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Ahmad Sabiq



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DARI REDAKSI

Terimakasih yang mendalam pada semua pihak yang telah membantu kelancaran penerbitan jurnal "SWARA POLITIKA" volume 12 nomor 2 tahun 2011 ini tak terkecuali para kontributor yang sudah meluangkan waktu untuk menuliskan ide-ide besarnya dalam tema-tema yang sangat menarik. Pada edisi kali ini, pengurus Jurnal Swara Politika mengalami beberapa perubahan melalui restrukturisasi pada posisi pemimpin redaksi dan dewan redaksi dikarenakan beberapa staf melanjutkan studi S3.

Pada edisi kali ini, tinjauan pertama mengangkut tema korupsi yang dilakukan oleh birokrasi dalam semua lini baik secara individu maupun berjamaah. Birokrasi yang semestinya berperan sebagai pelayanan masyarakat justru memaknai jabatan sebagai mekanisme untuk menumpuk kekayaan. Kondisi ini semakin menjauhkan birokrasi jauh dari rakyatnya.

Artikel kedua dalam edisi ini mengambil kasus di Yogyakarta yang mengulas latar belakang terbentuknya identitas seseorang sebagai preman, konteks ekonomi dan politik para preman serta nilai-nilai yang diusung para preman saat beraksi sebagai bentuk perlawanan.

Artikel ketiga dalam artikel ini mengurai tentang relasi kuasa antar pemimpin (*kuncen*, *punduh*, *lebe*) di Kampung Naga dimana peran kuncen memiliki pengaruh sangat

besar dalam kehidupan masyarakat adat. Kuncen memiliki peran sebagai kepala adat sekaligus sebagai icon Kampung Naga.

Artikel keempat menampilkan analisis karya sastra fiksi karya George Orwell yang merefleksikan perilaku publik terhadap pemerintah dan administrasi publik yang memberikan alternatif pandangan terutama dari dalam terhadap isu-isu administratif yang sangat sulit didekati dengan alat analisis lain.

Artikel kelima mengetengahkan peran agensi dalam pembentukan pekerja perempuan Indonesia dengan mengelaborasi kasus penyaluran tenaga kerja Indonesia di Hongkong. Persoalan para TKI di luar negeri lebih banyak berasal dari para agensi yang 'nakal', tidak mempersiapkan para calon TKI/TKW sebaik mungkin agar siap bekerja di negara tujuannya.

Artikel penutup dalam edisi ini mengetengahkan politik lingkungan dalam perspektif Islam yang banyak mengambil ajaran dari Al-Qur'an dengan mengelaborasi dimensi etik tentang bagaimana idealnya pemerintah mengelola lingkungannya terutama bagi negara-negara Muslim.

Selamat membaca!

Redaksi Swara Politika

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION THEME IN LITERATURE: 1984 The Perfect Metaphors for the Notion of Strong Bureaucratic Control and the Pathology of Bureaucracy

Abstrak

Makalah ini menganalisis mengenai karya sastra fiksi yang direpresentasikan oleh George Orwell pada tahun 1984 yang merefleksikan pandangan tentang administrasi publik tentang bagaimana pandangan terhadapnya berubah, bagaimana karya sastra ini secara simultan membantu menciptakan dan mengkritisi munculnya administrasi negara dan tipe administrasi mana yang menjadi pilihan mereka. Karya fiksi seperti yang dibuat oleh George Orwell ini telah memberikan kontribusi yang signifikan pada pemahaman administrasi dalam konteks masalah persepsi individu-lah yang penting yaitu motif pribadi dan karakter personal. Dalam studi ini, karya fiksi George Orwell ini merefleksikan lebih dari sekedar perilaku publik terhadap pemerintah dan administrasi publik. Hal ini memberikan pandangan dari dalam terhadap isu-isu administratif yang sangat sulit didekati dengan alat analisis lain.

Kata Kunci: novel George Orwell, administrasi publik dalam karya sastra, birokrasi yang kuat, patologi birokrasi

Introduction

This paper will mainly explore George Orwell's novel, 1984, and will pursue the essence of the theme that emerges in this novel. Any significant political science issue will be explored here; in addition the notion of public administration that appear in this novel will be unpacked. 1984 was a wonderful piece of literature that exhibits and provides the metaphors for the pathology of governmental bureaucracy, as well as describes the notion of strong bureaucratic control.

