I dont care down with big brother they always shoot you in the back of your neck I dont care down with big brother – (1950: 18).

Although he is afraid of being caught by the Thought Police – the secret police of the Party – it does not stop him from writing his diary. He knows that sooner or later, the Thought Police will capture him. But he thinks that it is

useless to stop writing or tear the pages out because he feels that the Thought Police already knew what he has done.

Whether he wrote *Down With Big Brother*, or whether he refrained from writing it, made no difference. Whether he went on the diary, or whether he did not go on with it, made no difference. The Thought Police would get him just the same...Thoughtcrime was not a thing that could be concealed forever. You might dodge successfully for a while, even for years, but sooner or later they were bound to get you (1950: 17-18).

The writer can conclude that the beginning of his fatalism is the activity of writing a diary. Because Winston Smith thinks that he has committed a serious crime, it does not even matter if he committed another serious crime because it would be just the same to him, and the punishment would also be the same.

He was already dead, he reflected. It seemed to him, that it was only now, when he had begun to be able to formulate his thoughts, that he had taken the decisive step. The consequences of every act are included in the act itself (1950: 24).

He realizes that the act of writing a diary is a big leap of his life. He can finally make up his own mind and do what he wants to do. This is something important to him, and because of that he does not even care of Thought Police. But this important change of his life has the high price to pay: death. His fatalism is not just writing a diary, because he realizes that any acts that might undermine the Party can be punished by death, he then decides to join the secret rebellion, The Brotherhood. And the stakes of joining this secret movement are high too.

b. Brave

Winston Smith decided to rebel against the Party by joining the secret Brotherhood. He believes that the Brotherhood is the right counter-movement to overthrow the Party. He, then, meets O'Brien who offers Winston Smith to join

the Brotherhood. According to M.J. Murphy in his *Understanding Unseens: an Introduction to English Poetry and English Novels for Overseas Students* (1972: 161-173), a character can be described through speech or what the character says. Whenever a person speaks or in conversation with other character, or puts forward opinion, he or she is giving the reader some clues to his or her characteristic. Before Winston Smith leaves O'Brien's flat, O'Brien asks some questions regarding Winston Smith's commitment towards the Brotherhood:

"...You will understand that I must start by asking you certain questions.

In general terms, what are you prepared to do?"

"Anything that we are capable of," said Winston.

"You are prepared to give your lives?"

"Yes."

"You are prepared to commit murder?"

"Yes."

"To commit acts of sabotage which may cause the death of hundreds of innocent people?"

"Yes."

"To betray your country to foreign powers?"

"Yes."

"You are prepared to cheat, to forge, to blackmail, to corrupt the minds of children, to distribute habit-forming drugs, to encourage prostitution, to disseminate venereal diseases – to do anything which is likely to cause demoralization and weaken the power of the Party?"

"Yes."

"You are prepared to lose your identity and live out the rest of your life as a waiter or a dock worker?"

"Yes."

"You are prepared to commit suicide, if and when we order you to do so?"

"Yes." (1950: 130 – 131).

From the conversations between O'Brien and Winston Smith above, we can directly catch the bravery of Winston Smith. He is brave because he is ready to face any dangers including being caught by the Thought Police. He is not even afraid to commit suicide if he is ordered to do so. He is ready for any risks and consequence that might endanger his life. He is also willing to sacrifice anything

including his life and give all his efforts to overthrow the Party so that the country can have better future and life.

His act of writing a diary though he knows exactly the punishment of doing it also indicates that he has the courage to do it. He thinks that writing a diary is an easy task, but then he realized that all he needs is courage because he can be spotted easily since there is a device called telescreen in his room that monitors and spies all Party members.

It was curious that he seemed not merely to have lost the power of expressing himself, but even to have forgotten what it was that he had originally intended to say. For weeks past he had been making ready for this moment, and it had never crossed his mind that anything would be needed except courage (1950: 9).

c. Rebellious

In the chapter two of the novel, it tells us about the love affair between Winston Smith and Julia – a girl member of the Anti-Sex League and works in the Fiction Department – and their active rebellion. Together they arrange a secret meeting to make love and talk about the future and rebellion against the Party but with no notion of how to take the first step (1950: 116). He rebels because he thinks that the Party is tyrannical and full of deceptions. Winston Smith dreams of revolutionary rebellion to overthrow the Party. He thinks that:

If there was hope, it must lie in the Proles, because only there, in those swarming disregarded masses, eighty-five percent of the population of Oceania, could the force to destroy the Party ever be generated...Rebellion meant a look in the eyes, an inflection of the voice...They needed only to rise up and shake themselves like a horse shaking off flies. If they chose they could blow the Party to pieces tomorrow morning (1950: 55).

His rebellion starts when Winston Smith joins the secret Brotherhood – an underground movement which aimed to overthrow the Party. Winston Smith

thinks that by joining the Brotherhood, his rebellion can be more directed to fight against the Party. He thinks that it is more accurate if he joins the Brotherhood rather than rebelling alone. He can attack the Party directly because the Brotherhood is more organized. He can join the secret Brotherhood when he meets O'Brien. O'Brien gives him the book of Brotherhood doctrine and Winston Smith starts to studying it curiously.

Winston Smith also rebels through sexual activities. Winston Smith knows that the Party forbids the sexual activities for the sake of pleasure especially between Party members. He thinks that it is the perfect act of rebellion against the Party.

Tacitly the Party was even inclined to encourage prostitution, as an outlet for instincts which could not be altogether suppressed. Mere debauchery did not matter very much, so long as it was furtive and joyless, and only involved the women of a submerged and despised class. The unforgivable crime was promiscuity between Party members... The aim of the Party was not merely to prevent men and women from forming loyalties which it might not be able to control. Its real, undeclared purpose was to remove all pleasure from the sexual act... The only recognized purpose of marriage was to beget children for the service of the Party. Sexual intercourse was to be looked on as a slightly disgusting minor operation, like having an enema... The Party was trying to kill the sex instinct, or, if it could not be killed, then to distort it and dirty it (1950: 52).

Since the Party does not allow any pleasure from sexual activity, Winston Smith and Julia believe that it is love like theirs that could destroy the Party. It is an active rebellion through sexual intercourse although the scale of the rebellion is small or just between both of them; they at least, build their own world where Big Brother does not even exist.

And what he wanted, more even than to be loved, was to break down the wall of virtue, even if it were only once in his whole life. This sexual act, successfully performed, was rebellion (1950: 71). That was above all what

he wanted to hear. Not merely the love of one person, but the animal instinct, the simple undifferentiated desire: that was the force that would tear the Party to pieces (1950: 96).

Winston Smith and Julia choose sex as a weapon to rebel against the system of the Party. The pleasure of sexual activity is dangerous for the Party because the Party is afraid if its citizens are enjoying the pleasure of having sex. The pleasure of having sex can decrease the worship towards the Big Brother and it is considered as a revolt against the Party. The proof of this argument can be found in page 102 of the novel:

When you make love you're using up energy; and afterwards you feel happy and don't give a damn for anything...If you are happy inside yourself, why should you get excited about Big Brother and the Three-Year Plans and the Two Minutes Hate and all the rest of their bloody rot? That was very true, he thought. There was a direct, intimate connection between chastity and political orthodoxy. For how could the fear, the hatred, and the lunatic credulity which the Party needed in its members be kept at the right pitch except by bottling down some powerful instinct and using it as a driving force? The sex impulse was dangerous to the Party, and the Party had turned it to account (1950: 102).

The Party knows the danger of this love-making pleasure and they strictly forbid the sexual intercourse. They start to do the research on insemination so that there is no need to have sexual intercourse to conceive. The aim of the Party is how to channel the energy and feelings of every Party member to the love of Big Brother and the Party. Making all the efforts and life of the Party members dedicated to Big Brother only. And it is obvious that Winston Smith does not obey the Party and Big Brother.

d. Anxious

Winston Smith is depicted to be the misfit in the novel because he does not feel safe and comfortable anymore. He cannot enjoy anything he does and express

all his feelings and emotions. All of his efforts are dedicated toward his job, the Party, and Big Brother. He wants to express his thoughts but there is no chance because all that he ought to do are just obeying the Big Brother and the Party. Winston Smith also tries to gain all evidence the past events, but no matter how hard he tries, he cannot find any truths about the past events. He thinks that the old times had a very different life, where human beings can express their emotions and feelings freely. This kind of feeling then leads to the anxiety because he cannot find any evidence to prove that the party was wrong. He also feels desperate because he cannot remember his past life and cannot imagine about his future. His future is an abstract object because he does not know what life would be if the Party still on the rise. His anxiety is a form of his doubt about the past and the future as well as his loneliness, weakness and helplessness of being the minority.

He does not fit with the Party policies and always questioning the facts of the past events that the Party has altered over and over again. He feels alone and thinks that he is the only one who fights against the Party.

He felt as though he were wandering in the forests of the sea bottom, lost in a monstrous world where he himself was the monster. He was alone. The past was dead, the future was unimaginable. What certainty had he that a single human creature now living was on his side? And what way of knowing that the dominion of the Party would not endure *for ever*? (1950: 23).

