

ORWELL'S

1984

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DAVID DUNNICO

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Note

► The images and essays included in this catalogue for the IAPP's *Privacy in Art: Orwell's 1984* were originally pictured in David Dunnico's booklet *Cover Up*. Copyright of the covers belongs with the publishers of the books. Throughout the catalogue, Dunnico assumes readers possess a general understanding of the novel and, to avoid confusion, he refers to the book as *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (as Orwell preferred) and the year as 1984.

Credits

►► Text and cover design David Dunnico ©2011.

The IAPP acquired the bulk of its Orwell collection from David Dunnico in 2015 and would like to thank David for his efforts in building this collection and his ongoing commitment to exposing it to a wider audience.

“Nothing was your own except the few cubic centimeters inside your skull. ”

—George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*

Around the world, we use symbols, analogies and imagery as shorthand to engage the topics of privacy and surveillance. Perhaps none is used more than the character of “Big Brother,” introduced by George Orwell in his book, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Orwell’s dystopian fiction explored, in part, the coercive effect of persistent surveillance. “Big Brother is watching you”—the slogan used by the government in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* to suppress dissent and homogenize behavior—has become a ubiquitous, cross-cultural indicator of surveillance.

Since the first edition was published in 1949, there have been many hundreds of versions of Orwell’s book published in dozens of languages. There have also been multiple stage adaptations and a handful of movies based on the book. For each of these efforts, a graphic designer was confronted with the challenge of presenting the themes of the book in an accessible and compelling way. The resulting work—representing more than 60 years of artistic interpretations of the themes of privacy, surveillance, and political and social coercion—provides a fascinating view of the shifting perceptions of privacy.

In 2015, the International Association of Privacy Professionals acquired a large collection of Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and ephemera related to the book. For IAPP members and staff, this collection, comprising more than 400 total items, is a great treasure. To be clear, the IAPP is making no political or policy statement in presenting these works. Rather, we are happy to introduce

yet another lens through which we can explore the complexity and challenge of the issue of privacy in society.

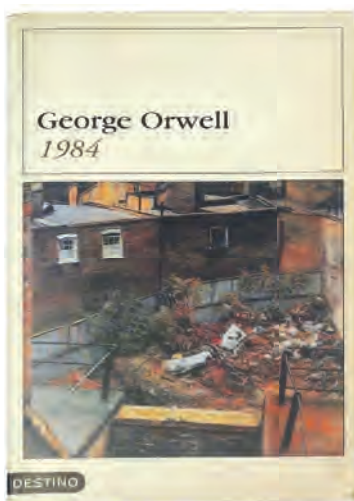
Within this collection you will find many symbols of surveillance that will seem cliché. Eyes, locks, doors and windows are all used as symbols of surveillance. But look for the evolution of these symbols over time and you will see versions that span mid-century modernism to futuristic views of the 1960s to grim imagery of decay from the 1980s and 1990s. You will also see reflections of the eras in which each book was published. There are pulp-fiction covers that focus on the sexuality in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. There are versions that focus on authoritarian power.

Perhaps my favorite cover is one that presents a painted image, taken from the perspective of a person looking into the messy backyard of a neighbor. The suggestion of the artist seems clear: We live in societies where observing each other is part of the fabric that stitches us together. How we balance the use of that information against the need for individuals to find safety, sanctuary and repose—that is the place in which we, and prior generations, have found the debate over privacy to exist. This is also the place in which privacy professionals work every day.

We hope you enjoy the exhibit.

J. Trevor Hughes
President and CEO, IAPP

September 2015



2008 simplified Chinese edition. [TOP]
2002 Spanish edition from DestinoLibro. [BOTTOM]

The Book of the Century?