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The novel opens with the daily regularity of a man named Winston Smith. Winston is a protagonist in this novel who lives in the dilapidated apartment of Victory mansions. A big picture of Big Brother underscored by the words 'Big Brother is watching you' welcomes him while he heads his way up to his room. At his room an instrument called Telescreen greets him, calling out a list which has something to do with the production of pig-iron. Telescreens provide the tools for spouting propaganda and to monitor the actions of the citizens by the dominant totalitarian regime that rules Airstrip.

Winston is a member of such a dominant party that rules the Airstrip -formerly known as England-Oceania. Though he is the member of the ruling class and works for the Ministry of Truth, Winston feels that something is not in the right place. He feels there are too many contradictory tasks about the governmental task that is set by the Party. Other Ministries that conduct the task of governmental functions under the Party seem to work in a contradictory way: the Ministry of Plenty plans economic shortage, the Ministry of Peace wages war, the Ministry of Love spreading the catastrophic fear to the society.

Feeling that everything seems contradictory for him, Winston put his restlessness into a diary that he bought in the proletarian area of Airstrip. This diary provides Winston a place for him to unpack his thought, though it might jeopardize him, because it was an act of revolt against his Party. A noteworthy words in his diary are the words "down with the big brother". He knew that this is the most inexcusable crime in the Oceania, a state where Big brother is the most powerful man in the party. Having a thoughtful mind will easily put Winston in danger, and he knows that the Thought Police will snatch him sooner or later. Pushed by his restlessness, he remembers the moment before those days of Two Minute Hate, an assembly during which party orators whip the populace into a frenzy of hatred against the enemies of Oceania. Before the hate began, Winston saw a loathing hatred from the eyes of O'Brien to Big Brother. O'Brien was an important party member that Winston assumes shared the same vision about the unjust systems of the Party that rules the Airstrip.

Winston lives by the shadow of his fearfulness that someday the Thought Police will come and catch him. The dominant party of Airstrip has developed a system that embeds strong control to its citizens, by the use of Telescreens, Thought Police, and the existence of Junior Spies. Junior Spies is an organization of children who monitor adults for disloyalty to the party, and fre-

quently succeed in catching them. The children of Winston's neighbors, Mrs. Parsons, torments him with the accusation of committing a thought crime, this event disturbs the privacy of Winston since Mrs. Parson's kids since their mother won't let them go to a public hanging of some of the Party's political enemies in the park that evening.

After helping Mrs. Parsons with her plumbing issues, Winston puts himself stranded in the shadow of O'Brien. Furthermore, he dreams about his mother on a sinking ship and how that he feels responsible for this. Another awkward dream emerges in Winston's sleep, depicting a dark haired girl taking off her clothes in a land that is called golden country, a land that where he can find a sense of freedom from the Party.

The Party who runs the government of the Airstrip embraces the advanced technology that they use to maintain their power. Furthermore, the use of newspeak as the official language of Oceania drives the absolute power of the party. Newspeak is a language that ultimately intends to narrow the range of thought to render thought crime impossible. So it means that there are no words in Newspeak that are capable of expressing independent and rebellious thoughts. As result, no one will ever be able to rebel, or even to conceive of the idea of rebellion.

Winston works in the Records section of the Ministry of Truth. His main task was to re-write the history that supports the domination of the Party. He works with a machine called 'speak write'. He destroys all outdated documents and updates with the recent development in order to keep the Party and Big Brother in touch with the new situations. Another task that he has to do today it is manipulating a history about Comrade Withers. A withers is one of Big Brother former officials. He has been executed since he has been an enemy of the Party. Due to this, Winston task obligates him to alter a record of a speech made in December 1983 that referred to Comrade Withers. This task is to ensure that it is important to delete the entire document that records praising to an enemy of the Party. In short Winston is remarking the history by defining what the best history to maintain the Party domination.

