TROTSKYSM IN GEORGE ORWELLI'S ANIMAL FARM

Hariyono, S.S., M.Pd. <u>bagushariyono@gmail.com</u> Drs. Putut Handoko, M.Pd. <u>Putut.handoko@unitomo.ac.id</u> Universitas Dr. Soetomo Surabaya

Abstract

This paper presents the idea of Trostksyms in George Orwell's *Animal Farm*. While critics often portray Orwell as anti- communist due to his critiques on the character Napoleon as the representation of Stalin. On the other hand, this paper describes that Orwell through the character Snowball shows great sympathy on Snowball. This paper finds that it describes that Snowball is the portrayal of Trostky.

Keywords : Trostksyms, Marxism, Animal Farm

A.Introduction

George Orwell's Animal Farm is a well-known work that portrays Soviet Union at the time when the ideology of Marxism became the basic ideology of the state and was still practiced, spread, and strong. In order to know the allegory, symbols, and details of the story, the knowledge about Marxism and its praxis who hold the teaching an ideology once was becoming important and starts to be discussed again today. Marxism is an ism that is based on the name of the founder of the teaching Karl Marx. Karl Marx teaches that the history of human beings is nothing but the history of class struggle on economic causes. Karl Marx lived at the time of the industrial revolution when a growing industry world was at the peak. It was the time for the steam engine, the factory, and the railroad changed society much (Wallbank, 1979: 496). This industrial revolution caused problem. The new

technology led to greater wealth, but many people thought that wealth was not fairly shared by everyone. Many stayed poor, and others become rich (Wallbank, 1979:496).

The industrial revolution then caused critics to disagree with the access of the revolution and suggest solution for it. This led to the birth of socialists, for example Robert Owen. Robert Owen was an industrialist who was good enough to build houses for his workers. This approach was severely criticized by Karl Marx who considered it unscientific, fake, and utopia. Karl Marx was a revolutionary who believed that capitalistic system was doomed (Wallbank, 1979:501). Capitalism would be destroyed in a revolution. He saw history as history as the exploitation by the capitalists who were very among the proletariats who were very large numbers in amount. He wrote that the history of human beings were classified into some steps: The first was the

communist time. It was the time when there was no possession because everything was owned by society. It was the primitive time, when people lived in caves or primitive stages of people. The second phase took place when the feudalism was introduced and used among societies. The concept of belongings was known and people knew the meaning of accumulation of capital. They believed that having land and its function as productive soil to make the wealth created people and nations. The third phase took place when industrialization became intensified. It was the time that was faced by Marx himself. The invention of technology and new land were the most productive means to accumulate the wealth among the capitalist people, society, and nations. It caused the numbers of poor people, society, and nation to increase day by day, while the more and more people who were rich less and less because of the technology and competition among them which often regarged as bloody. The fourth phase was socialism. It was the time when people wanted to end class antagonism by promoting socialism. People want to cooperate .For Marx, it did not work well because the class division still existed. Therefore, the last phase that would be communism. It would be the time when people live peacefully because the capitalists who had made them suffer had been liquidated.

In order to make the dream of the world of proletariats come true, he advocated some principles. The principles were stated by Lyman Tower Sargent (1986). He stated the principles of Marxism as follows:

- 1. The view that the history of human beings is but a struggle for economic based on materialism struggle.
- 2. The principles that capitalism is the worst evil that causes human beings' suffer.
- 3. In order to eliminate the forever conflicts between the capitalists against the proletariats, it is a must to gain a classless world.
- 4. The classless world will be run in a proletariat dictatorship.
- 5. The unity of all poor people against the oppressors. (Sargent,1986:108-58)

However, it must be noted that there was no agreement among Marxists about the methods to end the proletariats' sufferings. What was done a certain Marxist group as correct in the line of the teaching of Karl Marx would be seen other Marxists as revisionist at best, and agent of capitalist world at worst. There will be a discussion dealing with the issue. The glorious October Revolution in 1917 which united the many Marxist factions and led by the great trio of Leon Trotsky (A Russian Jew), Iosef Dugashvili (later called Stalin, a Georgian), and Ivan Lenin (A Russian) was very successful to overthrow the corrupt, despotic, and cruel Tsar Nicholas II of Russia. From this revolution the dream on a beautiful world and land for all workers around the world was started. It was dreamt as the ideal state for a worker to live in. However, since the beginning a small group of Marxists under a German Jew girl named Rosa Luxemburg had stated that the revolution was against the principle of Marxism. She stated that the revolution was against Marxism because it did not work spontaneously. It was triggered only by a small group of people under a group of party that worked as the representative of the workers at least around Russia starting the revolution. This action, according to Rosa Luxemburg would be a means to justify the cruelty under a new regime of Russia.

