

The Contemporary Significance of Orwell's Animal Farm in Indonesia's Contemporary Political Situation

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Abstract. The truthfulness of literature lies in the conveyance of human experiences through the interpretations of typical characters and probable events in the literary works for humans to see themselves in this global 'mirror' created and held up by the authors. To build a nation in a certain form like monarchy, republic, etc. is not an easy task to do. To hold it together to stand the tests of time is even more difficult to do. This is what has always been true throughout human history, including Indonesia in its nation-building with its vast diversity in ethnic groups, languages, religions, and ideologies. This study aims at briefly presenting the significance of characters and events in the satirical novel *Animal Farm* by George Orwell (1945) in connection with contemporary Indonesia's political situation. It deals with the related issues focusing on the character Napoleon and his comrades as seen through their deviant of original idealism, their violence and dictatorship, their greed for power, their abuse of propaganda; it then continues to relate them to theocracy and communism in Indonesia, and finally to what Indonesia needs now.

Keywords: significance, George Orwell, *Animal Farm*, Indonesia, the contemporary political situation

1. Introduction

Authors communicate through their works; they communicate great ideas about the various aspects of humanity that they see out of place. Sometimes they communicate their ideas openly, sometimes they wrap them up in such a way that the ideas need to be revealed so that their intended meanings can be understood for the benefit of readers and the public at large. Some of the issues raised by authors are the ones like oppression, freedom, gluttony, violence, dictatorship, et cetera. Some authors have long raised the above issues through utopian or dystopian societies in their satirical literary works like *Animal Farm* by George Orwell in addition to his other more violent novel, 1984.

His *Animal Farm* brought up animal figures personified to convey some values and living practices that he thought were violated through improper practices. Orwell indirectly conveys his thoughts in this satirical novel through the animal characters. If viewed carefully, this fable shows a number of the personified figures found in political scenes today throughout the world. What political scenes and figures does this particular satire bring up through the personifications seen in many parts of the world today as shown by the problems caused by these personified figures in their political behaviours?

Indonesia is an example of a nation with such political scenes and political figures as portrayed in this famous Orwellian satire. With the 2024 Indonesian presidential general election approaching, the Orwellian situation is becoming even more seen every day.

Various aspects of this satire have been discussed by writers from different points of view. Khan, Samad, and Yasir (2021) put forth the misanthropic aspects and their effects on the characters seen through Old Major, Napoleon, and Squealer. They argue that the misanthropy finally brings a nightmare and disillusionment to the animals. Peter (2021) aims to look at two different periods, namely, the Cultural Cold War and the post-Cold War through

animated and animatronic adaptations of this satire and to tell the audience about the interplay between the adaptation and political purpose. Davison (2010) discusses Orwell's association with Marxism and the British communism brought up by Bounds' Orwell and Marxism (2009) using Orwell's writings, historical, and literary contexts, Orwell as the intellectual, Orwell the serious cultural thinker, Orwell's significant influences, as well as a portrayal of British Marxism and the British society during the 1930s and 1940s.

Different from Davison, Albloly and Mohammed (2019) also brought up Orwell's writings but with reference only to his two novels *Animal Farm* and *1984* depicting political ideologies in these novels to warn younger generations of the danger of totalitarianism when used by not very well-behaved politicians as indicated by room 101 in *1984* and the seven commandments in *Animal Farm*.

The works reviewed above have discussed issues brought up by Orwell's satire such as the issue of misanthropy as seen in the characters, the depiction of two different historical eras through the animated and animatronic adaptations of the novel, and through his writings, this famous author is reintroduced through the political ideologies depicted in his two very well-known novels. This present article talks about *Animal Farm* as a satire with special reference to the Indonesian political situation, centred on the character Napoleon as the personification of some behaviours; it then goes on to discuss Indonesia's two groups of competing ideologies which base their political orientation on communism and theocracy, (as opposed to nationalism), and finally, it gives some opinion on what Indonesia needs now.

This article is very significant because it tries to hold up the mirror for the two competing groups and the people of Indonesia at large to learn from history as reflected from this Orwellian satire about what could have happened or would happen to the national unity should one of them have held power or would have power. When examined closely, there is a deep implicit meaning found in this satire that may be learned for Indonesia's national unity.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Marxism and Stalinism

Animal Farm raises the issue of the overthrow of a governing government that is considered an oppressor, but is it the case? The group that overthrows the existing government only wants that power. After it has come to power, it becomes cruel to other groups, and it starts to act worse than the previous government.

Marxism, whose main tenets came from Karl Marx, was a social and political school of thought that later inspired some poets who based their literary works on it. This literary criticism raises issues related to the structure of the economy, the association of the workers and the production they produce fall into the hands of the capitalists. Therefore, a system of society must be created where arbitrariness is destroyed (Law, 2013).