Joining Winstons at lunch is Syme an intelligent party member who speaks out on the use of Newspeak and its aim. Afterword he tangles with the gratitude that sparks from Mr. Parson for Winston's kindness for helping with the plumbing trouble at Mr. Parson house while he was away the other day. One euphemism from Mr. Parson is that he feels sorry for his kid's behavior to Winston, but he admitted that he is proud of the

spirit of his son. Soon after that the extravagant sounds ring from the loudspeaker: the Ministry of Plenty announces the increase of productions, and Winston is surprised that the people around him seem to accept the announcements. Feeling strangely fine in such a way, soon after that Winston astonished by the stares of an unknown black haired colleague. From this point he starts to worry that this black haired lady is the Party spies who is after him.

In envy by the simple life of common people, he regularly visits Prole District. He misses how it feels to be alive, to be spontaneous, with no restrictions or control by the government, no control to act as a fully human being that is reproduced through sex. Restless and unsure with the things that are going on, Winston keeps writing his entire journey. He writes it down because he has a faith about O'Brien, his imaginary ally who shares the same value about the Party unjust system with him.

He writes down some of his experiences that he has been through: his encounters with the prostitutes in the Proles District, a small talk about the past with an old man in the pub of Prole District, a time that he bought a clear glass paperweight with the pink coral from a second hand store. Mr. Charrington, the second hand store proprietor, takes him upstairs to a private room with

no telescreen, where a print of St. Clement's Church looks down from the wall. On the way back home, he sees a figure in blue Party overalls, the dark haired girl, apparently following him. At his apartment Winston is horribly terrified, he convinces himself to commits suicide before the Thought Police come and torture him. Instead of committing suicide, he falls and recalls the party slogans as he looks to the coins from his pocket that depicts the face of Big Brother.

Back in the office, Winston passed by and struck by the black haired lady that following him the other day, he mesmerized that the girl slip him an paper lettering I love you. Curious and happy with this fact, Winston gets a chance to arrange a secret meeting after meet the dark haired girl that named to be Julia in the Victory park during the convoy of Eurosians prisoners, this was a savage parade that displayed the torture of the Eurosians prisoner by malicious crowds. The secret meeting was an even to abdicate their passion and mostly from the control of the Party. Unlike Winston, Julia it's not interested in widespread rebellion. For Julia this relation was a kind of outwitting the Party and enjoying herself.

Foolish by his passion to Julia and a place to escape from the Party control, Winston rent the room above Mr. Charrington's shop. He

feels that this place will give him a room for him and Julia to meet, and furthermore gain his personal freedom from the control of government. Winston and Julia meet several time in his room that Winston lease from Mr. Charrington, lie around the room Julia sees a rat, Winston, afraid of rats more than anything else, is horrified. At the room they have a long conversation about the past, brotherhood, the strange kinship of Winston and O'Brien, and Emanuel Goldstein. In short Julia it's fairly not interested in this.

Finally the time that waited long time by Winston arrived, on the hallway at the Ministry of Truth office he catch up with O'Brien and have a brief conversations with him. O'Brien invites Winston to come to his home and set a talk about the upcoming Newspeak dictionary. Enchanted and scared by O'Brien invitation, Winston decides that this is the path for his rebellious journey, he is very thrilled, though he also feel that this is may lead him to dangerous positions or even get killed.

Winston starting to have an massive dream about his mom, he try to gasp his past memories when he left his mother and a struggle to save his life, he try to recalls all of the memory that related to their live together, before he fall into his subconscious believed that he kills his

mother. Winston shared all of his dream with Julia, they starting to worried that the Party already sniff their activities in the Mr. Charrington apartment, they afraid that the party will capture and torture them, fearful on what going to happen on them, they assured each other that they will never going to betrayed each other, and it will not going to make stop loving each other.

Julia and Winston made a trip to O'Brien House. In his house, O'Brien delightfully turns of the Telescreen, his try to build the trust from Winston. Amazed by the O'Brien manner, Winston boldly admitted that he and Julia are the enemy of the Party he wishes that he can join Brotherhood. In the other hand, O'Brien warmly agree and tell them that Brotherhood are actually real, and the central leader of Brotherhood, Emanuel Goldstein are actually exist. While Winston and O'Brien engaged in serious conversations about the Brotherhood anthem, Julia takes off, the wine was pour, and O'Brien promised that he going to give a copy of Goldstein book 'Manifesto of Revolution' to Winston. After Winston leave, O'Brien turns on his Telescreen, and back to his work.