Indeed, Winston Smith is a lonely person. All Party members are being alienated from their work, from their social relationship of one and another, and from their activities. All Party members have no spare time and are never alone except in bed (1950: 64).

People in the Records Department did not readily talk about their jobs. In the long, windowless hall, with its double row of cubicles and its endless rustle of papers and hum of voices murmuring into speakwrites, there were quite a dozen people whom Winston did not even know by name, though he daily saw them hurrying to and fro (1950: 34).

Alienation in workplace and loneliness in his private life also lead to the anxiety because he cannot share what he feels and thinks. Human being is supposed to be socially engaged, but Winston Smith and all Party members are not supposed to engage in deeper social relationship. This lack of social relationship is the root of his anxiety because he feels empty. Rollo May in his book *Love and Will*, stated that anxiety (loneliness or “abandonment anxiety” being its most painful form) overcomes the person to the extent that he loses orientation in the objective world. To lose the world is to lose one’s self, and vice versa; self and world are correlates. The function of anxiety is to destroy the self-world relationship (1969: 151). Alienation, then, is felt as a loss of the capacity to be intimately personal (1969: 70).

All Party members rarely talk about their personal life. When Winston Smith meets other Party members in the canteen, they usually discuss their works. Indeed, he does not have friends to rely on.

It was his friend Syme, who worked in the Research Department. Perhaps “friends” was not exactly the right word. You did not have friends nowadays, you had comrades (1950: 39).

Winston Smith also never feels safe because he thinks that someone is always watching him. It is the figure of Big Brother that can be found everywhere. He feels that whatever he does is slightly dangerous and against the will of the Party. His anxiety comes up because his feeling of helplessness and weakness.

Always the eyes watching you and the voice enveloping you. Asleep or awake, working or eating, indoors or out of doors, in the bath or in bed – no escape. Nothing was your own except the few cubic centimeters inside your skull (1950: 23).

Winston Smith is caught between fear and anxiety. He fears that the Thought Police will arrest him and get him into the Room 101 – the most terrifying torture chamber ever imagined. As soon as he writes “Down With Big Brother” in his diary, Winston is very sure that the Thought Police will quickly capture him for committing a thoughtcrime. This fear of getting caught by the Thought Police leads to the anxiety, because he cannot feel safe and there is no place to hide.

2. Julia

Julia is a 26 year-old girl who works in the Fiction Department. Her job is dealing with novel-writing machines. She is also the member of the Junior Anti-Sex League. In the novel, Julia falls in love with Winston Smith and engages in rebellion.

a. Smart

George Orwell can describe a character by using the perspective of other characters. According to Winston Smith, Julia is not a typical person who pays attention to any political issues. But actually, Julia is smart enough to deceive the Party especially with her secret disobedience.

Whenever he began to talk of the principles of Ingsoc, doublethink, the mutability of the past and the denial of objective reality, and to use Newspeak words, she became bored and confused and said that she never paid any attention to that kind of thing... She knew when to cheer and when to boo, and that was all one needed (1950: 119).

She is also good at playing the camouflage game and rebelling while staying alive because those are the things needed to survive. “No. I’ve thought it all out. What you do, I’m going to do. And don’t be too downhearted. I’m rather good at staying alive.” (1950: 126).

According to Julia, if one wants to survive, he or she has to camouflage by obeying the Party, but behind the obedience, there lies the hatred and rebellion toward the Party and Big Brother. Julia hides her hatred towards the Party by engaging in all Party activities. It is the safer way to camouflage and to stay alive.

“You thought I was a good Party member. Pure in word and deed...It’s this bloody thing that does it,” she said, ripping off the scarlet sash of the Junior Anti-Sex League and flinging it onto a bough...Actually I am that sort of girl, to look at. I’m good at games. I was a troop leader in the Spies. I always look cheerful and I never shirk anything. Always yell with the crowd, that’s what I say. It’s the only way to be safe.” (1950: 93).

Julia knows that she has to camouflage and she is good at doing that. She has to act as if she is loyal to the Party. In order to be safe, she has to be one of the fanatic Party members, but deep in her heart, she really hates the Party and Big Brother. Julia is seldom having spare time. She keeps busying herself with activities given by the Party, but she explains that it was only for camouflage. She has her own way of rebelling against the Party that is by breaking the rules through sexual activity.

She spent an astonishing amount of time in attending lectures and demonstrations, distributing literature for the Junior Anti-Sex League, preparing banners for Hate Week, making collections for the savings campaign, and suchlike activities. It paid, she said; it was camouflage. If you kept the small rules you could break the big ones (1950: 99).

She is also good at spotting people by their physical appearance. Then, when she saw Winston Smith, she could notice that Winston Smith is against the Party and that is why Julia interested to Winston Smith.

It was something in your face. I thought I'd take a chance. I'm good at spotting people who don't belong. As soon as I saw you I knew you were against *them* (1950: 93).

b. Rebellious

Unlike Winston Smith who dreams of large-scale revolutionary rebellion to overthrow the Party, Julia does not even care about that. She only cares about their affair and how to avoid getting caught by the Party. She thinks that she can only rebel by secret disobedience. Winston Smith once called Julia "a rebel from the waist downwards" because she is not interested in political issues and only interested in their affair.

Such a thing as an independent political movement was outside her imagination... You could only rebel against the Party by secret disobedience or, at most, by isolated acts of violence such as killing somebody or blowing something up (1950: 116-117).

Although she never kills or blows something up, she has her own definition of rebellion. Her rebellion can be defined as secret disobedience since she rebels secretly by having sexual intercourse with other Party members. She rebels because she hates the Big Brother and Party members who are hypocrites.

Her rebellion is rather insignificant and seems to have no impact but she thinks that it is worth than just doing nothing. The most important thing for her is how to break the rules while staying alive at the same time. Because she believes that "If you kept the small rules you could break the big ones" (1950: 99).

Her point of view towards the rebellion is quite simple, since it is just a part of her secret hatred towards the Party as well as a part of her camouflage game. She thinks that if the Party tries to steal what is good for you, then she also has the right to get what she wants even with the risk of being caught.

Life as she saw it was quite simple. You wanted a good time; “they,” meaning the Party, wanted to stop you having it; you broke the rules as best as you could. She seemed to think it just as natural that “they” should want to rob you of your pleasures as that you should want to avoid being caught. She hated the Party, and said so in the crudest words, but she made no general criticism of it (1950: 100).

Her most rebellious action is her sexual adventure. Through sexual activity, she can prove that not all Party members are holy, and through their love affair, Julia and Winston Smith seek their freedom to love each other. They can build their own world where they can love each other freely and unconditionally, where there is no rule from the Party and idolatry of Big Brother.

It was not merely that the sex instinct created a world of its own which was outside the Party’s control and which therefore had to be destroyed if possible. What was more important was that sexual privation induced hysteria, which was desirable because it could be transformed into war fever and leader worship (1950: 102).

Julia does not want to let the Party transform her energy to absolute fanaticism towards the Party and Big Brother. She wants her energy bursts out on the most fundamental relationship of mankind that are love and sexual intercourse. Then since the Party does not allow that kind of basic human relationship, she decides to rebel against that. She said that she has been doing sexual intercourse hundred times with other Party members. This, if we refer to the Party policy which forbids the sexual activity between Party members, is considered as a serious crime and Julia, on the contrary, does not try to obey the

policy and rule and seems to enjoy her sexual adventures and does not want to stop.

“Have you done this before?”

“Of course. Hundreds of times – well, scores of times, anyway.”

“With Party members?”

“Yes, always with Party members.”

“With members of the Inner Party?”

“Not with those swine, no. But there’s plenty that would if they got half a chance. They’re not so holy as they make out.” (1950: 96)

Julia does not care about Winston’s plan to join the Brotherhood, but she is always supporting him. When they meet each other in their hiding place, they usually talk about engaging in active rebellion (1950: 116). From Winston’s point of view we can also see the rebellious side of Julia:

A thing that astonished him about her was the coarseness of her language. Party members were supposed not to swear, and Winston himself very seldom did swear, aloud, at any rate. Julia, however, seemed unable to mention the Party, and especially the Inner Party, without using the kind of words that you saw chalked up dripping alleyways. He did not dislike it. It was merely one symptom of her revolt against the Party... (1950: 94).

c. Courageous

Like Winston Smith, Julia also has courage to take the risk of being punished for their rebellion. The courage of Julia can be seen when she gives a letter to Winston Smith when they pass each other. She writes “I love you” in the letter and this is slightly dangerous, because Party members are supposed not to have contact except for the sake and purpose of the Party.

Julia’s courage can also be seen when she talks to Winston Smith about the probability of being caught. Winston Smith realizes that the affair like theirs is never safe and he plans to stop it before it is too late. Julia encourages Winston Smith not to give up their relationship. She ensures him that they can be together

as long as possible. “If you mean confessing,” she said, “we shall do that, right enough. Everybody always confesses. You can’t help it. They torture you.” (1950: 126). Julia knows what will happen to them, but it does not mean that she would give up her love. She has the courage to face the risk of being tortured and ready if they are being caught.