When three important states (Russia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia) were incorporated into the Soviet Union and using the red flag and there were the pictures of hammer and sickle symbolizing the workers and peasants, people faced optimism. It was the time when Russia and its traditional competitor in Slavic world, Ukraine could work together, and its influence spread to muslim socities in Uzbekistan. It seemed perfect and smooth. The problem was rising when after the death of Lenin (after short time of reigning, four years) and the rise of Stalin complicated the relation among the leaders and its interpretation regarding orthodox the Marxism should be. Stalin and Trotsky had different ideas on how Marxism was implemented and the different ideas between them created a division among the cadets of communism. For Stalin, who was not very intellectual, the principles of Marxism had to be practiced first in the Soviet Union. It was seen very pragmatic by his opponent especially Trotsky. It did not mean that Stalin did not dream about exporting revolution around the world in which he introduced a body international communists of (comintern, where many "Indonesians" joined the group in 1920's such as Sneevliet, Musso, Alimin, Darsono, Semaun ,etc. Tan Malaka joined for a while and then expelled after his refutation joining the revolt in 1926). The pragmatic reason given by Stalin was that after the bloody revolution in 1917,

the effect of the first world war, the effect of white conter revolution was triggered by the British consumed energy for the new country. Stalin for example, made a relationship with the capitalist states like France, fascist government like Nazi Germany, Sweden etc. Whereas, the idea was strongly opposed by an intellectual, Leon Trotsky who wrote, taught intellectual (but he had less access to mass) about the importance of permanent revolution. The duty of the Soviet Union as the only Marxist state at the time was spreading the idea of Marxist world and advocated the revolution around the peoples. If the concept was refused by Stalin, according to Trotsky, Stalin just produced a state that was full with apparatus who worked against its citizens. Along with Rosa Luxemburg, Trotsky claimed that the Soviet Union failed to be the heaven for the proletariats because it was turned by Stalin into the state of beureaucracy. For the supporter of Stalin who were not really educated and agitation that was portrayed by Stalin that Trotsky was against communism and he was revisionists, and the worst was that he was a British agent. Trotsky was forced to leave the Soviet Union, and then stayed in Mexico, until a suspected agent of Russia executed him.

After the second world war, the ideology of Marxism, whether because of the strong Soviet Union could destroy fascism or, because it was seen as alteration against the ideology of capitalism that was seen as the another face of the western imperialism, many new born states in the third world countries and eastern Europe believed in Marxism. They brought also the variation on concept on Marxism. In Asia, and Africa where industrialization as the basic requirements for Karl Marx's theory on the brutality of capitalism cannot be found, the communists in the continents gained supports from peasants and intellectuals who were not satisfied with ethnic hatred, and feudalism, and corruption in their countries, that was why the Chinese version of Marxism as installed by Mao Tse Tung and Li Sao Qi was interesting for their co-ideologists in Asia, like Indonesia, Vietnam, Malaysia etc. They stressed on peasants' revolt against the corrupt landlords.

Statement of the Problem

While many critics portray George Orwell is an anti- communist as described in Animal Farm, this paper studies that George Orwell is even ardent supporter of communism, that is Trotskyism, an ism that is based on the idea of Leon Trotsky. This paper shows that George Orwell is a trostkyist.

B.Research Method

This is a qualitative research in which it analyzes the data by using explanation not numbers. The source of the data is taken from quotations of the novella *Animal Farm* which was published in 1951 by Penguin Publisher, London. The data is collected as a collection from the research in library from the books that are related to the discussion of the topic. The technique of data analysis is done through deductive and inductive methods where the researchers study a combination from the idea that Orwell uses Snowball as a symbol of a real revolutionary Marxist and the proofs that show the idea and also start from the proofs and then formulate to the conclusion.