There has been dramatic turn-around during the middle of the hate week. Oceania dramatically announced that never really have a war with Eurasia, they are an allied,

and the one that to be the foe was the Eastasia. Winston realized that this fact was never true, furthermore, the people who rally condemning Eurasia by their sign stopped and shamed, moreover they starting condemning Goldstein sabotage for this even. Winston got really hook to Emanuel Goldstein book 'The Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism', he learns and traces the roots of social classes, he learns that Eurasia was created when Russia subsumed all of Europe, Oceania was crafted when United States Absorb the British empire, and East-Asia is made up of the remaining nation. While Julia lies on his arms, he keep reading the book and notified that Goldstein emphasized that the control of history is a central control of the party.

On the next morning Winston and Julia stared at the parade of red-armed woman, they admired their fertility; they realized that they are doomed. Both Winston and Julia say 'we are the dead', suddenly a third voices interrupts them and vocalize " You are the dead", they realized that the sound derived from behind of the St Clements Church, a sound that derived from the Telescreen that set to monitor them. Tramping booth echoes from outside, and they get busted by the Thought Police. Winston soon realized that the familiar sound that rums from the Telescreen

was Mr. Charrington voice, a voice that belongs to a member of Police Thought.

Winston hold in the custody of the Party, he stuck in the bright cell that the light always on, where the places is no dark. He soon will be drag to room 101, a place of mysterious and unspeakable horror. During his interrogations he meet his neighbor Mr. Parsons, who was turned in by his own child for committing thought crime. Winston cannot resist watching the beating, starvation and mangling that happens during his time in the cell, he wish that the Brotherhood will help him in committing suicide. When O'Brien walks in to the room his hope vaporized while O'Brien admits that himself as an operative of the Ministry of love.

O'Brien starts the long sessions of tortures to Winston. He uses the torture as tools to brain-washed Winston perspectives on the Party. As O'Brien increases the pain, Winston agrees to accept this process of torture and begin to love O'Brien, since O'Brien was the one who relieved him from pain. Day by day gone by, Winston is removed to more comfy room that the torture is more light, he has several dreams about his Mother, Julia, O'Brien in the Golden Country, He start to the conclusions that it was a foolish to oppose the Party, he begins to write the party slogan as an remedy

to easy his pain, he beginning to accepts the Party domination over him. Stressful of his artificial love to Big Brother, he screams Julia names many times, when O'Brien arrives Winston told him that he hates Big Brother, O'Brien replied in a strict manner that obeying Big Brother is not an adequate behavior. Finally Winston dragged to room 101, a room that contains worse thing that really scared by Winston, which is rat. in the room Winston was straps into chair, O'Brien tells Winton that after he open the clever, the rats will come and eat Winston, horribly terrifying, finally Winston screams that he wants O'Brien to subject Julia to this tortured instead him.

After a sequence of torture, finally he free from the cell, he accepts everything the party says and does. He sits at the Chesnutt tree café, while he was enjoying his glass of Victory gin and watches the Telescreen. He remembers a moment of happiness with his mother, but thinks it must be false memory. Furthermore a picture of Big Brother appears in the Telescreen, suddenly he feels so peaceful and happy and the same time.

Unpacking the Symbol, Theme and Metaphors of Public Administrations

What will you do when you realized that your government to much to interfere in your daily lives,

when the government have abundant power, a place where there is no sphere for freedom. Crick (2007:147) proposed that "Nineteen Eighty fours offers several satire theme, a close reading of the text suggest seven broad satiric themes:

1. The division of the world a Tehran by Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill;
2. The mass media and proletarian sation;
3. Power-hunger and totalitarianism ;
4. The betrayal of the intellectuals;
5. The debauching of language in the drive towards newspeak so that criticism of the party becomes linguistically impossible;
6. The destruction by the Ministry of Truth of any objective history and truth;
7. The development of common culture.