When discussing Marxism, Felluga (2015, p.173), quoting Collins, proposed the so-called matrix of domination in Marxism. He said that:

“... any particular matrix of domination is organized via four interrelated domains of power, namely the structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal domains. Each domain serves a particular purpose. The structural domain organizes oppression, whereas the disciplinary domain manages it. The hegemonic domain justifies oppression, and the interpersonal domain influences everyday lived experience and the individual consciousness that ensues. ...”

Further, these four power domains are explained. Felluga (ibid) states that the domain structure is about how institutions are organized so that over time the practice of subordination emerges in areas such as legal institutions, job markets, banking, mass media, etc. while the domain discipline arranges the relationship of power and power in the bureaucracy. Still, she goes on to explain that the domain structure and domain discipline are realized in social policies through bureaucratic systems; the domain of hegemony powers justifies these two domains while the domain of interpersonal power uniforms daily activities, how each other behaves in life.

If the power of these domains is exercised in life, this will become systemic, repetitive, and when people become accustomed to it, people no longer feel it because it has become a common practice.

Stalin described Leninism as “Marxism in the area of imperialism and proletarian revolution” (Wilczynski, 1984, p.315). If we look at *Animal Farm*, features of Stalinism are more vividly observed; five of its characteristics, out of eight, considered suitable (Wilczynski, 1984, p. 565) for this discussion, are mentioned below:

“The dictatorial and repressive system of government, associated with the rule of J. V. STALIN in the USSR from 1929 to 1953. ... Stalinism was noted for the following features: 1. the absolute and repressive DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT exercised by one person (Stalin); 2. the ruthless elimination of rivals in the top Party leadership and the elimination of actual or potential opposition leaders; 3. the extensive use of the secret police and terror (incl. FORCED LABOUR CAMPS); 4. the extreme disregard for human rights and the rule of law; 5. in the economic sphere, the CENTRALIZED DIRECTIVE SYSTEM OF PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT;”

The features mentioned above are seen in *Animal Farm* although the novel is a fable; they are also seen in other dystopian works by Orwell himself and other writers such as *We* by Zamyatin (1922), *Fahrenheit 451* by Bradbury (1953), *1984* by Orwell (1949), and *The Handmaid's Tale* by Atwood (1985).

2.2 Some Previous Studies

Perez (2017) powerfully argues the practice of satire in three countries: the United States which is a democratic country, Venezuela which is semi-authoritarian, and fully authoritarian Cuba. In the democratic country, the satire is openly critical and the authoritarian one is oppressed but when it comes to the semi-authoritarian one, there is an intense degree of political criticism if compared to that of the democratic nation. This is interesting because one would expect that a stronger degree of political criticism would be found in the democratic nation, but in this case, it is the semi-authoritarian one.

Amirdabbaghian and Shangeetha (2020) maintain that the ideology of translators may be traced in any non-technical translations and therefore it is important to study how the ideology of the translator may have an important position in the manipulation of the text ideologically. Since now Iran is an Islamic country, a change from a secular one before 1979, the main belief may influence all aspects of life including translation works like *Animal Farm*. In this situation, the translator needs to adjust himself or herself in his language to be acceptable as seen in the target text and the paratext in *Animal Farm* in the Persian language.

Xhinaku and Pema (2015) examined famous literary works from different settings by comparing and contrasting the famous allegorical works of Orwell, *Animal Farm* and *1984* with Ismail Kadare's two works of the same genre, *The Palace of Dreams* and *The Pyramid*. Structurally, Kadare seems to be more complex than Orwell, but in terms of allegorical

meaning, Kadare looks less straightforward due to the different political environments the two authors were in their respective countries.

Ayyıldız (2021)'s study is also a contrast and comparison one looking at two different levels of allegories: Orwell's serious fable *Animal Farm* and Kemal's children's fable *The Sultan of the Elephants and the Red-Bearded Lame Ant*. Ayyıldız examines the hindrances faced by those who try to create classless communities because of selfish desires to gain power by not so wise leaders. Both works employ anthropomorphic characters depicting the dangers of totalitarianism. This study found that although the works originated from different countries and ages, the works are paralleled in terms of genre, characters, and the ideology exposed through these works. However, Orwell's concern is about the betrayal portrayed in *Animal Farm* while Kemal is concerned with the hope to be out of the desperate situation.

Antonijevic (2021) studies two of Orwell's famous works namely *Animal Farm* and *1984* looking at his political beliefs. Generally, according to Antonijevic, the two works are understood as the portrayal of totalitarianism and Stalinism as well as capitalism and liberalism. This study tried to examine Orwell's position towards the ideas of socialism and found that Orwell remained with his position of democratic socialism in both works and criticizes capitalism and imperialism in the West.