Julia is also courageous to meet Winston Smith in their hiding place. Julia, knowing all the risk and consequences of her actions, is the one who always arrange the secret meeting in their hide-outs. The meetings are usually held outside the capital city of London, and the journey outside London is slightly dangerous. There are many hidden microphones as well as suspicious guards who would ask for papers and the purpose of the journey.

In general you could not assume that you were much safer in the country than in London. There were no telescreens, of course, but there was always the danger concealed microphones by which your voices might be picked up and recognized; besides, it was not easy to make a journey by yourself without attracting attention. For distances of less than a hundred kilometers it was not necessary to get your passport endorsed, but sometimes there were patrols hanging about the railway stations, who examined the papers of any Party member they found there and asked awkward questions (1950: 90).

Her bravery is also a proof that Julia really loves Winston Smith. Both Julia and Winston Smith know that there is no way out. Sooner or later they shall be apart, but Julia is never giving up although Winston Smith has asked her to leave the love affair behind.

He thought for a little while.”Has it ever occurred to you,” he said, “that the best thing for us to do would be simply to walk out of here before it’s too late, and never see each other again?”
“Yes, dear, it has occurred to me, several times. But I’m not going to do it, all the same.” (1950: 126).

Although they believe that the time to separate will come sooner or later, Julia never gives up until both of them are being captured by the Party. She has the courage to defend their relationship with all risks and consequences. The fear of being punished to death does not make her move backward.

B. The Description of Totalitarian Power

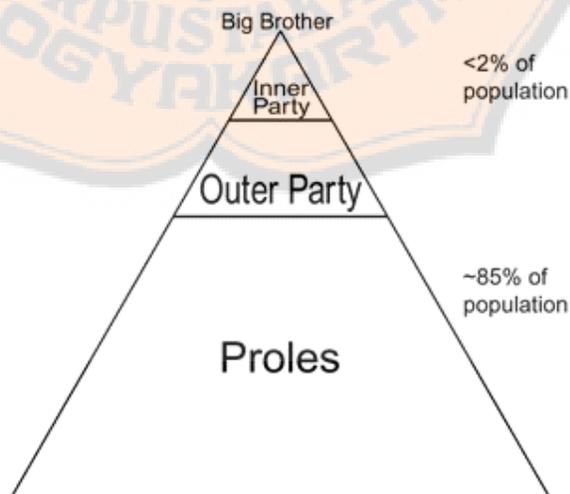
George Orwell has successfully built a horrible condition of a fictive country called Oceania where fear and terror are parts of daily life caused by totalitarian regime. The government in Oceania is one-party totalitarian dictatorship, meaning that there is only one political party that is run by a group of elite. This totalitarian party, which in the novel is called the Party, does not allow any political oppositions and sets up the iron curtain meaning that other countries cannot interfere the political rules and policies of the totalitarian country.

The Party rules the Oceania with excessive force and iron fist, demanding total obedience of the society towards the leader Big Brother and does not allow any freedom in individual and public sphere. Totalitarian government is characterized by powerful leader or supreme power. Between the supreme power and the ruled there are no reliable intervening levels, each of which would receive its due share of authority and obedience. The will of the leader can be embodied everywhere and at all times, and he himself is not tied to any hierarchy (Arendt, 1951: 405). It means that the totalitarian leader stands above all. He is all-powerful and does not attach to any hierarchy. Here in the novel, below the Big Brother there is only the Party and the classless society called the proles.

1. The Structure of Society of Oceania

What characterizes totalitarianism is the structure of society. There is only one leader that rules with iron fist. This leader is most powerful and below him is single party government and the classless society or proletarian.

The social and government structure of Oceania is pyramidal, with Big Brother at the apex of the pyramid. Big Brother is the leader of Oceania. He is never seen by physical appearance, but his power can be felt in the life of Oceania. Big Brother is the leader of the Party as well as the country. Below the Big Brother, there is the Inner Party, which consists of echelons and elites. The members of Inner Party are limited to six millions or only less than two per cent of the society. Below the Inner Party, comes the Outer Party, where Winston Smith and Julia belong to. Outer Party members are working class with excessive work hours. And at the bottom of the pyramidal structure, comes the Proles. The proles are considered as inferior and subhuman with total numbers almost eighty-five per cent of the population.



a. Big Brother

Big Brother is the figure of totalitarian leader in *1984*. In the novel, his presence is not marked by physical appearance but only through doctrines and propaganda. People can see the banners of Big Brother everywhere with the captions run “BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU”. All Party members are supposed to worship and obey Big Brother because he is the center of life.

Big Brother is infallible and all-powerful. Every success, every achievement, every victory, every scientific discovery, all knowledge, all wisdom, all happiness, all virtue, are held to issue directly from his leadership and inspiration. Nobody has ever seen Big Brother. He is a face on the hoardings, a voice on the telescreen (1950: 158).

This is the same with Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin who stand alone and not tied to any hierarchy. Big Brother’s power and will embodied in the ideology of the Party. Big Brother is mysterious, powerful, god-like figure that is untouchable.

Hannah Arendt makes the best arguments about totalitarian leader in her book *The Origins of Totalitarianism*.

In the center of the movement, as the motor that swings it into motion, sits the Leader. He is separated from the elite formation by an inner circle of the initiated who spread around him an aura of impenetrable mystery which corresponds to his “intangible preponderance”. His position within this intimate inner circle depends upon his ability to spin intrigues among its members (1951: 373).

It is true that in the novel *1984*, Big Brother acts as a law as well as the reason for the movement. Every acts and every policies come from Big Brother, and the society below him, only need to obey. It is the same as the Fuehrer in Germany. The will of the Fuehrer can be embodied everywhere and at all times,

and he himself is not tied to any hierarchy, not even the one he might have established himself (Arendt, 1951: 405).

In the novel there is a so-called ritual to praise Big Brother as well as to indoctrinate the Party members of fictive enemies called "Two Minutes Hate". In Two Minutes Hate, Big Brother comes as the savior of the country.

The Hate rose to its climax... Nobody heard what Big Brother was saying, it was merely a few words of encouragement...The little sandy-haired woman had flung herself forward over the back of the chair. With a tremulous murmur that sounded like "My Savior!" she extended her arms toward the screen. At this moment the entire group of people broke into a deep, slow, rhythmical chant of "B-B!...B-B!...B-B!" over and over again. Partly it was a sort of hymn to the wisdom and majesty of Big Brother (1950: 15-16).

In the novel, Big Brother does not come as a person or character. He is also never seen. We can conclude that Big Brother is just a totalitarian propaganda device to control and frighten people. To make people think that there is a real savior of the country to be idolized and to make people feel safe. Big Brother is an imagery figure made by the Inner Party to symbolize an undefeated leader who is always right for the people to obey and worship. Big Brother is the figure in which the people are forced to love and fear.

Big Brother is the guise in which the Party chooses to exhibit itself to the world. His function is to act as a focusing point for love, fear, and reverence, emotions which are more easily felt toward an individual than toward an organization (1950: 158).

Hannah Arendt stated that totalitarian leader is seen as an "idol". The "idol" is mere organizational devices, familiar from the ritual of secret societies, which also used to frighten their members into secretiveness by means of frightful, awe-inspiring symbols (1951: 377).

b. Inner Party

Another characteristic that sets totalitarianism from other ideologies is the form of government that is one-party government. In Germany there is Nazi and Bolshevik in Russia. Unlike oligarchic government, this one-party government uses total terror and annihilates the opposition who has different political opinion. They also use terror and propaganda to seize the absolute power. This kind of government is based on lie and fear, as Winston says,

And presently some master brain in the Inner Party would select this version or that, would re-edit it and set in motion the complex process of cross-referencing that would be acquired, and then the chosen lie would pass into the permanent record and become truth (1950: 37).

The Inner Party is the embodiment of the government in Oceania. This is where the administration, business, military activities, and other governmental business come from. We can say that Inner Party is the brain of the State. The Inner Party is thirst for power. Not just power over humanity, but the power to dominate the life, whether it is political or private life. The quest for power is often brutal and sadistic. Indoctrination, terror, and torture are just a few strategies to seize power.

The Party seeks power entirely for its own sake. We are not interested in the good of others; we are interested solely in power. Not wealth or luxury or long life or happiness; only power, pure power (1950: 200).

Unlike Outer Party members, the Inner Party is run by elite Party members who have privileges to enjoy and do things that Outer Party members cannot do or have. Even it is a very rare occasion for Outer Party members to visit the dwelling places or town where the Inner Party members live (1950: 128).

“It’s coffee,” he murmured, “real coffee.”

“It’s Inner Party coffee. There’s a whole kilo here,” she said.
“How did you manage to get hold of all these things?”
“It’s all Inner Party stuff. There’s nothing those swine don’t have, nothing.” (1950: 107-108).