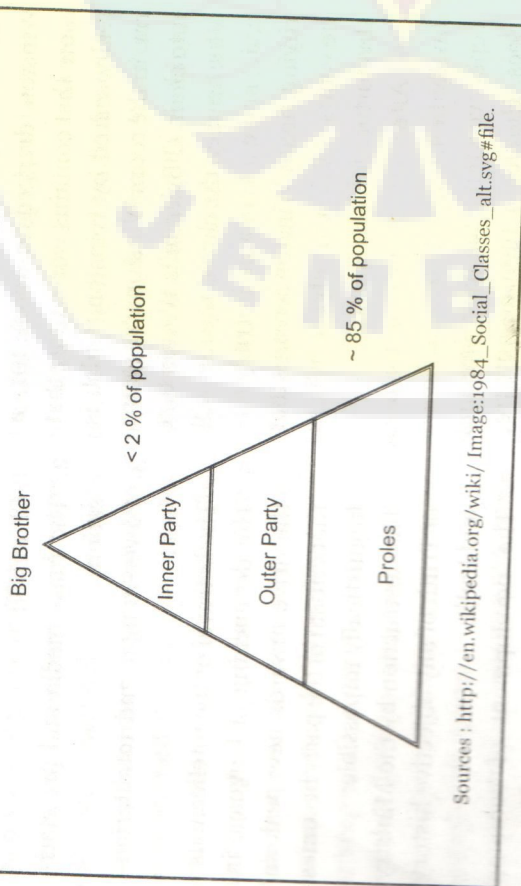
Those satiric themes above provides several theme that explains nineteen eighty-four as an important literature that depict the powerful role of the state.

In this paper I will disclose several theme emerges in the Novel 1984; Totalitarianism, The abuse use of technology to serves certain interest, the tight control on information and History, and the power of language. I will unpacked the theme that emerges from the reading and list it below:

1. Totalitarianism

1984 was an impressive novel that displayed the government abuse of power. Airstrip as state that part of Oceania was a horrible place that people really doesn't have any freedom. The invincible hand of government holds every sphere of its citizens of Airstrip. To maintain its power, government classified its citizens into several classes with Big Brother championed on top of it, the picture below depicts the class within the Oceania:

Figure 1. Class Categorization in Oceania



The class divided into three categories consists of Proles, Outer Party, and Inner party. The class division in this novel was mainly objected to maintain government power by allocating strong control. The notions of totalitarianism was depicts vividly by the absences of check and balance mechanism in the government, the strong chain of command that provides by the government to maintain its power creates no chances for the mechanism of check and balances within those classes, this certainly lead to the abuse of power by govern-

ment by set aside the interest of the citizens, as results the inner party as the ruling class will designate any kind of policy to maintain its power, the exhibits are clearly described in the use of propaganda by the party, the use of propaganda was vividly shows that the citizens must obey what that has been set by the Party, furthermore The Party will determined what is best for the citizens, citizens assumes as they don't know what is best for them.

The totalitarianism system that emerged in the novel of 1984 was provided metaphors in the sphere

of public administration. The notion was to provide depict that Policy-making is never been a process that sterile from interest. John dryzek a famous public administration theories notes that values will be a factor that determined policy making. 1984 provide a vivid descriptions on Policymaking process that championed by the inner Party member and limited to other classes, thus why any kind policy that produces by the Party will automatically increasing the possibility the absolute domination of the Party, since the value only reflects the interest of the inner Party member.

2. The Abuse of Technology to Serves Certain Objective

Technology it's not always attach to an advanced tools that use by society to enhance and maximized their goals. 1984 provides several gadgets that closely can be assume as technology. In this novel there are several events that depict the abuse use of technology to serves certain objectives. The most vivid objectives were the use of Telescreen and microphone to control any Airstrip citizen's activities. This was providing the assumption that the use of technology by the Party was to established a strong control to its citizens and diminish the boundaries between the public sphere and private sphere. As results, the citizens are fully supervised by the Party and infiltrate by the government propa-

ganda continually by the mean of technology such as Telescreen.

The use public administration tools maintained another vivid descriptions of the Party abuse use of technology, which is organization. Organization technology was tools that embrace by institution to perform and maintain its objective. 1984 use some of classic and rigid technology organization such as the division of task and the strict use of hierarchy to manage controls. The existence of Ministerial department and other specific task that designed to achieve the objective of the party was a clear example for the notion of public administration that embed in this novel.

3. The Tight Control on Information and History

Why the tight control of information and history became important in the 1984? Well, the famous notion of mass communication that proposed by Alvin Toffler was briefly argues that who owned the information will be the one who rule the world. In other side, History is an important element that provides any important records of the past as well as the same time altering people a way of live. History also provide an information that have any direct impact on present day, thus why who controls the history and information will possibly became a ruler that dictated any policy to maintain its position.