C. Analysis and Discussion

There are proofs that George Orwell's *Animal Farm* has Trotskysm idea as they will be discussed below:

The first quotation is found when Mr. Jones, the owner of the farm representing Tsar Nicholas II ignores his animals (representing Russians before the 1917 Revolution).:

> "Mr. Jones, of the Manor Farm, had locked the hen houses for the night, but was too drunk to remember to shut the pop-holes" (Orwell, 1951:1)

From the above quotation, it can be learnt that Mr. Jones is portrayed as an oppressive leader who behaves not properly (drinking too much) but he controls the whole country (the Russia), which is represented in Manor Farm which represents Russia before the revolution in 1917. Mr. Jones is a portrait of a leader who does not care on his people's needs so that by regarding his actions, dissidents have a fuel to spread hatred to people. This process of meeting and arranging plot against corrupt the government is seen on the following quotation:

As soon as the light in the bedroom went out there was a stirring and fluttering all

through the farm buildings. Word had gone round during the day that old major, the prize Middle White Boar, had had a strange dream on the previous night and wished to communicate it to other animals. It had been agreed that they should all meet in the big barn as soon as Mr. Jones was safely out of the way (Orwell, 1951:1).

From the above quotation, it can be analyzed that the animal's meeting represents the communists' meeting before the revolted. The improper behavior of the Tsar (Mr. Jones in the novel) is challenged by the meetings of his citizens (in this novel is represented by animals) who have revolutionary thoughts. The revolutionary thought is sharpened with the teaching of Karl Marx (in this novel is a white boar, Old Major). The meetings that are held by animals led by boar show that a revolution is understood well by all animals but only, according to Lenin it is called as the avantgard of proletariats. The meeting is based on a teaching, that is said as a dream by the Old Major, a boar. Actually it represents the vision of Karl Marx about the guides to revolution and prosperity in the future for proletariats of the world. The Old major has a strange dream about how the oppressions against animals are elevated.. The Old Major emphasizes that all that animals do is for the sake of human beings (Mr. Jones). There will never be a compromise between animals and human beings, as Marx states the on and on conflicts of interest between capitalists and proletariats. In this case, it gets along with Marxism stating that capitalists always exploit proletariats. Karl Marx teaches that the capitalists can enrich day by day just by squeezing proletariats to the last muscle the

proletariats have. It can be seen from the following quotation:

"He sets them to work, he gives back to them the bare minimum that will prevent them from starving, and the rest he keeps for himself "(Orwell, 1951:9).

From the above quotation it can be seen that Marxism is against the teaching of capitalistic point of view that teaches how to gain a maximum profit from the minimum capitals.This continuous oppression must be elevated by the revolutionary animals by doing the vision (a utopia) taught by Karl Marx, in this story is the Old major, a boar as it is seen from the following quotation:

> "what then must we do? Why work night and day? That is my message to you comrades: Rebellion" (Orwell, 1951:10).

As it is stated before that for Marxists there will not be a real peace in this world as long as the capitalists are not liquidated, of course the capitalists want to maintain their position so that the revolution is the only way to solve the class struggle problems. The quotation above shows that the animals, after learning the idea of the Old major comes to the conclusion that revolution is the only way. The quotation above also reflects the use of the word Comrade, a word that is very famous and becomes a jargon among the communists reflect equality to and brotherhood. The word "rebellion" is magic that will unite the oppressed animals even they do not understand what really means.As Karl Marx himself does not predict when the

revolution will take place, the Old Major also states that:

"I do not know when that rebellion will come" (Orwell, 1945:10).

In his book Das Kapital, Karl Marx gives no precise time for the time for revolution, but he just shows the terms when the revolution will take place. However, for the Bolsheviks (the revolutionary party in Russia in which Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin are the leaders) and the communists around the world, the glorious era (the fifth phase of history) as it is dreamt by the communists can be hastened by a revolution led a special group that is very committed to the ideology of Marxism. Marxists hold a view that there will be no real good intention that is made by capitalists to treat proletariats because of the greed nature of the capitalists. This view is supported by the following quotation:

> "No argument must lead you astray, never listen when they tell you that man and the animals have a common interest, it is all lies." (Orwell, 1951:11).

From the above quotation it can be learnt that the revolutionary animals (the communists under influence the teaching of Old Major, that is Karl Marx) cannot think moderately and distrust the human beings (the capitalists).According to Marx, the exploitation will last forever if proletariats are divided and not united, because some of them serve for capitalists and cheated by the capitalists' world view. Therefore a unity for the proletariats will hasten the coming of the communism era, the time when proletariats will be freed from the oppressions. The following quotation shows the idea: ". ..let there be perfect unity, perfect comradeship in the struggle" (Orwell, 1951:11).

The quotation above shows the importance of the unity among the proletariats. The famous words of Karl Marx "The workers all the world, unity!" is found in the quotation above. The unity that sees the world in bipolarism, a white and black value, the truth and the false. This simplification of the idea of Karl Marx is reflected in the novel as it is seen on the following quotation:

> "All men are enemies. All animals are comrades." (Orwell, 1951:11).