From the dialogue between Winston Smith and Julia above, we can see that the Inner Party members enjoy the stuff that the Outer Party members do not have. Outer Party members only enjoy blackberry leaves instead of tea, saccharine instead of real sugar, bad coffee, rotten bread, and other improper stuff (1950: 107-108).

Another privilege that the Inner Party members have is that they can turn off the telescreen. It is shown when Winston Smith comes to O’Brien’s flat.

“You can turn it off!” he said.
“Yes,” said O’Brien, “We can turn it off. We have that privilege.” (1950: 129).

The numbers of the Inner Party members are limited to six millions; they are the intellectuals and planners of the country. Inner Party is the real government of Oceania that spread the propaganda and terror. They create Big Brother as the propaganda device. The caption “BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU” has the strong psychological effect that whatever a person does is being watched by Big Brother. It is very effective to control the people as well as to keep the people frightened.

William Ebenstein and Alan O. Ebenstein in *Today’s Isms* stated that this is the model of government run by elite that is only a small minority of population - qualified by birth, education, or social standing - is capable of understanding what is best for the entire community (1994: 90).

c. Outer Party

The Outer Party is the embodiment of the working class where the members are working in the governmental departments and ministries. In the novel there is a clear clue: “Below the Inner Party comes the Outer Party, which, if the Inner Party is described as the brain of State, may be justly likened to the hands” (1950: 158).

Outer Party members do not have freedom. Even they cannot express their thoughts freely. Winston Smith and Julia belong to this group and they spend astonishing work hours in the ministries. This is important to the Party, that by giving them excessive work hours the Outer Party members could not think about themselves and their feelings. This is an effective strategy to make them as robots instead of human being in order to gain unalterable loyalty. All their efforts are dedicated to the Party only.

Winston was gelatinous with fatigue...All the blood and lymph had been drained out of him by an enormous debauch of work. He had worked more than ninety hours in five days. So had everyone in the Ministry (1950: 136).

Outer Party members are the subject of indoctrination, propaganda and terror, where in their daily life they are being spied with telescreens night and day. This is something that the Party must do in order to ensure that the Outer Party members have the deep loyalty that the Party needs in order to reign. Hannah Arendt wrote that totalitarian movements are mass organizations of atomized, isolated individuals. If we compared with all other parties and movements, their most conspicuous external characteristic is their demand for total, unrestricted, unconditional, and unalterable loyalty of the individual member (1951:323).

Unlike Inner Party members, Outer Party members cannot fully enjoy the private and individual life. They cannot enjoy the luxury of life as well. Outer Party members live in poor condition and bad quality of life. They always lack of daily needs such as chocolate, cigarette, and even razorblade and shoelaces.

There had been a famine of them for months past. At any given moment there was some necessary article which the Party shops were unable to supply. Sometimes it was buttons, sometimes it was darning wool, sometimes it was shoelaces; at present it was razor blades (1950: 40).

Luxury is not a part of daily life of Outer Party members. They eat their lunches in crowded low-ceilinged canteen with grimy walls, and battered metal tables. All furniture and tableware are bad and there is always a sourish, composite smell of bad gin and bad coffee and metallic stew and dirty clothes. According to Winston Smith, there is always a sort of protest - feeling that he had been cheated of something that he had the right to - in the stomach and in the skin (1950: 47-48).

Outer Party members are not allowed to do something private since the telescreens scrutinize every movement and action. We can say that their life is supposed to be dedicated to the Big Brother and the Party only. There is no privacy even in their own flats. Every expression, feelings, and actions are being scrutinized. Winston Smith thinks that "privacy was a very valuable thing", because everyone wants a place where they could be alone occasionally (1950: 105).

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 recreations; to do anything that suggested for 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*, meaning individualism and eccentricity (1950: 64).

This is because totalitarian government can only operate through the isolated individuals. It is only through isolated and lonely individual that the Party could dominate and exercise power over the people. Hannah Arendt writes that totalitarian domination as a form of government which operates in this isolation and destroys private life as well. It bases itself on loneliness, on the experience of not belonging to the world at all, which is among the most radical and desperate experiences of man. What makes loneliness so unbearable is the loss of one's own self which can be realized in solitude (1951: 477).

d. The Proles

At the bottom of the pyramidal structure of Oceania come the Proles. The proles is a group of people which are outside the Party circle and its number is the largest population of Oceania that is almost eighty-five per cent. The government keeps the proles in ignorant and considers them as inferior and subhuman. The Party keeps the proles politically uneducated and only seeks for their labor power. The proles do not know about the Party political plans or direction. The proles are also the subject for propaganda and lies. As long as the proles knows that the country is alright, they will not rebel against the Party, besides, they do not have enough political education and power to overthrow the Party.

The Party taught that the proles were natural inferiors who must be kept in subjection, like animals, by the application of a few simple rules. So long as they continued to work and breed, their other activities were without importance. They were born, they grew up in gutters, they went to work at twelve, they passed through a brief blossoming period of beauty and sexual desire, they married at twenty, they were middle-age at thirty, they died, for the most part, at sixty (1950: 56).

Unlike Party members, the proles are not the subject of indoctrination of Party's ideologies. The Party sees no importance to indoctrinate them and keep them free but still under a little control. By keeping them politically uneducated (and feed them with propaganda and lies), the proles cannot overthrow the Party because as in the novel stated, "Being without general ideas, they could only focus it on petty specific grievances (1950: 57). So it means that the proles cannot do a revolution because they are lack of political knowledge and are being continuously feed by lies. They think that the country is stable and wealth.

The Party finds no difficulties to control the proles:

To keep them in control was not difficult. A few agents of the Thought Police moved always among them, spreading false rumors and marking down and eliminating the few individuals who were judged capable of becoming dangerous; but no attempt was made to indoctrinate them with the ideology of the Party. It was not desirable that the proles should have strong political feelings. All that was required of them was a primitive patriotism which could be appealed to whenever it was necessary to make them accept longer working hours or shorter rations (1950: 56).

The Party also permit some things for the proles to do or have that Party members cannot. The proles are permitted to follow their ancestral code. For example, sexual puritanism of the Party was not imposed upon them and promiscuity is left unpunished. Even proles can follow certain beliefs or religion if they want. They were beneath suspicion, as the Party slogans put it: "Proles and animals are free" (1950: 57).

Winston Smith thinks that since the Party does not indoctrinate them, the proles are stayed human. They still have pure emotions and feelings. They do not harden inside and Winston Smith is no longer despising the Proles as the Party taught it before.

They were governed by private loyalties which they did not question. What mattered were individual relationships...They were not loyal to a party or a country or an idea, they were loyal to one another. For the first time in his life he did not despise the masses...The masses had stayed human. They had not hardened inside. They had held onto the primitive emotions which he himself had to relearn by conscious effort (1950: 125-126).

2. The Totalitarian Domination

What makes totalitarianism different from other ideologies is the quest for absolute power and obedience. Authority, no matter in what form, always is meant to restrict or limit freedom, but never to abolish it. Totalitarian domination, however, aims at abolishing freedom, even at eliminating human spontaneity in general, and by no means at a restriction of freedom no matter how tyrannical (Arendt, 1951: 405). Besides having a charismatic and powerful leader, totalitarian government will not be successful if they do not have some strategies to control and dominate the society. Totalitarian government moves upon fear and hatred. Those two things are the basic of the strategies to seize power and to dominate, as well as to build total obedience and iron curtain. Hannah Arendt in her book *The Origins of Totalitarianism* formulated three devices or strategies of totalitarian government to control and dominate the people. The three strategies that are most important are propaganda, terror, and indoctrination. In the novel, George Orwell clearly described those strategies to depict the real horror under totalitarian government.

a. Propaganda

Propaganda is one of the important devices to convince the society. It is by propaganda that totalitarian government can deceive and convince the people that

what they are doing is right and they are heading toward great victory. In 1984, the Party uses propaganda to spread the lies as well as to convince both the proles and Outer Party members.

Every citizen, or at least every citizen important enough to be worth watching, could be kept for twenty-four hours a day under the eyes of the police and in the sound of official propaganda, with all other channels of communication closed. The possibility of enforcing not only complete obedience to the will of the State, but complete uniformity of opinion on all subjects, now existed for the first time (1950: 156).

As Hannah Arendt writes, Propaganda is used to win the masses, which contains in it practical lies, predictions, and ideological doctrines. In Russia, Stalin decided to rewrite the history of the Russian Revolution, the propaganda of his new version consisted in destroying, together with the older books and documents, their authors and readers (1951: 341-342). It is the same that happens in the novel.

Sometimes, indeed, you could put your finger on a definite lie. It was not true, for example, as was claimed in the Party history books, that the Party had invented airplane. He remembered airplanes since his earliest childhood. But you could prove nothing. There was never any evidence (1950: 30).

And the Party also rewrites the history books and destroys them.

The hunting-down and destruction of books had been done with the same thoroughness in the prole quarters as everywhere else. It was very unlikely that there existed anywhere in Oceania a copy of book printed earlier than 1960 (1950: 75-76).