Orwell's last novel led to his name appearing in the Oxford English Dictionary as the adjective "Orwellian"; used to describe a repressive state, and phrases such as "Big Brother," "Double Think," "Thought Crime" and "Room 101" becoming widely used and understood. But the book's significance is greater than that. William Steinhoff in *George Orwell and the Origins of 1984* concludes:

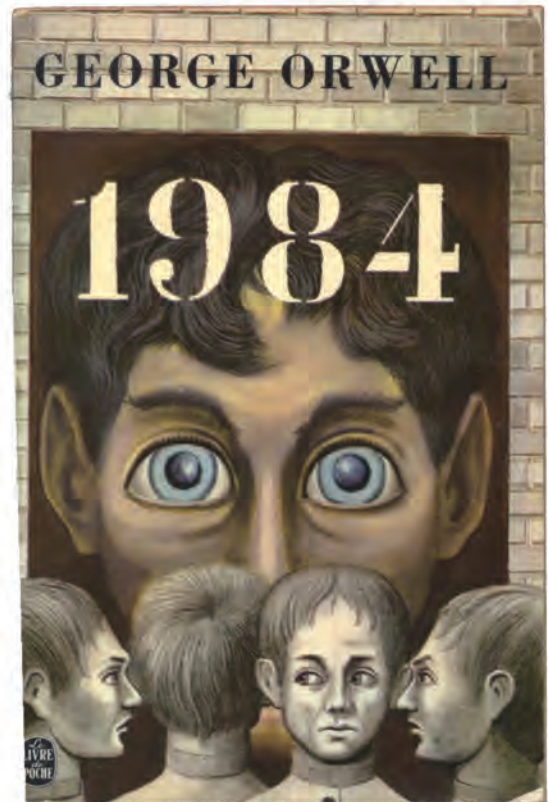
"Whether or not 1984 is an ideological super-weapon, one can say that it changed the world by representing the past and the present so as to modify people's expectations of the future ... Momentous events in the actual world were of course, the cause, but these are so remarkably crystallized in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* that literature and the world since then have been different."

Orwell's place in the history of ideas and literature is assured, but this accolade was largely posthumous. Until *Animal Farm* in 1945, Orwell's books had not been commercial successes. When he died in 1950 aged forty-six, his classic *Homage to Catalonia* had sold less than half of its first print run of 1,500 copies. After 12 years of sales, the publisher had yet to recoup the £150 advance it had paid its author.

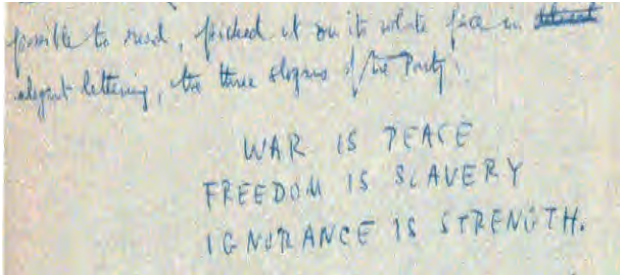
Whilst writing *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Orwell was ill with tuberculosis. Complications from the illness would soon kill him. Indeed the effort of finishing the novel hastened his death and contributed to its bleak tone. Orwell was not entirely happy with the finished work and said in a letter to his friend Julian Symons,

"I ballsed it up rather, partly owing to being so ill while I was writing it, but I think some of the ideas might interest you."

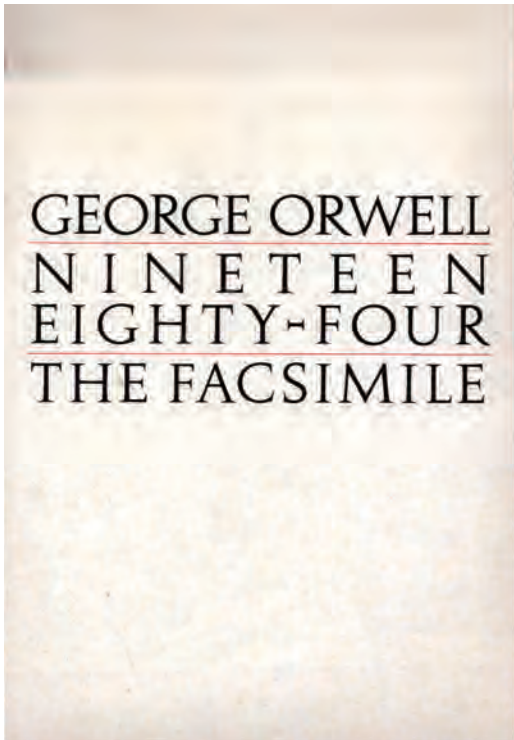
Orwell was well read (even for a professional book reviewer) and had for many years been developing his ideas in articles, essays, reviews and books.