Mustafa (2019) questions whether a revolution is a proper way to arrive at a better governmental system or just a change of rulers and the name of the government. Mustafa maintains that Orwell wrote what usually happens in human history that the result of a revolution is short-lived because the so-called utopia gained soon would transform and become a dystopia as is true with the situation in *Animal Farm*. Those hungry for power would soon show their real face and change the path of the original goal of the revolution to an even worse situation than before the revolution for most of those struggling to bring about the changes.

The first work discussed here is about the practice of satire in real everyday life in the real world exemplified through the United States, Venezuela, and Cuba. The second work discusses the traces of the ideology of the translator in the paratext exemplified through the translation of *Animal Farm* into the Persian language in Iran. The works of Xhinaku and Pema, and Ayyıldız are both about comparing and contrasting *Animal Farm* with other novels on the structure and the political situations in their respective setting. Antonijevic looks at Orwell's political positions in his two totalitarian novels, while Mustafa argues the real goal of a revolution as seen in *Animal Farm* because a revolution does not always result in the well-being of all.

This present article is different from all the works discussed above because it presents the situation of political allegory in *Animal Farm* and the contemporary political situation in Indonesia. It focuses on Napoleon and his comrades and how they divert the original goal of the revolution in the novel and the 'Napoleons' and their 'comrades' in their efforts to also divert Indonesia from its original foundational goal.

3. Method

The first criticism used in this article is Marxist criticism which according to Merriam Webster's *Encyclopedia of Literature* (1995, p. 735; see also Morner and Rausch, 1991, p. 1928; Selden, 1989, p.153) is "A method of literary analysis based on the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. . . ., Marxist critics examine work as a product of an ideology particular to a specific historical period. Such critics judge a text based on its portrayal of social actions and institutions and its representation of class struggle." Below are five points of what Marxist critics do when they analyze a literary work according to Barry (1995, p.156):

1. They divide the 'overt' (manifest or surface) and the 'covert' (latent or hidden) hidden content of a literary work (much as psychoanalytic critics

- do) and then relate the covert subject matter of the literary work to the basic Marxist themes such as class struggle, or progression of society through various historical stages
2. ... they relate the context of a work to the socio-class status of the author
 3. ... they explain the nature of a whole literary genre in terms of the social period which 'produced' it.
 4. ... they relate the literary work to the assumptions of the time in which it is 'consumed'
 5. ... is a 'politicisation of literary form', that is, the claims that literary forms are themselves determined by political circumstance."

The second criticism employed is New Historicism which in the Merriam Webster's Encyclopedia of Literature (1995, p. 806; Barry, 1995, p. 172; Selden, 1991, p. 94) it is a:

Modern school of literary criticism that tears the work of literature not so much as a transcendent document worthy of analysis, but as a representation of historical forces. The new historicists take the social, cultural, and historical implications of the text and extends the analysis to the economic and the political. New historicism makes history itself as an object of interpretation; the critic reads literary work to uncover the ideologies that determine culture and law.

What do New Historicists do when they deal with a literary work? The following are two of the important points New Historicists do when working on a literary work, suitable for this article: "(1) They juxtapose literary and non-literary texts, reading the former in the light of the latter; (2) They try to 'defamiliarise' the canonical literary text, detaching it from the accumulated weight of previous literary scholarship and seeing it as if new" (Barry 1995, p. 179).

These two criticisms are closely related to each other: Marxism deals with the problem of class struggle recorded in literary works concerning an ideology, a political doctrine covering fields such as religion, education, law, economics, social relations, and culture. New Historicism relates to reading literary works and reading non-literary data, especially the history of the era in which the literary work was written, it must be balanced – reading literary works is in the front while reading non-literary data, namely, history is directly beside it, not just behind it as the Old Historicists used to do. This means that the reading of literary works and historical data or other non-literary data is treated equally.

4. Results and Discussion

The discussion is divided into two subsections: (a) about the major issues, and (b) the issues being fought for by some Indonesian political figures as represented in *Animal Farm*.

4.1 Main Issues in *Animal Farm* and Issues in Indonesia

As this paper is a short one, explanations of these issues are also given in concise forms which concern only the essentials that relate to the satirical novel. The focus here is the main character of *Animal Farm*, Napoleon. More complete and extensive explanations on other characters can be found in other sources widely available.