The purpose of this kind of propaganda is about to convince the people that the totalitarian government is the greatest and victorious and to prove that the previous government (or any other governments) is failed or not suitable to reach the global domination. The Party and other totalitarian government always make

official predictions in front of the masses, and when the predictions do not come true and different with the reality, it is their job to rewrite the real records to suit with the predictions.

And presently some master brain in the Inner Party would select this version or that, would re-edit it and set in motion the complex process of cross-referencing that would be acquired, and then the chosen lie would pass into the permanent record and become truth (1950: 37).

Another form of propaganda is a regular mass meeting called Two Minutes Hate, where all Party members should attend it. Two Minutes Hate is a form of propaganda that shows Big Brother as the greatest savior and leader of Oceania and the eternal enemy of Oceania named Emmanuel Goldstein, who, according to the Party doctrine, is a leader of underground subversive movement the Brotherhood.

The program of the Two Minutes Hate varied from day to day, but there was none in which Goldstein was not the principal figure. He was the traitor, the earliest defiler of the Party's purity (1950: 21).

Like Big Brother, Emmanuel Goldstein is a figure that is created by the Party to symbolize absolute evil. Emmanuel Goldstein never appears in front of the public and his existence is such a myth. The totalitarian government needs to create an imagery enemy to frighten the people that without the totalitarian government, the state would be endangered by the absolute enemy and the life would no longer be safe and in turn, the people would depend their life to the state in order to be safe, because only the totalitarian government can save their life.

In the Two Minutes Hate the appearance of Emmanuel Goldstein is to show the Party members how an enemy, a traitor, and opponent should be treated: they do not give mercy to enemy. Mass meeting, in this case the Two Minutes

Hate, is important to strengthen the Party members, as Hannah Arendt stated that mass meeting is the strongest form of propaganda because each individual feels more self-confident and more powerful in the unity of a mass (1951: 357). It is the same with the German Nazi and the Russian Bolshevik. In the center of the Nazi ritual was the so-called “blood banner”, and in the center of the Bolshevik ritual stands the mummified corpse of Lenin, both of which introduce a strong element of idolatry into the ceremony (1951: 377). The appearance of Big Brother is used to make the Party members idolize and worship the leader, while the appearance of Emmanuel Goldstein is to represent the absolute evil that should be annihilated at all cost.

One of the functions of propaganda is to deceive the people that the country is wealth and stable. This is important in order to make the people trust the government. In the novel, the Party uses this kind of propaganda to deceive the people that Oceania is wealthier due to the effort of Big Brother.

Day and night the telescreens bruised your ears with statistics proving that people today had more food, more clothes, better houses, better recreations – that they lived longer, worked shorter hours, were bigger, healthier, stronger, happier, more intelligent, better educated, than the people of fifty years ago (1950: 58-59).

This is one of the lie that the Party always tell to the people. The reality is that the country is very poor. Outer Party members always have insufficient clothes and food and the proles do not have better houses, more food, and more clothes too.

b. Terror

Another strategy that is important to the totalitarian government is terror. Terror is the technique to control by fear and it acts as the counterpart of propaganda that always being used in daily life both in private realm and political realm. If propaganda is used to win over the people, terror on the contrary, is used to frighten and control the people. Hannah Arendt writes that “totalitarian terror achieved its most terrible triumph when it succeeded in cutting the moral person off from the individualist escape” (1951: 152). This is what terror is aimed, that is to seize the total domination.

In 1984, the terror by the Party varied but mostly it is done by the Thought Police. The aim of terror is to destroy the relationship between men and abolish the freedom in all aspect of life by spreading fears. Totalitarian government denies the concept of individual man and only seeks to form one mankind, and then terror is needed to keep the movement in motion. Soon after Winston Smith wrote “Down With Big Brother” in his diary, he fears of getting arrested by the Thought Police.

In the vast majority of cases there was no trial, no report of the arrest. 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: *vaporized* was the usual word (1950: 18).

This kind of terror is used to make the people obey the ideology of the Party as well as to spread the fear. There is no trial and reports, and people who committed crimes suddenly disappeared and never be heard anymore (in the novel is called vaporized) without any single record to show that one once existed.

Terror is also used to make the people to become isolated individuals who are important for the Party. By making the individual to be isolated and weak, the individual will submit their life and will give his loyalty to the Party.

Another type of terror is the use of torture chamber called Room 101 that is located in the Ministry of Love. Since fear is the basis of terror, Room 101 is the most terrifying for the people in Oceania because the Party uses everything to make the thoughtcriminals confess. No one ever see how Room 101 looks like because no survivor ever gets out from there. The moral, consciousness, and reason of the person are destroyed in the Room 101. The Party claimed that thoughtcriminals are insane and not following the Party's doctrine and ideologies totally, so the Party uses Room 101 in order to make them sane and to make them love Big Brother unconditionally. It is through tortures and suffers that all the process of making them sane (they called it reintegration) can be done.

“How does one man assert his power over another, Winston?”

Winston thought. “By making him suffer,” he said.

“Exactly. By making him suffer. Obedience is not enough. Unless he is suffering, how can you be sure that he is obeying your will and not his own? Power is in inflicting pain and humiliation. Power is in tearing human minds to pieces and putting them together again in new shapes of your own choosing.” (1950: 203).

This is the same condition that found in the concentration camp during the Nazi era as Hannah Arendt writes that the camps are meant not only to exterminate people and degrade human beings, but also serve the ghastly experiment of eliminating, under scientifically controlled conditions, spontaneity itself as an expression of human behavior and of transforming the human

personality into a mere thing (1951: 438), as the Party believes that “it will be a world of terror as much as a world of triumph” (Orwell, 1950: 204).

This is the uniqueness of totalitarianism since authority, no matter in what form, always is meant to restrict or limit freedom, but never to abolish it. Totalitarian domination, however, aims at abolishing freedom, even at eliminating human spontaneity in general, and by no means at a restriction of freedom no matter how tyrannical. The restriction of freedom can only be done with terror that is, to block and eliminate the human spontaneity and reduce their humanity to the lowest level (Arendt, 1951: 405).

The aim of terror is to cut the freedom and spontaneity of man, since the Party sees that freedom and spontaneous act of man could weaken the Party. Terror as the execution of a law of movement whose ultimate goal is not the welfare of men or the interest of one man but the fabrication of mankind, eliminates individuals for the sake of the species, sacrifices the "parts" for the sake of the "whole" (Arendt, 1951: 465). The Party is trying to make a world of fanatics and warriors, marching forward in perfect unity, all thinking the same thoughts and shouting the same slogans, perpetually working, fighting, triumphing, and persecuting. Three hundred million people all with the same face (Orwell, 1950: 58). As we can conclude, the Party denies the concept of individual. In this case human spontaneity and freedom is very dangerous and hostile to the Party and it is intolerable crime. Terror then is used to cut up the relationship of individual and the moral of one self. Terror is absolutely alienating

and isolating the individual, making a person loses his self and orientation to the world.

c. Total Indoctrination

Totalitarian government is well-known for its concentration camp like Auschwitz in Germany and Gulag in Russia. Concentration camp is where the endless nightmare happens, because torture, murder, and indoctrination are parts of daily life. Indoctrination can be done in concentration camp, and in the novel, Room 101. Room 101 is just a tool to build a world of fear and treachery and torment, where there will be no emotions except fear, rage, triumph, and self-abasement (Orwell, 1950: 203).

Totalitarian domination attempts to achieve this goal both through ideological indoctrination of the elite formations and through absolute terror in the camps. The camps are meant not only to exterminate people and degrade human beings, but also serve the ghastly experiment of eliminating, under scientifically controlled conditions, spontaneity itself as an expression of human behavior and of transforming the human personality into a mere thing. Under normal circumstances this can never be accomplished, because spontaneity can never be entirely eliminated insofar as it is connected not only with human freedom but with life itself, in the sense of simply keeping alive. It is only in the concentration camps that such an experiment is at all possible (1951: 438).

Winston Smith, after being arrested by the Party, is being tortured in the Room 101. He was beaten and kept in a cell without food for weeks. It is because Winston Smith committed the most essential crimes: He wrote a diary to speak his

mind, betrayed Big Brother and the Party by joining the Brotherhood (although it was a trap), and committed love affair with Julia. The tortures varied from day to day but the aim is only one: to degrade human being to the lowest level and to accept the doctrines without resistance.

In the Room 101, Winston Smith gets the reintegration stages according to O'Brien. In Room 101, Winston Smith is forced to totally accept the Party doctrines and ideology. The indoctrination can be found in the conversation between O'Brien and Winston Smith in the Room 101.

“Do you know where you are, Winston?” he said.

“I don't know. I can guess. In the Ministry of Love.”

“And why do you imagine that we bring people to this place?”

“To make them confess.”

“No, that is not the reason. Try again.”

“To punish them.”

“No!” exclaimed O'Brien.

“No! Not merely to extract your confession, nor to punish you. Shall I tell you why we have brought you here? To cure you! To make you sane! We are not interested in those stupid crimes that you have committed. The Party is not interested in the overt act; the thought is all we care about.” (1950: 192).