The above quotation shows how simple the way Karl Marx divides the world into two polars. This simplification idea cannot be separated from the view that is around him when the industrial revolution is on the peak. The brutal treatment and misery condition that are felt by workers at the time make Karl Marx sees that the all capitalists are cruel.

They also create an anthem in order to keep their spirit struggle high. This anthem, entitled *Beasts of England* is for all animals over England that is hoped to unity them. The song can be seen on the following quotation:

> Beasts of England, beasts of Ireland...Cruel whips no more shall crack... Riches more than mind can picture,Wheat and barley, oats and hay,Clover, beans, and mangelwurzels Shall be ours upon the day. Bright will shine the fields of England, Purer shall its water be... Of the golden future time. (Orwell, 1951:13)

The quotation above shows that it represents the anthem for the proletariats around the world, Internazionale The lyrics in English also talks about the struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors and it is the time or never. It can be seen as follows :

> Standup, damned of the Earth Standup, prisoners of starvation Reason thunders in its volcano... Let us group together ,and tomorrow The Internationale Will be the human race

The detail attack on human beings (MR. Jones and his men) reflects the situation when the bloody October Revolution takes place. The detail of the battle can be seen on the novel on page 19 until 20. It can be seen from the quotation below:

> "meanwhile the animals had chased Jones and his men out on to the road and slammed the five barrel gate behind them. And so, almost before they knew what was happening, the Rebellion had been successfully carried through; Jones was expelled and the Manor Farm was theirs" (Orwell, 1951:19)

From the above quotation it can be learnt that the story reflects the glorious October Revolution in 1917. Since then the empire of Russia is changed into the Soviet Socialist Republic, and in the novel the Manor Farm is changed into the Animal Farm. It can be seen from the following quotation:

> "Then Snowball (for it was Snowball who was best at writing) took a brush between the two knuckles of his trotter, painted out MANOR FARM from the top bar of the gate and its

place painted ANIMAL FARM. This was to be the name of the far, from now onwards "(Orwell, 1951: 22).

The above quotation shows how the animal changed the name of the farm into the animal farm so that the idea of animals where a place for the ideal dream of the prosperity of animals are fought for. When revolution to gain egalitarian value is installed, the deeds of human beings reflecting the oppressors are forbidden to do. The animals also assert rules to show their togetherness. It is called as the SEVEN COMMANDMENTS.

The novel then portrays how animals live under the new regime. Boxer works hard. It said on the book that :

He had been a hard worker even in Jones' time but now he seemed more like three horses than one" (Orwell, 1951:26).

He works hard, until he is sick: "It is my lung," said Boxer in a weak voice.' It does not matter. I think you will be able to finish the windmill without me." (Orwell,1951:101).

From the above quotations, those are clearly seen that Boxer is a typical of Soviet citizen who holds a simple faith on the idea of communism time that will be coming soon. He is eager to work hard for the principle he has. He joins the battle against invasion, works hard to bulid the prestigious project of a windmill, and get hurt and tired for those activities. But what he gets is very cruel. He is sent to human being to be slaughtered because he is no use anymore in the sight of Animal Farm's leaders such as Napoleon. He does not know about the cruel plan. It is seen from the following quotation:

"Alfred Simmonds, Horse Slaughterer and Glue Boiler, Willingdon. Dealer in Hides and Bone-Meal. Kennels Supplied." Do you not understand what that means? They are taking Boxer to the knacker's!" (Orwell, 1951:104).

From the above quotation it can learnt that the way of the new regime to treat their comrade animals is not better than the way Mr. Jones treats animals. The proletariats are still oppressed. In Soviet Union a place where Marxism is practiced, the condition of workers and peasants are not better than those who are in the capitalist countries. The work condition, the welfare, facilities, etc that are given to the workers and peasants are much better ironically in capitalistic states than those in communist states. Just compare the worker condition in former East Germany and the west one. The ones who live in West Germany are much more rich than those who live the east one.