4.1.1 Napoleon, the Deviant of Original Idealism

Equality among all animals is the great idealism championed by Old Major who was the personification of Karl Marx (Wilczynsky, 1984; Welsh, 2013). It is this idealism that ignited the fire of struggle of the animals to free themselves from human dominion over them. In his speech before he died, Old Major inflamed in the animals the importance of freeing themselves from human entrapment, saying that:

“Is it not crystal clear, then, comrades, that all the evils of this life of ours spring from the tyranny of human beings? Only get rid of Man, and the produce of our labour would be our own. What then must we do? Why, work night and day, body and soul, for the overthrow of the human race! That is my message to you, comrades: Rebellion! And above all, pass on this message of mine to those who come after you, ... carry on the struggle until it is victorious.” (Animal Farm, pp.29-30)

This idealism was for big and small animals alike; all were taken into account in this struggle for equality but later most of them were just spectators. After the rebellion, Snowball and Napoleon simplified the document of equality to become seven laws. This abridged document is called the 'Seven Great Commandments', two of which are: (1) Whatever walks on two legs, is the enemy, (2) Whatever walks on four legs, or two wings, is a friend. But Old Major's grand idea for equality was turned into a terrible dictatorship by Napoleon. He betrayed what Old Major stood for, which was to create a prosperous and peaceful society for all because, in the end, Napoleon wanted to be like humans: walking on two legs, smoking cigarettes, and wearing clothes. He uses a whip to frighten, to show his power and strength to the other animals. His character alludes to the figure of Joseph Stalin (Wilczynsky, 1984; Welsh, 2013), the leader of the communist party who deviated from Karl Marx's idea of pure socialism. Here destroy the original goals by creating a government of dictators holding absolute power over society. The name Napoleon is also an allusion to Napoleon Bonaparte (Welsh, 2013, Parker, 2010), the French dictator emperor after the French Revolution. He did not create a democratic society after the revolution but the opposite instead. He kept most of the wealth to himself and his selected comrades, just like Napoleon and his comrades.

As pigs gained influence, they began to break out of the idealism for their own sake and here we see inequalities growing and the pigs beginning to change the rules in animalism to suit their wishes and eventually the animal farm society becomes a totalitarianism society.

It seems that this situation is similar to the Indonesian situation today. The idealism of the founding fathers, just similar to Old Major's, was to struggle hard in blood and tears to build to nation from the vast diversity of tribes, religions, and cultures from all over the archipelago and now it seems like it is starting to be tearing apart. The original idealism is being diverted to some other direction, just like Napoleon and his comrades, by certain individuals from political groups with different political orientations.

4.1.2 Napoleon, Violence and Dictatorship Personified

Napoleon confirmed his power by using 'terrorists', namely some fierce dogs which were raised and taught by himself since childhood for the purposes to gain power. They obey Napoleon only, but not others. On his orders, these dogs attacked Snowball who was already in a serious condition and unable to escape. The 'terrorists' also attacked Boxer. Squealer suspected that Boxer did not believe in Napoleon's qualities as a leader. The most terrible thing is that Napoleon's 'terrorists' slaughtered a large number of the other animals. There were accusations of treason against these animals which were not true. They were coerced and terrorized into admitting this. The animals were very frightened by this murder done by Napoleon through his 'terrorists'. Napoleon uses his 'terrorists', symbols of some kind of army or police force, to carry out his orders.

An absolute dictatorship emerged and the animals had no power to resist and were completely obedient to the dictator Napoleon. Four of the ten characteristics of Stalinism as discussed in 2.1 are seen in Napoleon. He has led socialism to violence and dictatorship.

In Indonesia practices of Stalinist characteristics are rampant either through individuals or through groups. The four Stalinist characteristics mentioned above are being committed to the marginalized and the weak as seen through what Indonesian ‘Napoleons’ do the so-called ‘blasphemers.’ Their ‘comrades’ praise and uphold the arbitrary deeds of these ‘Napoleons’ as though ‘heroes.’ These practices in Indonesia are conflictual mimesis as Girard (1978, p.26) calls it as seen in what the Indonesian ‘Napoleons’ and their ‘comrades’ usually do to the same adversary as they call their victim. There is some certain individual ‘Napoleons’ from certain political groups which raise their own ‘terrorists’ from behind the scene to carry out their orders or orders of their groups such as bombing, preventing people from worshipping, preventing places of worship from being built or renovated and other criminal acts. From behind the scene, they may also order their ‘terrorists’ to terrorize through policies as materialized in local ordinances (Felluga, 2015). They even infiltrate government institutions and operate from the inside.