O'Brien said that there are three stages in Winston Smith's reintegration: learning, understanding, and acceptance (1950: 198). The aim of indoctrination of the Party is not how to make a person forced to accept the doctrine, but how to make him accept the doctrine in his own free will.

We are not content with negative obedience, nor even with the most abject submission. When finally you surrender to us, it must be of your own free will...So long as he resists us we never destroy him. We convert him, we capture his inner mind, we reshape him (1950: 194).

In the Room 101, freedom never exists. Winston Smith once wrote in his diary that “freedom is the freedom to say that two plus two makes four” (1950: 190).

The Party simply denies this concept of freedom.

“How many fingers am I holding up, Winston?”

“Four.”

“And if the Party says that it is not four but five – then how many?”

“Four.”

The word ended in a gasp of pain. The needle of the dial had shot up to fifty-five. The sweat had sprung out all over Winston’s body.

”You are a slow learner, Winston,” said O’Brien gently.

“How can I help it?” he blubbered. “How can I help seeing what is in front of my eyes? Two and two are four.”

“Sometimes, Winston. Sometimes they are five. Sometimes they are three. You must try harder. It is not easy to become sane.” (1950: 191).

This kind of indoctrination is to fabricate something that does not exist, namely, a kind of human species resembling other animal species whose only "freedom" would consist in "preserving the species" (Arendt, 1951: 438). Party members ought not to feel and think, they only need to obey and loyal to the Party and Big Brother. This model can only be made in concentration camp (Room 101 in the novel) where physically and psychologically a person is degraded.

C. The Inauthenticity as the Impact of Totalitarian System

In this subchapter, the writer will answer the third problem formulation to find out the relationship between inauthenticity and totalitarianism. Since the Party does not allow any form of freedom and self-expression in daily life, it results in the inauthenticity of the self. Freedom is marked by spontaneous activity, in which the self can relate what he does with the world surround him. Totalitarianism sees that any spontaneous activity is dangerous to the movement,

so they try to annihilate the freedom in any spheres, both private and political by using total terror and indoctrination. Thus, before the writer discusses the inauthenticity of the main characters as the impact of totalitarianism, the writer will discuss the lack of freedom and alienation suffered by the main characters.

1. The Lack of Freedom Experienced by the Main Characters

Hannah Arendt made a good point about why freedom is very dangerous for the Party dominion; it is because any neutrality, indeed any spontaneously given friendship, is from the standpoint of totalitarian domination just as dangerous as open hostility, precisely because spontaneity as such, with its incalculability, is the greatest of all obstacles to total domination over man. Total power can be achieved and safeguarded only in a world of conditioned reflexes, of marionettes without the slightest trace of spontaneity. Precisely because man's resources are so great, he can be fully dominated only when he becomes a specimen of the animal-species man. Therefore character is a threat and even the most unjust legal rules are an obstacle; but individuality, anything indeed that distinguishes one man from another, is intolerable. As long as all men have not been made equally superfluous - and this has been accomplished only in concentration camps - the ideal of totalitarian domination has not been achieved (1951: 456-457).

From the notions above, the totalitarian government, and in this case, the Party is trying to make a world of fanatics and warriors, marching forward in perfect unity, all thinking the same thoughts and shouting the same slogans,

perpetually working, fighting, triumphing, and persecuting. Three hundred million people all with the same face (Orwell, 1950: 58). The idea in the novel is the same with Hannah Arendt's theory that totalitarian government is trying to change the plurality of mankind and uniqueness of each individual "as if all of humanity were just one individual" (1951: 438).

The Party also tries to make their members like robots, with no feeling except love and fear of Big Brother. Winston Smith and Julia always live under the thumb of the Party. Winston Smith's lack of freedom can be found in the conversation between him and an old man in the bar. Winston Smith wants to dig up some information about the past, and he thinks that the old man has a lot of knowledge and experience about the past, although it results nothing since the old man cannot remember anything about the political life.

Winston had the feeling that they were talking at cross purposes.

"What I really wanted to know was this," he said. "Do you feel that you have more freedom now than you had in those days?" Are you treated more like human being? In the old days, the rich people, the people at the top__"

"The 'Ouse of Lords," put in the old man reminiscently.

"The House of Lords, if you like. What I am asking is, were these people able to treat you as an inferior, simply because they were rich and you were poor? (1950: 71).

From the conversation above we can conclude that Winston Smith feels there is no freedom in the life of Oceania. He wants to compare the life in the past and in the present. Another lack of freedom is that Winston Smith and Julia cannot be together freely. The Party forbids any relationship based on feelings such as love and care. The marriage is aimed only to beget children.

They did not discuss the possibility of getting married. It was too remote to be worth thinking about. No imaginable committee would ever sanction

such a marriage even if Katharine, Winston's wife, could somehow have been got rid of. It was hopeless even as a daydream (1950: 101).

While Winston Smith, always dreams that they were a married couple,

He wished that they were a married couple of ten years' standing. He wished that he were walking through the streets with her just as they were doing now, but openly and without fear, talking of trivialities and buying odds and ends for the household (1950: 106-107).

According to the Party policies, no marriage between Party members would ever get permission,

Permission was always refused if the couple concerned gave the impression of being physically attracted to one another. The only recognized purpose of marriage was to beget children for the service of the Party (1950: 52).

Since the Party forbids any relationship like marriage between Party members and sexual affair, it makes Winston Smith wants to rebel against the Party. Although this rebellion is not aimed to destroy the Party directly, it is only through sexual activities that both Winston Smith and Julia can build their own world far from Big Brother and the Party dictatorship.

Erich Fromm in his book *The Fear of Freedom* stated that positive freedom is when one can relate himself spontaneously to the world in love and work, in the genuine expression of his emotional, sensuous, and intellectual capacities; he can thus become one again with man, nature, and himself, without giving up the independence and integrity of his individual self (1960: 120). Again Erich Fromm argues that the inability to act spontaneously, to express what one genuinely feels and thinks, and the resulting necessity to present a pseudo self to others and oneself, are the root of the feeling of inferiority and weakness. Positive freedom as the realization of the self implies the full affirmation of the uniqueness

of the individual. Men are born equal but they are also born different. The uniqueness of the self in no way contradicts the principle of equality, that they all have the same inalienable claim on freedom and happiness (1960: 226-228). The Party denies the uniqueness of each individual. This uniqueness comes from each individual who is free to act positively. Thus, Winston Smith experienced the lack of freedom since he could not express his genuine feeling of loving and caring to his partner. That is why Winston Smith feels powerless and lonely.

The Party forbids any spontaneous activity that comes from the heart and mind as a form of self-expression. In the novel, for example, Winston Smith cannot fully express his thoughts by writing a diary. Winston Smith thinks that freedom is when we say that two plus two makes four, but if the Party says that two plus two makes five, Winston Smith has to follow what has been dictated to him (as happens to him in Room 101). This also happens to Julia that, in order to survive, Julia has to camouflage by doing activities that actually she despises. She is obliged to join the Two Minutes Hate and pretends that she really loves Big Brother and hates Emmanuel Goldstein although she really wants to laugh hard. She joins the Junior Anti-Sex League though she really enjoys having sex. They are all camouflages to dodge the punishments.

Here according to Erich Fromm, positive freedom consists in spontaneous activity of the total, integrated personality. Spontaneous activity is not compulsive activity, to which the individual is driven by his isolation and powerlessness; it is not the activity of the automaton, which is the uncritical adoption of patterns suggested from the outside. Spontaneous activity is free activity of the self. This

activity does not merely mean “doing something”, but the quality of creative activity that can operate in one’s emotional, intellectual, and sensuous experiences and in one’s will as well (1960: 222-223).

2. Alienation Experienced by the Main Characters

In 1984, the totalitarian government with its terror and fear cause the feeling of alienation suffered by the main characters. Hannah Arendt in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* stated that totalitarian domination as a form of government is new in that it is not content with this isolation and destroys private life as well. It bases itself on loneliness, on the experience of not belonging to the world at all, which is among the most radical and desperate experiences of man. What makes loneliness so unbearable is the loss of one's own self which can be realized in solitude (1951: 474).

Winston Smith experienced the alienation from the act of production. He spends excessive work hours but at the same time he also enjoys his job. He is good at doing his work and he can lose himself doing difficult task.

Winston’s greatest pleasure in life was in his work. Most of it was a tedious routine, but included in it there were also jobs so difficult and intricate that you could lose yourself in them as in the depths of a mathematical problem (1950: 36).

He likes the challenges, but this work is alienating since it is not self-affirming activity, it becomes self-denying activity. In order to survive, Winston Smith only obeys what the Party says and he cannot disagree with the order from the Party. In the novel, Winston Smith knows that his job is dealing with manipulating reality, meaning that he alters the real events and change them to

suit with the Party needs. Here, although he knows that his job is wrong and he feels guilty, he cannot protest, then according to John K. Roth in *International Encyclopedia of Ethics*, work becomes self-denying activity rather than becoming the satisfaction of a need for human self-fulfillment, it only a means as survival (1995: 26). In order to survive, Winston Smith is forced to follow the order though he actually does not want to do the job.