This novel also presents Napoleon that is in fact Stalin. Just like Stalin he behaves cruelly, not really smart, he has no original idea to develop the farm after a revolution is done. What he just can do is to convince people that he is right The following quotations will show the idea:

On one Sunday morning, when the animals assembled to receive orders, Napoleon announced that he decided upon a new policy . From now onwards Animal Farm would engage in trade with the neighbouring farms (Orwell, 1951:56)

The above quotation shows how Napoleon representing Stalin betrays the principle of Marxism. Napoleon makes trade and relationship with the human beings, as the owner of the neighboring farms where of course there are animals that are possessed by the human beings. Stalin in the past lets The Soviet Union have trade and diplomatic ties with many capitalist states like Netherland that occupies Indonesia, the Great Britain that rules India, etc. That is very irony for Soviet Union is an ideology state that the birth is intended for helping the proletariats and oppressed people around the world. There will be no harm made for the proletariats in the Soviet Union that means in the novel, the Animal Farm. Ironically the following quotation shows that many animals are slaughtered during the reign of their animal comrade after the revolution:

> "When they (pigs) had finished their confession, the dogs promptly tore their throats out, and in a terrible voice Napoleon demanded whether any other animal had anything to confess. The three hens....too were slaughtered. Then a goose...then a sheep, and two other sheep... They were all slain on the spot" (Orwell, 1951:73-74).

The above quotation shows how the regime is not less brutal than the previous one. The pigs who are loved by Napoleon but then those who are closely related to Snowball must pay their life with death, moreover the animals that represent proletariats in the time of Soviet Union. The accusation can be made by arranged confession by the party. In fact, in Soviet Union, the mass murder among its citizens is bitter at the time of Stalin. Alexander Solzhenitsyn (1974:65) records how someone can be killed just because a member of communist party loves his wife, and wants to have her. The murder of the communist party is said because the husband is against the principle of communism. The acts of killing animals make the animals frightened. The following quotation shows the event:

> "Frightened though they were, some of the animals might possibly have protested" (Orwell, 1951:77).

However, the human beings are also afraid of the revolution will spread to their farms. The following quotation shows the idea:

> "And then the human beings listened to it, they secretly trembled, hearing in it a prophecy of future doom" (Orwell, 1951:36).

The above quotation shows how human beings representing the capitalist states are afraid the virus of the spread of communism. They have animals inside their farms as the capitalist states proletariats inside their countries. They are very afraid and hope that the other revolutions will not take place in their farms (countries). It should be noted that after the revolution there is a hysteria in the beginning for the leaders of the animal farm to export revolution. The following quotation shows the happening:

> "Everyday Snowball and Napoleon sent out flights of pigeons whose instructions were to mingle with animals on the neighbouring farms, tell them the story of rebellion, and teach them the tune of "Beasts of England" (Orwell,1951:34).

From the above quotation, it can be learnt that the news about the success story of proletariats to overthrow their oppressors have widely spread. In Indonesia before the independence, the revolution has affected intellectual to consider and praise the revolution as in important source for the idea of gaining independence. Soekarno on his book Di Bawah Bendera Revolusi quotes Karl Marx and the revolution many times. The communist party of Indonesia was created in 1920, after gaining influential support from a body of an Islamic party. Semaun, Darsono, and Alimin turned from Islamic point of view of struggling into the Marxist one, and even there is a story of a *hajj*, Haji Misbach who declares himself as a muslim and as a communist as well. The fast spread idea of communism cannot be separated from the organ of Comintern, an organ that is made by the Soviet Russian to spread the communism. However, after several problem with difficulties of building windmill, hunger, battles against human beings, Napoleon focuses on his own Animal Farm rather than exporting revolution. It is against the idea of Snowball. The novel represent Snowball as Trostky, a brilliant thinker of Marxism. The following quotation shows that he supports the export of ideology:

> "According to Napoleon, what animals must do was to procure firearms and train themselves in the use of them. According to Snowball, they must send out more and more pigeons and stir up rebellion among the animals on other farms." (Orwell, 1951:46).

From the above quotation it can be learnt that Snowball like Trotsky wants to spread revolution around the world, while Napoleon has made Animal farm as a state with its certain border and apparatus and buereaucracy. This idea is severely attacked by leftist like Rosa Luxemburgo and Trotsky who consider Soviet Union is just another apparatus oppressive state of and buereaucracy. This irony can be seen also in North Korea and China where their army consume a lot their money for protecting the regime than using the money for proletariats in their countries. In the idea of Leon Trotsky the on and on revolution is called as the permanent revolution. A revolution that works on and on until the proletariats around the world reign.

Leon Trotsky is well known for his writings and speeches which can influence intellectual Marxists, but the problem is that he has no access to mass who think simply and love being agitated and know popular leader like Stalin (Napoleon). Snowball loves reading. This statement can be seen from following quotation:

"Snowball had made a close study of some back numbers of the Farmer and Stockbreeder which he found in the farmhouse" (Orwell, 1951:43).