4.1.3 Napoleon, Greed for Power Personified

The big idea that Old Major came up with to make the animals revolt against human domination over them was purely to liberate the animals, not for Old Major's interests. Boxer was a hard worker who motivated other animals for the common good of the animals. He voluntarily followed what the smarter pigs planned. Snowball's strength lies in his vision and ability to organize animals to work towards a prosperous animal society together. These animals sacrificed their interest for the interest of all animals. Napoleon easily maneuvered and eventually kicked Snowball out into exile. Some animals looked dismayed about Napoleon's treatment of Snowball but he used his ‘terrorists’ to silence them down. Napoleon who always wanted power for himself through his style moved with all his full strength and did not want to care about others in leading. What was important for him was that he could achieve his goals. He did not bother with theory and idealism. He tarnished the goal of the revolt of the animals initiated by Old Major because in the end, he had a dictatorial nature.

To maintain their power, the pigs created various kinds of tricks on various occasions that life was getting better when the situation was getting worse. The pigs changed the seven commandments and other rules, and blackened Snowball, through issues breathed by Napoleon that all the misfortunes, failures, difficulties experienced on the farm were because of Snowball.

This Snowball character reminds people of Trotsky whose brilliant ideas were the driving force behind the Russian Revolution as well as his dreams and visions that later came true (Wilczynski, 1984). Like Trotsky, Snowball is also a reliable speaker with persuasive power. Characters like this can get unlucky in their group and be kicked out just like what Napoleon did with Snowball, a great, intelligent, popular, and charismatic asset and a strategist for the farm. For Napoleon, as long as Snowball's bright ideas had been used for the benefit of his group, he was no longer needed.

Since Napoleon was now the dictator, the pigs belonging to his group also get more power; they changed the rules to suit their desires and to maintain control of the farm. The farm becomes a totalitarian society. The pigs keep the other animals illiterate, except for their young pigs, and using their knowledge and power, they force the other animals to work for their benefit, the animals benefit the pigs more than themselves.

The two competing groups that have been struggling hard to hold power and control Indonesia would be very similar to this totalitarian society led by Napoleon. Like Napoleon's ways of maneuvering, these two groups sometimes cannot hide their fangs through deeds done

by a particular individual or by a smaller group of individuals like Napoleon's 'terrorists.' Like Snowball, there are often certain good-natured and intelligent individuals who notice the irresponsible and sickening practices within their group and try to mend them. Group leaders like Napoleon would not be pleased with all with these certain individuals, and through any means possible, these individuals would soon be terminated or sent into oblivion as long as their brilliant ideas have been used.

4.1.4 Napoleon, the Abuser of Propaganda

What is propaganda? In *An Encyclopedic Dictionary of Marxism, Socialism, and Communism* (1984, p. 469) it is said that propaganda is "Persuasive and explanatory activities designed to shape public opinion in directions desired by the state, party or other organization." When viewed in practice, propaganda is the deliberate dissemination of ideas so that certain goals can be implemented by certain individuals or groups. Propaganda is then a neutral idea.

Snowball, Napoleon, and Squealer condensed Old Major's original propaganda idea into an animal system called animalism, formulated into seven laws widely recognized by the animals. These seven laws are good propaganda for animals everywhere to promote a just revolution. It was Napoleon who turned it around, twisted it and used it irresponsibly.

In order not to appear negative propaganda to bring down Snowball, Napoleon was two-faced. On the one hand, he made Snowball a scapegoat for the problems on the farm, but on the other hand, he also praised Snowball as a hard worker and sacrificed his comfort for the sake of others. Napoleon used propaganda at will for his gains, not for the common good of society.

In Indonesian politics, the two competing groups abuse the original idea. They know for certain from history on the original idea of establishing the Indonesian nation. The original idea was to bring all tribes together from around the Nusantara archipelago and out of this vast diversity emerged a nation called Indonesia as we know it today. They now turn and twist the original idea through black propaganda, scapegoating, and criminal acts for their ends. They pretend not to care about the original idea of an Ibu Pertiwi, a motherland for all living peacefully in harmony because for them reaching their goal is their ultimate focus. They can use whatever means available to achieve their goal – the means justifies the end or the end justifies the means, either way, is welcome. For them 'anything goes.'

4.2 Indonesia and the Two Ideological Orientations: Theocracy and Communism

The Nusantara people from all walks of life struggled to eliminate colonialism and to establish the Indonesian nation. But, during its 76 years of freedom from colonialism, Indonesia does not seem to have done with its struggle. In the course of history, Indonesia has experienced a lot of internal disturbances. One of them has been people wanting to establish new form(s) of government according to the ideology of their group – from the very dictatorial theocracy to the very dictatorial materialistic communism. There have been some Indonesian 'Old Majors' with their ideas both in the past and present, as well as 'Napoleons' who would violate the original ideas for their ends. They may begin subtly. They seem sweet and fair and just follow the common community life practices. They, however, slowly maneuver, unnoticed by the community, and after they have become the majority and have got power, the true fangs of their ideology emerge. One can see both characters and their groups throughout Indonesia's history. Or, they may begin abruptly like in a coup similar to the situation in *Animal Farm*. Subtly or abruptly, the two issues that often emerge in the community are the same: freedom and tolerance.