The job is only an escape because Winston Smith feels alienated in the world he lives in. Although he can enjoy his job, it is true that Winston Smith is actually alienated, for he hardly knows his colleagues; he cannot share everything he has or feels. The estrangement between the self and the other means that each person is equally estranged from his or her true human essence when he is not what he really could be – when he cannot love, play, run, work, spiritualize, relate, create, empathize, or aid as much as our potential allows (Romano and Leiman, 1975: 377).

Winston hardly knew Tillotson, and he had no idea what work he was employed on. People in the Records Department did not readily talk about their jobs...there were quite a dozen people whom Winston did not even know by name, though he daily saw them hurrying to and fro in the corridors (1950: 34).

Erich Fromm in his book *Marx's Concept of Man* writes that labor is alienated because the work has ceased to be a part of the worker's nature and consequently, he does not fulfill himself in his work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery rather than well being, does not develop freely his mental and physical energies but is physically exhausted and mentally debased. The worker therefore feels himself at home only during his leisure time, whereas at work he

feels homeless (1963: 8). In his job, Winston Smith does not develop his mental and physical energies; on the contrary, he is exhausted,

Winston was gelatinous with fatigue...All the blood and lymph had been drained out of him by an enormous debauch of work. He had worked more than ninety hours in five days. So had everyone in the Ministry (1950: 136).

Winston Smith is also powerless, helpless, and lonely, for he cannot disobey the job. His Powerlessness means that he feels that his destiny is not under his own control but is determined by external agents, and in this case, government, society, and institutional arrangements (<http://britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/15408/alienation>). He cannot find the meaning of his work and he cannot express his emotions because all that he ought to do is just obeying the Party's will. Winston Smith's job also alienates him because he rarely has leisure time to comfort himself and yet he "felt as though he were wandering in the forests of the sea bottom, lost in a monstrous world where he himself was the monster. He was alone" (Orwell, 1950: 23). This, if we refer to Rollo May, alienation is felt as a loss of the capacity to be intimately personal (1969: 70). Thus, due to the alienation and the loneliness in his daily life, Winston Smith feels anxious. He feels powerless and helpless and he needs something to abandon the anxiety. That is why he becomes fatalistic because he could not find a way to overcome his loneliness and anxiety.

Since totalitarian government cannot exist without destroying the public realm of life (Arendt, 1951: 474), the private life is destroyed and the community is failed to provide conducive atmosphere for the people to express their feelings and expression including political opinion. In *Views on Capitalism*, yet when his

community is ugly, vast, and impersonal and through its fragmented and impotent role structure it fails to provide adequate personal outlets, the individual becomes estranged from his community (Romano and Leiman, 1975: 376-377).

Like Winston Smith, Julia also suffers from alienation because of her job at the Fiction Department.

Julia, in any case, seldom had an evening completely free. She spent an astonishing amount of time attending lectures and demonstrations, distributing literature for the Junior Anti-Sex League, preparing banners for Hate Week, making collections for the savings campaign, and suchlike activities (Orwell, 1950: 99).

Julia does her job not because she likes it, but only for camouflage. By doing many kind of activities, she can act as if she is loyal to the Party. Actually she hates her job and cannot enjoy the jobs.

3. Inauthenticity as the Impact of Totalitarian System

The concept of inauthenticity (*uneigentlichkeit*) was firstly brought by Martin Heidegger in his magnum opus *Sein und Zeit* (*Being and Time*). Inauthenticity is also dealing with freedom and alienation. Authenticity has to do with the unique first-person structure of existence (Carman, 2006: 233). Alienation destroys the self-existence, since human being barely knows himself since he only follows the society (*das Man*).

Winston was gelatinous with fatigue...All the blood and lymph had been drained out of him by an enormous debauch of work. He had worked more than ninety hours in five days. So had everyone in the Ministry (Orwell, 1950: 136).

Since Winston Smith and Julia suffer from alienation caused by exhaustive jobs, they only follow what has been dictated to them. They work as people work, they eat in canteen as people eat in canteen, they think as they ought to think , and

they cheer as the people cheer. These activities of *das Man* makes the main characters barely know themselves. According to Heidegger, this is inauthentic, since human being (*Dasein*) has to dive deeper into his real essence as human by being true to himself and not by letting himself being dictated by the society (Hardiman, 2008: 80).

In the Two Minutes Hate he could not help sharing in the general delirium, but this subhuman chanting of “B-B!...B-B!” always filled him with horror. Of course he chanted with the rest: it was impossible to do otherwise. To dissemble your feelings, to control your face, to do what everyone else was doing was an instinctive reaction (Orwell, 1950: 16).

This condition is caused by the totalitarian system; man loses his uniqueness and does a thing because everyone else does the same. The dangerous thing is; it is merely instinctive.

In our daily life (everydayness according to Heidegger), we cannot avoid to be inauthentic for sometimes it is uncontrollable, because everydayness pulls us into worldly matters that make us forget our *being*, making the human being alienated from his self. Sometimes a person just accepts the social role offered by the society without being true to himself. Thus, inauthenticity is related to our quality of being true and sincere to ourselves and with the world. To be authentic means that we can relate ourselves to the world, meaning that we do something because we want to do something. On the other words, being spontaneous and autonomous, and we are fully responsible of our acts and the consequences.

In the novel, the inauthenticity of the main characters is the result of the total domination of the Party, for the Party does not allow freedom in all aspect of life. The writer concludes that the lack of freedom and the feeling of alienation are

the roots of inauthenticity as mentioned in <http://plato.stanford.edu>, that existentialism related to themes such as nothingness, the absurd, freedom, alienation, and so on (<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/existentialism/>).

As the main characters experienced the lack of freedom and alienation, the main characters then feel impotence and not capable to do something they really want. Freedom is defined by spontaneous activity of one self. Erich Fromm states that spontaneous activity is the one way in which man can overcome the terror of aloneness without sacrificing the integrity of his self; for in the spontaneous realization of the self man unites himself anew with the world – with man, nature, and himself (1960: 224-225).

To speak in existentialism way, James Collins in his book *The Existentialists: A Critical Study*, pointed out that human subjectivity is a spontaneous, autarchic center of freedom, since it underlies all its essential projects and need be under bondage to none of them. Every act of this self is free; every act proposes an intentional project and hence sets a value for itself. The gaining of authentic freedom is the sole prize of life because a man is no more than the sum of his free acts. (1952: 80-81). So freedom plays a great role in human existential authenticity. If a person cannot have positive freedom (freedom to), he or she cannot fully express her/his identity, because spontaneity is all what defines a character.

The main characters cannot be autonomous due to the totalitarian power that restricts the human freedom. Being autonomous is a condition that sets the essence of human existence. Whereas authenticity can only be defined by

autonomous and spontaneous acts, totalitarianism on the contrary, considers spontaneity and autonomy as threat that need to be destroyed. Authenticity defines a condition on self-making. To be authentic can also be thought as a way of being autonomous. In choosing resolutely – that is, in committing to a certain course of action, a certain way of being in the world. Inauthentic life in contrast, would be one without such integrity, one in which “I” allow my life-story to be dictated by the world. The inauthentic person, merely occupies such a role, and may do so irresolutely, without commitment ([http : //plato. stanford. edu / entries / existentialism/](http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/existentialism/)).

Totalitarianism is based on fear. Only by using fear and terror that totalitarianism can operate well. This is what makes Winston Smith and Julia cannot do anything freely. According to Taylor Carman who cited Heidegger, fear is inauthentic. Because it is an intentional state direct at things outside oneself; *fear* is fear of something that makes a person cannot do what he wants freely (2006: 233).

In the old days, he thought, a man looked at a girl's body and saw that it was desirable, and that was the end of the story. But you could not have pure love or pure lust nowadays. No emotion was pure, because everything was mixed up with fear and hatred (Orwell, 1950: 97).

We can see that under totalitarianism, a person cannot do and feel what he wants to feel. Winston Smith, actually, wants to love and to be loved unconditionally and freely without fear of getting caught. This fear of getting arrested by the Thought Police makes him feel helpless and powerless, and then he chooses to make a secret meeting which is far from what he wants. He has no choice and he is forced to make secret meetings because he actually does not want

it. As we can find in the novel that “he wished that he were walking through the streets with her just as they were doing now, but openly and without fear, talking of trivialities and buying odds and ends for the household” (Orwell, 1950: 106-107). Authenticity requires full responsibility, meaning that a person can do his act freely only if he is responsible for his act. In this case, Winston Smith can be considered as inauthentic since he runs away from his call of the heart (to meet Julia freely and openly).

Authenticity means that the attitude in which one engages in his projects is his own. You do something as your own and not merely adopt what society offered and live the chameleon-like way of life. Julia in this case, is also inauthentic since she always adopts the role of what society offered to her. She likes to camouflage although in the end she really despises the role she has taken.