Orwell's "Big Brother" is part of the cultural currency. French edition published by Gallimard in 1950.



They found their ultimate expression in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Richard Rees author of *George Orwell: Fugitive From the Camp of Victory* (1961) said Orwell “succeeds in packing into 1984 nearly all the ideas of his previous books.” These were not just the personal obsessions of Orwell; they were some of the big questions of the day and ones that have had a profound effect on where our society is today.



Coming Up For Air, published in 1939, includes a description that would not be out of place in the later book. The protagonist George Bowling, looks to the future and sees:

“The world we’re going on into, the kind of hate-world, slogan world. The coloured shirts, the barbed wire, the rubber truncheons. The secret cells where the electric light burns night and day and the detectives watching you while you sleep. And the processions and the posters with enormous faces, and the crowds of a million people all cheering for the Leader...”

Testament to the power of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is how, for over 60 years, the work has seemed bleakly prescient of the current age—whatever the age. One of the early reviews, by American critic Irving Howard said, “it offers true testimony, it speaks for our time.”

In *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Orwell described a future where the world had coalesced into three power blocks; Oceania, Eurasia and Eastasia. They maintain a never-ending, unwinnable war as a method of maintaining power over their own populations. It can be argued that following the end of the cold war, today’s “war on terror” performs much the same function. The Guántanamo Bay detention centre, where the U.S. holds people from its wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, has been likened to Orwell’s Room 101, where captives are tortured by their worst fears.

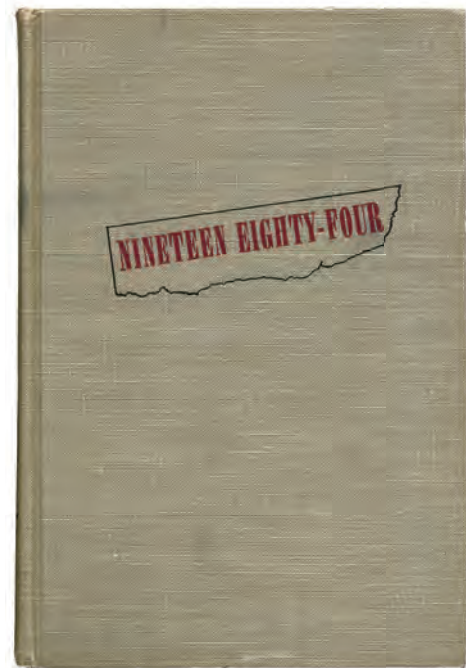
The jacket blurb of one early Penguin edition cautioned, “1984 that is the year it happens.”

In 1984 an American edition warned “its time has come.” The actual year 1984 was a surprise to some when it didn’t turn out like *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. The coming of the year saw new editions of the book, a second, more satisfying film version, academic conferences and numerous newspaper articles. The year was an excuse to re-examine the work and reassess its relevance. In 1984, a dystopian future in Britain may not have seemed so far away with the miners strike, mass unemployment, social decay and the shrill pronouncements of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (Big Sister) such as, “There is no alternative” and “There is no such thing as society”; phrases that might have come from the mouth of the book’s character O’Brien. The description of Britain as “Airstrip One” a province of Oceania (the U.S.) seemed pertinent given the controversial stationing of American nuclear weapons at British bases such as Greenham Common.