The General Assembly of the UN on 18 September 2000, Assembly issued its Millennium Declaration about six fundamental values signed by all members of which two of

them are Freedom and Tolerance. These are the two issues that are problematic in Indonesia. About these values, the document states:

Freedom. Men and women have the right to live their lives and raise their children in dignity, free from hunger and the fear of violence, oppression and injustice. Democratic and participatory governance based on the will of the people best assures these rights'

....

Tolerance. Human beings must respect one another, all the diversity of their belief, culture and language. Differences within and between societies should be neither feared nor repressed, but cherished as a precious asset of humanity. A culture of peace and dialogue among all civilizations should be actively promoted. (Welsh, pp. 416-417).

These two values are quite difficult to handle and overcome because in Indonesia on one hand hindrances to the practices of these values are deeply rooted in the culture of some of the Indonesian people, on the other hand, in terms of literacy rate although it is high enough, the quality of the Indonesian education according to international standard is very low. This contributes to the quality of human resources which in turn affects the way of thinking of the populace.

4.2.1 Indonesian Stalinist Socialism

In Indonesia today, there is some figures like Napoleon. They only act in the name of a certain ideology and use it with bombastic propaganda to attract general public support, but in the end, it is their interests that they fight for, not the interests of this great nation.

Throughout history, Indonesia has seen failed attempts to establish a very materialistic dictatorial state, Stalinist model, overemphasizing the 'matter-before-mind' philosophy (Black, 2007) like in Animal Farm. And this comes from individuals affiliated with religious values, and not necessarily secular ones. One would expect that religiously affiliated individuals or groups should place more emphasis on a pure 'mind-before-matter' philosophy (Black, 2007), or at least, they should try to keep a balance between the two. We remember that the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was formed by Semaun, a religious person and a worker from the Surabaya railway system in the 1920s (Hannigan, 2015). In the international world, we can also see a great church scholar of the Canon Law, Adam Weishaupt, who founded the Illuminati brotherhood, on May 1, 1776, in Bavaria (Black, 2007). Weishaupt aimed to establish a truly materialistic society, Napoleon-style communism in Animal Farm. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between how people perceive religion and communism.

Marx is a socialist but maybe not a communist as some people understand it because he did not explain in detail what a communist society is. According to Law (2007, p. 223), when Marx talks about his idea of a society, he relates it to the production system, saying that:

... true freedom requires the development of a society in which man is genuinely self-determined and able to engage in forms of production through which he can properly express his humanity. The forces of production have now developed to the extent where this has become a genuine possibility. Man can now finally free himself, by overthrowing the capitalist economic system that currently enslave him, and by building a new communist society.

Thus, the communism that Marx meant was not communism as we understand it from 50 years later (Magnis-Suseno, 2003), let alone Stalinism. Marx's communism is genuine socialism. Because Marx wanted changes to occur immediately, there was a revolution of 'Animalism' as

understood by Orwell in this satire. On Marx's tombstone, this is written "Philosophers have only interpreted the world in different ways; the point is to change it" (Law, 2013, p. 221). For Marx, philosophers should not only discuss and expect changes slowly like Hegel's 'dialectic idealist' idea, namely changes that are thought and soul which he calls 'Geist' (cf. Plato). For Marx (Law, 2013), the dialectical process must materialize immediately (cf. Aristotle). Socialism which was originally Marxism turned into Stalinism as practised by Napoleon in *Animal Farm* and this is what certain groups of people are working toward in Indonesia. Not Marxism, but the Stalinist type of communism that was attempted to be imposed on the Indonesian people in the failed coup of 1965 as very vividly described by Hunter (2007, p. 2; see also Mortimer 2006, pp.12-14; Hannigan, 2015, pp.225-227) as follows:

At approximately 0400 hours on the morning of 1 October 1965 the leaders of the 30 September Movement, as they called the military operation to assassinate the seven top generals of the Indonesian Army, gave the final orders for simultaneous raids on the homes of the seven generals. In a matter of hours, the military action involved in the coup was over. Besides the raids, the coup involved only the securing of a few vital objectives The military operation, ... was as always limited to these specific objectives. If successful, Indonesia would almost certainly have fallen to the Communists, and the perception of world communism on the march ... would have changed the course of Far East politics, and therefore world politics, However, the coup failed—due to the lucky escape, against all odds,

Although it failed in the coup, the seed is there and ready to sprout anytime whenever there is a trigger. In his last speech, Sudisman, secretary-general of the PKI after their defeat, stressed about this very proudly "Although the PKI is now shattered, I firmly believe that this is only for a time and that in the process of history the PKI will eventually arise again, because the PKI is a child of the times, given birth to by the times" (Mortimer, 2006, p.12). The problem being faced by Indonesia is who or which group is affiliated with good religious teachings and which with the Indonesian type of communism. To conclude *Animal Farm*, Orwell presented this similar situation: which is which?