She spent an astonishing amount of time in attending lectures and demonstrations, distributing literature for the Junior Anti-Sex League, preparing banners for Hate Week, making collections for the savings campaign, and suchlike activities. It paid, she said; it was camouflage (Orwell, 1950: 99).

The life of Julia is full of pretends and camouflage and therefore she is inauthentic. She does this because she wants to survive and sacrifice the real essence of herself.

I always carry one end of a banner in the processions. I always look cheerful and I never shirk at anything. Always yell with the crowd, that’s what I say. It’s the only way to be safe (Orwell, 1950: 93).

She covers her true essence of self-existence because she is afraid of being caught. She denies her true role as a person who likes to make love and pretend as an anti-sex fanatic. Although Julia rebels by having sex with Winston Smith, Julia

does not refuse to conform, she follows the norm and at the same trying to break the rules. This dualism destroys her true identity as she follows the chameleon-like life. As Taylor Carman states that authenticity is understood as resisting conformism and coming into one's own (2006: 233).

Warren Frederick Morris in his book *Escaping Alienation: A Philosophy of Alienation and Dealienation*, stated that self-existence will be marked by autonomy and authenticity, not by a psycho-sociological pathology of domination by alien Others. In addition, self-existence will be marked by a conscience related to freedom, not one censoring the natural desires and aspirations of each self. Human needs will be more easily satisfied without fear of consequences, without the coercion of any repressive authority (2002: 269).

When self-identification is uncoerced and meets the test of self-existence, it is authentic and autonomous. Autonomous and authenticity cannot be separated, just as freedom and rationality cannot be separated. If the self behaves only as *they* prescribe and not from its own choice and conviction, its character loses both autonomy and authenticity. It may not itself be free, but live merely a shadow life dictated by the Other(s) (Morris, 2002: 101).

Totalitarianism is also based on isolation. Isolation and impotence, which is the fundamental inability to act at all, have always been characteristic of tyrannies. Totalitarian government leaves no free space for freedom, because any neutrality, indeed any spontaneously given friendship, is from the standpoint of totalitarian domination just as dangerous as open hostility, precisely because spontaneity as such, with its incalculability, is the greatest of all obstacles to total

domination over man (Arendt, 1951: 456). We know that the iron band of total terror leaves no space for such private life and that the self-coercion of totalitarian logic destroys man's capacity for experience and thought just as certainly as his capacity for action (Arendt, 1951: 474).

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 recreations; to do anything that suggested for 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*, meaning individualism and eccentricity (Orwell, 1950: 64).

From the evidence above, the Party isolates its members by not letting the members to enjoy the privacy as reflection. Totalitarian government operates on isolation loneliness, on the experience of not belonging to the world at all, which is among the most radical and desperate experiences of man. What makes loneliness so unbearable is the loss of one's own self which can be realized in solitude, but confirmed in its identity only by the trusting and trustworthy company of my equals. In this situation, man loses trust in himself as the partner of his thoughts and that elementary confidence in the world which is necessary to make experiences at all. Self and world, capacity for thought and experience are lost at the same time (Arendt, 1951: 474-477). This loneliness is also experienced by Winston Smith.

He felt as though he were wandering in the forests of the sea bottom, lost in a monstrous world where he himself was the monster. He was alone. The past was dead, the future was unimaginable. What certainty had he that a single human creature now living was on his side? And what way of knowing that the dominion of the Party would not endure *for ever*? (Orwell, 1950: 23).

Since loneliness means powerlessness and self-estrangement, Winston Smith loses his orientation to the world. He cannot do something resolutely as a certain way of being in the world. On the contrary, resolute agents, that is, maintain a subtle feel for the situations they confront and so are able to deal with them intelligently, skillfully, with finesse (Carman, 2006: 233-234).



CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Totalitarianism is more than authoritarianism and any other tyrannies. Totalitarianism means total control, in which no freedom in both political and public sphere. Anything is controlled by the totalitarian government. Totalitarianism is characterized by powerful and charismatic leader that functions as the motor of the movement. It is based on three strategies that are terror, total indoctrination, and totalitarian propaganda. Totalitarianism uses those three strategies to seize power to dominate the country and if it is possible, the world. Totalitarian movement is based on fear and lies

After doing the analysis in Chapter IV, the writer can draw the conclusion of this thesis. In *1984*, George Orwell is very successful in depicting the terrifying world of totalitarianism. Indeed, the uniqueness of totalitarianism lies on its social structure where there are only the leader, the party, and the classless society (proletariat) and George Orwell draws the totalitarian world in rich details based on the reality. George Orwell was inspired by the Nazi in Germany and Bolshevik in Russia, in which he created the one-party government called the Party and its all-powerful figure of leader called Big Brother. The classless society in *1984* is called the proles which is considered to be the lowest strata.

Big Brother is the leader of Oceania who never appears physically. He only appears in the posters, banners, and propaganda. We can conclude that Big Brother is just a totalitarian propaganda device to control and frighten people. To make people think that there is a real savior of the country to be idolized and to

make people feel safe. Big Brother is an imagery figure made by the Inner Party to symbolize an undefeated leader who is always right for the people to obey and worship. Big Brother is the figure in which the people are forced to love and fear.

Below Big Brother, there is the Party that is divided into two groups, which are the Inner Party and the Outer Party. Inner Party can be considered as the brain of the state with number of members limited to six millions or only 2% of the total population of Oceania. The Inner Party consists of elites and echelons who work in the Ministries. They created the policies and laws as well as the omnipotent figure, Big Brother. The creation of Big Brother is aimed to be the symbol of victory, love, power, and fear in which all the Party members must obey at all cost.

If the Inner Party is the brain of the state, the Outer Party, on the other hand, can be considered as the hand of the state. It can be said that the Outer Party is the working class that supposed to dedicate their life to the Party and Big Brother. Outer Party members are the subject of propaganda and terror. Freedom does not exist and they do not allow to express their feelings and creativity. We can say that their life is routinized and prefabricated.

At the bottom of the social structure comes the proles. The proles is a group of people which are outside the Party circle and its number is the largest population of Oceania that is almost eighty-five per cent. The government keeps the proles in ignorant and considers them as inferior and subhuman. The Party keeps the proles politically uneducated and only seeks for their labor power. The proles do not know about the Party political plans or direction. The proles are also

the subject for propaganda and lies. As long as the proles knows that the country is alright, they will not rebel against the Party, besides, they do not have enough political education and power to overthrow the Party.

The totalitarian government, in this case the Party, has strategies to seize absolute power; they are propaganda, terror, and indoctrination. Terror and propaganda are the most important things to keep the totalitarian movement in motion. Terror functions as a tool to control the people in order and to make them obey everything given by the Party. While propaganda functions to keep the people trust the Party. To keep them thinking that they are heading toward great victory. Propaganda contains lies and predictions. And when the prediction does not come true, the Party rewrite the existing record so that it suits with the prediction that was made before. The indoctrination is only used if there is Party member who did serious crime. This indoctrination, which according to the Party is called reintegration, is aimed to make the people sane and conscious. The forms of indoctrination are varied, and usually done in concentration camp (Room 101).

Since the Party does not allow any form of freedom and self-expression, it results in the inauthenticity of the self. Freedom is marked by spontaneous activity, in which the self can relate what he does with the world surround him. Totalitarianism sees that any spontaneous activity is dangerous to the movement. The Party uses terror and indoctrination to annihilate the freedom. The use of terror and indoctrination are aimed to seize absolute power because for them, absolute power means to exercise power over others.

Winston Smith and Julia belong to the Outer Party. They cannot fully enjoy their life freely; even they cannot meet each other openly without fear. Freedom is abolished and they cannot express their love to each other, since the only love that is allowed is the love towards the Party and Big Brother. They cannot enjoy making love, because the Party forbids sexual activities that are based on emotions and feelings. This kind of activity can lead to punishment. The only aim of sexual intercourse is only to beget children for the purpose of the Party.

Winston Smith and Julia work in Records and Fictions departments where they spend excessive work hours. They rarely have spare time and spend their time on activities designed by the Party. This is also a strategy of the Party that by doing a lot of activities, the Outer Party members cannot think of anything else except their duties to Big Brother and the Party. On the other hand, this kind of strategy leads to alienation, which Winston Smith and Julia experienced in workplace and in private life. Winston Smith experienced the alienation from the act of production, where he only works for the Party. He just ought to follow the orders from the Party and he cannot disobey this order, for it means punishment if he do so. This work, then, becomes self-denying activity instead of self-affirming activity. Thus, Winston Smith and Julia only work in order to survive while abandoning their mental development.

We can say that the main characters cannot be autonomous due to the totalitarian power that restricts the human freedom. Being autonomous is a condition that sets the essence of human existence. Whereas authenticity can only

be defined by autonomous and spontaneous acts, totalitarianism on the contrary, considers spontaneity and autonomy as threat that need to be destroyed. Since the main characters cannot do anything spontaneously, they can be considered as inauthentic, for being autonomous and spontaneous are the essences of human existence.



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