In 1984, the Party dominated every source of information, managing and re-writing the contents of the newspaper and history by its own objective, which is to dictate policy and enforce their position as the ruler. Important indirect quotation from the novel that brightly displayed the control over information was "Who controls the past will control the present, and by control the present mean to determined the past", this implies that by controlling the present, the party is able to manipulate the past, and controlling the past, the Party can validate all of its actions in the present.

In the fields of public administrations this section provides metaphors that correlate to it. The Party strong censorship on documents and photographs proof that the use of classic administrations works of keeping documentation can be seen as a dangerous and threats the Party domination. Thus why any kind of records that can put the government in jeopardy will has to be destroyed. Finally by re-writing history and controlling the information, will lead Public administration to use it power absolutely.

4. The Power of Language

Another important means that emerges in this novel was the use of the language. This novel portrays the importance use of language as tools to maintain the Party power. Some of the use of the language as a

public administration sphere will leave no choice to the society and they could not avoid it.

In the fields of public administration, this novel proof that public administration is a designed means to alter any interest. This novels evidence that public administration is always pack with the interest of its ruler. Thus why, any language that embeds in the public administrations will always satisfy its rules. One of the best examples that language always serves bureaucracy was the colonial government use of its own languages on their occupied land. the use of the oppressors language in their colony was to maintain the power of the colonial government by put the society follow and behaved their rules. This also exhibits that the use of the colonial government language in the formal daily lives or in the public administration sphere was to maintain the government power thorough mind control over the society.

Conclusions

1984 was a perfect piece of literature that displayed several notion of political sciences theme, especially Public Administration. First theme that emerges was the conception of Totalitarianism. The idea of Totalitarianism in this novel was depicts by absolute power of Big brother as the Party leader. The domination of the party over its

society well organized by the strong coordination, SOP, and hierarchy that well perform by the political machine of the Party, which is their bureaucrats.

Technology also plays important roles in this novel. Public administrations use of technology is an important theme that try underlined by Orwell, he proposed that the used of any kind of technology in the sphere of public administration will enhance the capability and the ability of public administration / government to control the society.

Public administration in this novel also depicts as an effective tools to alter the interest of the Party to its society. The use of Telescreen, Thought Police, Junior Spies was to confirm that public administrator in the Airstrip are highly loaded with tools to serves the interest of the party. Another important means that connects public administration with the abuse of power by the party was the strong censorship by the Government to filter out any kind of information and history that can put them in jeopardy. Furthermore, the use of language that based on the political interest of the Party, and broadly use by the Public administration will lead to the abuse of Government power and finally puts the society in danger. A noteworthy conclusion that derived from this novel was that Public administration is an important means. []

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**KEPEMIMPINAN POLITIK MASYARAKAT ADAT:
Studi Model Pembagian Peran dan Relasi Kuasa
Pemimpin Adat di Kampung Naga, Neglasari,
Salawu, Tasikmalaya**

Abstract

This study analyze the political leadership of indigenous people in Kampung Naga, Tasikmalaya, West Java, Indonesia, specifically on roles division and power relations model of indigenous leader in Kampung Naga, Neglasari, Salawu, Tasikmalaya. The result shows that the leadership model in Kampung Naga is very unique or traditional because it is different with the modern model of leadership, which is based on descendant with patriarchy system. A leader, which is a man and also descendant of previous leaders, appointed by a forum of Kampung Naga villagers in special meeting room (bale patemon). The other position that considered as leader, beside formal leader, are Kuncen, Punduh and Lebe.

Keywords: political leadership, power relations, roles division, indigenous people, Kampung Naga

Pengantar

Penelitian ini akan mengang-
kat topik tentang Kepemimpinan
Politik di Kampung Naga, Tasik-
malaya, Jawa Barat dengan fokus
kajian pada peran, pembagian dan
relasi kuasa di antara pemimpin
tersebut. Kajian ini sengaja penulis
pilih dengan maksud untuk meng-
gali salah satu dari kekayaan adat
di Indonesia yang sepertinya sudah
banyak terlupakan. Padahal sebe-
narnya banyak yang bisa kita gali
dari kekayaan tersebut dan menjadi

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