Fear is a crucial issue in Indonesia at present since people live in fear, particularly the minorities. Often the law does not side with the minorities, take the case of double minorities of Basuki Cahaya Purnama aka Ahok some years ago for the so-called 'blasphemy', for example. Any sane person could see clearly that the context in which Ahok was believed to be blaspheming was not blasphemy at all. Being violent against others take a great number of forms of which some are whipping, igniting with fire, castrating, crossing, striking with electrical rods, hurting the genitals, forcing someone to eat faeces or excrement, etc. as written by Jacob (2000). This last one just took place in Indonesia, done by a high-rank individual to a weak person, although not forcing to eat the faeces but the faeces was smeared on the face of the weak person. The minorities live in fear of violence which may explode any time when there is a trigger.

4.2.2 Indonesia and the Middle Eastern Theocracy Model

There are also certain groups wanting to establish a theocratic state modelled on the Middle Eastern style from the past while in the Middle East itself this theocratic model is tumbling down. Several very educated individuals fall into this group. It should now be time for them to become fathers of the nation, advise the government wisely, and guide the youth with knowledge and fatherly wisdom and love, but they prefer to behave like 'bad Old Majors' or even 'Napoleons.' It should be born in mind that in history, the Middle Eastern theocratic model is no better than the materialistic model from the West.

In this Middle Eastern theocratic model, citizens are divided into classes. During the Umayyad Caliphate, for example, there were four principal social strata: Muslim Arabs, Muslim non-Arabs (clients of the Muslim Arabs), Dhimmis (non-Muslim free persons such as Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians), and Slaves ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umayyad Caliphate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umayyad_Caliphate); Shenk, 2003; El-Wakil, 2019; Fattal, 2021). The third-class group, for example, must pay a tax to live their lives and must follow a certain number of restrictions in living their lives, for example, those contained in the Pact of Umar (Levy-Rubin, 2011; Ackerman-Lieberman, 2014; Abu-Munshar, 2021).

This type of society is very similar to the society portrayed in the author's other novel 1984 (1945) or the novel *Brave New World* by Huxley (1932) where freedom is dead because people have divided into casts: The Alphas the top cast, the middle casts, and the Epsilons at the bottom as the blue-collar workers. The similarities between *Animal Farm* and 1984 by Orwell and Huxley's novel are that all three of them are dystopian novels; the difference is that the death of freedom in Orwell's novels is realized through violence while in Huxley's it is through pleasures.

Today we see that almost all theocratic countries have fallen, especially in the West. In the Middle East, theocratic power is declining as well. For example, a survey from June 6 to 21, 2020 (<https://research.tilburguniversity.edu>, see also <https://phys.org/news>) for Iranians, indicated that only 32% of Iranians are Shi'ite Muslims and only 5% Sunni Muslims. In Saudi Arabia, there are also changes taking place through the policies made by the current Crown Prince.

In Indonesia, those wanting this theocratic model do have an agenda. Indeed, there are figures like Old Major with lofty ideas, deflected later by figures like Napoleon. Or those who still stick to these ideas and keep on pursuing them (Jiwandana, 2018). These groups desiring this theocratic model very often try to find fault with the government and they cannot hide their ideological foundation as well as the foundation of the religious identity of their parties which have been nourished through religious institutions for decades (Bazzi et al, 2019).

Young, intelligent people are now starting to realize this situation. Khair (2019, p. 533) discusses the politics of identity states that these politics of identity were already practised during the 1950s using religion as the foundation to both terrorize and attract the public. He took a historic political figure named Qahar Muzzakar in Southeast Sulawesi to exemplify his argument. A very recent study by Syaifuddin and Isnaini (2020) took the previous presidential election as an example when arguing about how religious identity was massively used to cement the strength of the candidacy of Joko Widodo by taking Ma'ruf Amin as the vice president to politically both bargain and expedite the election process.

Syarif (2017, p. 446; Barton, Yilmaz, and Morieson, 2021) maintains that religion will continue to play an important role in the political dynamics because it will still become one of the political forces in social movements, but reminds people that "Religious politicization is used as a tool of "black campaign" which became one of the strategies in defeating political opponents, it is dangerous to the continuity of religion itself" He discusses the politization of religion in a general historical sense.