Snowball also makes a brilliant speech among pigs (that is communist party members). The following quotation shows it:

"At the meetings Snowball often won over the majority by his brilliant speeches" (Orwell, 1951:43).

He is also the one that plans for the windmill. These all cleverness of Snowball

(Trostky) makes Napoleon have to send him away. The following quotation shows the happening:

> "At this there was terrible baying sound outside, and nine enormous dogs wearing brass-studded collars came bounding into the barn. They dashed forward for Snowball, who only sprang from his place just in time to escape their snapping jaws" (Orwell, 1951:48).

From the above quotation, it can be learnt that Napoleon can defeat his rival over the animals, that means Stalin defeats Trotsky over the sight of people. After the expulsion of Snowball, Napoleon reigns alone and cheat his people in the name of animalism. The following quotation shows how in a country like that the honour and medals are so important to encourage people to work by illusion they work for animalism. The following quotation shows the event:

> "and a special gift of an apple given was bestowed on every animal"

"It was announced that the battle would be called the battle of windmill, and that Napoleon had created a new decoration, the Order of the Green Banner, which he had conferred upon himself." (Orwell, 1951:91).

From the above quotation, it can be learnt that Napoleon wants to direct his people 's sufferings into struggle and gives them illusion in the forms of medals in which he, himself is the first class receiver.Alexander Solzhenitsyn (1974:76) records how someone who receives a medal for his hard work for a corn field, but he prefers corns to the medal in a speech then he is punished. This irony and disgusting thing in the name of animalism is shifted when the pigs representing the communist party members have special rights than other members of society. This can be seen from the following quotation:

"They took their exercise in the garden, and were discouraged from playing with other animals. About this time too, it was laid down a rule that when a pig, of whatever degree, were to have the privilege of wearing green ribbons on their tails on Sundays" (Orwell, 1951:96).

From the quotation, it can be learnt that the pigs (the communist party members) have become an elite group that live separately from other proletariats. It is against the principle of equality as it is taught by Marxism. More and more the pigs are greed and behave like human beings. They go home and drink whisky that is forbidden by the animals (orwell, 1951:107).

The worst is that when animals see that their leaders, Napoleon and his pigs become more and more like human beings. The following quotation shows that when human beings come to the animal farm for trading Napoleon wears cloth like human being. The following quotation shows the event:

> "Napoleon was seen strolling in the farmhouse garden with a pipe in his mouth- no, not even when the pigs took Mr.Jones' clothes out...

napoleon himself appearing in a black coat, ratcatcher breeches, and leather leggings, while his favourite sow appeared in the watered silk dress which Mrs. Jones had been used to wear on Sundays.(Orwell,1951:115).

From the above quotation it can be learnt that the leaders of the communist party have betrayed the principle of communism. They do the things that are completely like what the capitalists do. In Rumania, the communist regime under Nicola Ceaucescu is famous for his bourgouise taste, and so does his wife. The ways they leaders enjoy life are disgusting on the sight of the proletariats that still live poor. Finally they cannot differentiate which one human beings and which one are animals. All of them are the oppressors on the proletariats.

D.Conclusion

After understanding the explanation, the research concludes that George Orwell is an actually a Trotskyist. The findings that show how Orwell is a Trotskyist are through the portrayal of Snowball. Through Snowball, Orwell deploys the idea that Trotskyism is real Marxist, while what is practiced by Napoleon in *Animal Farm* is wrong. In fact, Napoleon is the representation of S

References

- Eagleton, Terry. 1996. *Marxist Literary Theory*. London: Blackwell.
- Althusser, Louis.2007. *Filsafat Sebagai Senjata Pamungkas*.Sleman: Resist Book.

- Bennett, Tony.1979. Formalism and Marxism. London:Methuen.
- McLellan, David. 1998. *Marxism After Marx*. London: Macmillan.
- Orwell, George. 1951. Animal Farm. London: Penguin.
- Sargent, Lyman T. 1986. *Idelogi Politik Kontemporer*. Jakarta: Bina Aksara
- Solzhenitsyn, Alexander,1974.*The Gulag Archipelago*. Glasgow: Harper and Row.
- Trotsky, Leon.2010. *Revolusi Yang Dikhianati*. Sleman: Resist Book.
- Wallbank, Theodore, 1979. *History and Life*. Illinois: Scott, Foresman, and Company.