Some struggle to separate religion from the state like Nucholish Madjid (Nulhakin, 2020, p. 261) but still, some stick to the dogmas although the Middle Eastern countries, like Saudi Arabia, are now beginning to secularize for their various national reasons. Like Nurcholish Madjid, there are some younger liberals who are very critical and outspoken about dogmas that need to be explained away. However, in certain government-funded religious institutions, the die-hard dogmatic individuals are present there and try to influence these institutions from the inside. A number of them have been identified and brought to go through legal processes recently as reported in most mass media.

And these two models, Marxism and Theocracy, are developing in Indonesia. Because they are busy with these two concepts and continue to fight for them, the followers become obsessed and lulled by promises made by both pure materialistic and religiously materialistic ideologies. And that's why they don't have enough time to direct their younger generation to pursue science and technology. Other groups who work harder and focus more on science and technology are, to some extent, successful to improve the life of the nation because for them to practice their religion is to work hard to improve the human conditions.

4.3 What Indonesia Needs Now

Susilawati, et al (2020, pp. 11-13; see also Intan, 2019) in their "Pancasila internalization and implementation as a deradicalized effort in Indonesia" try to argue that the government take some actions to implement these Pancasila values. They state that so that the radical groups be deradicalized, the following efforts need to be carried out: a. Cultivation of Pancasila values and national values through education-formal and informal. b. Involve the community in security; c. Making product policy state organizer; d. The necessary presence of the state in every problem that occurs in society; and, e. Interfaith dialogues.

Most of these efforts have been done, however, they have come to little or no avail for those very dogmatic individuals if science and technology are not present in the efforts, particularly through education included in the curriculum. Students and younger generations at large should be introduced to results from various scientific studies on religions in the Middle East on both the holy books and religious traditions through objective history, mythology, geography, archeology, demography, linguistics, source study, cultural study, etc. These scientific traditions have been done by those studying Christianity for at least since the 18th century. Islam is beginning to be studied seriously and this is bringing good news for a better understanding of life practices imposed on people through all these centuries.

In terms of ideology, does Indonesia need a figure like Old Major with his Marxism for a certain model for the Indonesian nation, or a figure like Napoleon who deflected Marxism to Stalinism to tear the society apart? Or does it need the Middle Eastern theocratic model? The answer is no. Indonesia does not need socialism which is highly materialistic and dictatorial; neither does it need the Middle Eastern theocratic model which is no less materialistic and dictatorial, let alone pure Stalinism. History has shown the true face of each of these models. Indonesia is Indonesia that has the values that have been explored and continue to be explored from the Indonesian civilization itself to formulate ideas suitable and appropriate for the Indonesian people. Indonesia should not be brought to the Middle East or the West.

If America has its 'E Pluribus Unum', or the European Union's "United in Diversity," Indonesia has its 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika' (Santoso, 1975). Indonesia will continue to explore its values from this vast diversity, from this 'Ibu Pertiwi' of ours (cf. Tokawa, 2016 for the situation in Canada). Indonesia only needs better improvements and better balances in various aspects of development for its people to fulfil the five basic principles of its foundation, The Pancasila.

5. Conclusion

From the characters in the novel, one can see personifications of individuals or groups as revealed through the themes/ideas in Indonesia's contemporary political situations, particularly through the character Napoleon. Napoleon is visible in Indonesian politicians, both deceased and alive and still fighting for their 'Animal Farm.' Since the establishment of this nation, both groups and individuals have been trying to pursue their ideal government based on their ideology. But history has also revealed that, as portrayed in Animal Farm, at the beginning "All

animals are equal” (Animal Farm, p.43), shouted for all the animals to heed which make them dream of a wonderful future world, a utopia for them all.

It is feared that when either one of the two competing groups wins and holds power, similar seven commandments in Animal Farm would be declared to all citizens to make them feel secure. As explained in 2.1, Felluga maintains that if the power of the four domains in Marxism namely the structural, the disciplinary, the hegemonic, and the interpersonal – that may be adopted also by the theocratic one - is already practised in life, citizens do not realize that they have been trapped. When this power has become systemic and the citizens become familiar with it because it has become common practice, the group may implement the only one commandment left at the end of Animal Farm, when Napoleon and his comrades are now in power: ALL ANIMALS ARE EQUAL BUT SOME ANIMALS ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS (Animal Farm, p. 127).

To prevent this from happening, Indonesia needs to go back to explore its values from its vast diversity, to introduce results of scientific studies on religions from the Middle East and their traditions to the youth, to nourish life practice of the ‘Bhinneka Tunggal Ika,’ and to implement better justice and balances in all aspects of life in development to all citizens from all walks of life.

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