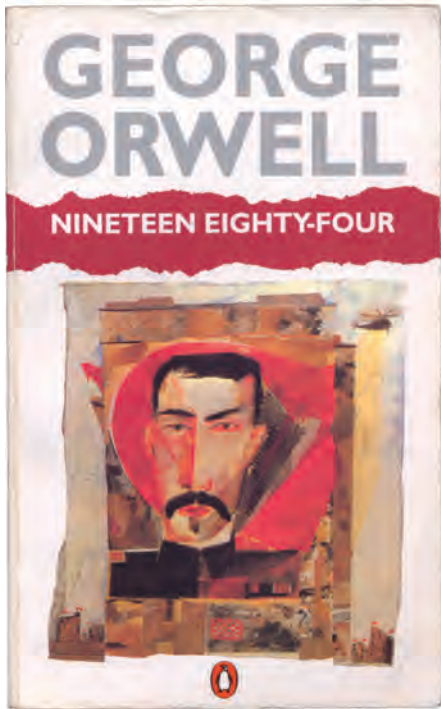
However, while the book seems prescient, it should not be seen as an attempt at prophecy and certainly not a prediction of what the world would be like in 1984. Until just before publication its title was to be *The Last Man in Europe*. At other stages it was 1980 and 1982. One legend has it that Orwell simply flipped the last two digits round to turn “1948” (the year it was being written in) into “1984” (his pen name “George Orwell” seemed to be picked in a similarly casual way.) The set design of Michael Radford’s film version released in 1984 was at pains to show a world that looked much more 1948 than 1984.

If not meant as prophecy, the book was meant as a warning. The novelist Jonathan Raban wrote in 1968 that it:

“Holds a distorting mirror, not to some distant and theoretical future, but to the politics and social life of the immediate postwar period.”



A U.S. edition published in 2003 by Plume (part of Harcourt and Brace). [TOP] This edition marked the centenary of Orwell’s birth and followed the design of the original U.S. edition. [BOTTOM]



Orwell himself wanted this to be clear, so made a statement to his publisher:

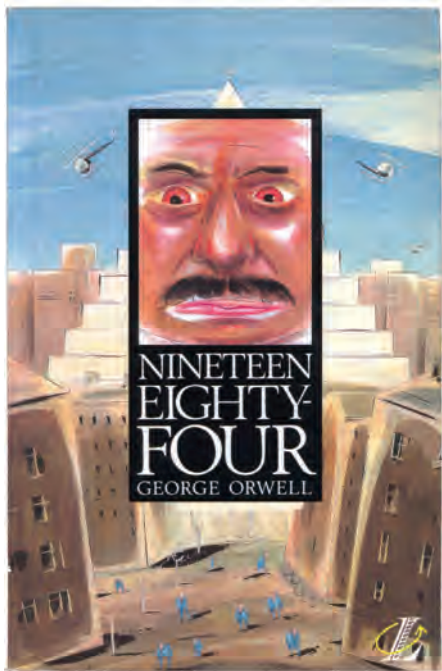
“It has been suggested by some of the reviewers of *1984* that it is the author’s view that this or something like this will happen inside the next forty years in the Western world. This is not correct. I think that, allowing the book being after all a parody, something like *1984* could happen. This is the direction in which the world is going at the present time...”

Early readers recognized it as a political satire (albeit a dark one) of current affairs in 1948, so much so that the original *New York Times* review of 1949 wondered

“... its greatness is only immediate, its power for us alone, now, in this generation, this decade, this year, that it is doomed to be the pawn of time.”

Time has proved that concern wrong although some of the satire may be lost to modern readers. Despite this the work not only endures, but also seems to grow in power and relevance. Perhaps another indication of the book’s power is how those of opposing political opinions try to claim the book as their own. Orwell is still trotted out by some as an anti-communist icon, which given his avowed socialist beliefs is faintly ridiculous. His description of a totalitarian state has been used by the Right as a warning about the plans of the Left. Rhodes Boyson—a Tory MP famed for looking (and thinking) like a 19th Century mill owner—edited a 1975 book of essays called *1985 An Escape from Orwell’s 1984 A Conservative Path to Freedom*. It was not a big seller, even with its dire warnings that, following the coming economic crash, the country:

“... could slide further towards *1984* with the left-wing of Mr. Wilson’s Labour Party to become a national-socialist member of the Warsaw pact mouthing empty phrases about liberty and democracy while our people are enslaved in a totalitarian dictatorship.”



Big Brother watches from the cover of the 1987 Penguin edition [TOP] and the Longman Study edition. [BOTTOM]

A quarter of a century later, Orwell was still the weapon of simile to bash successive Labour governments for totalitarian tendencies.

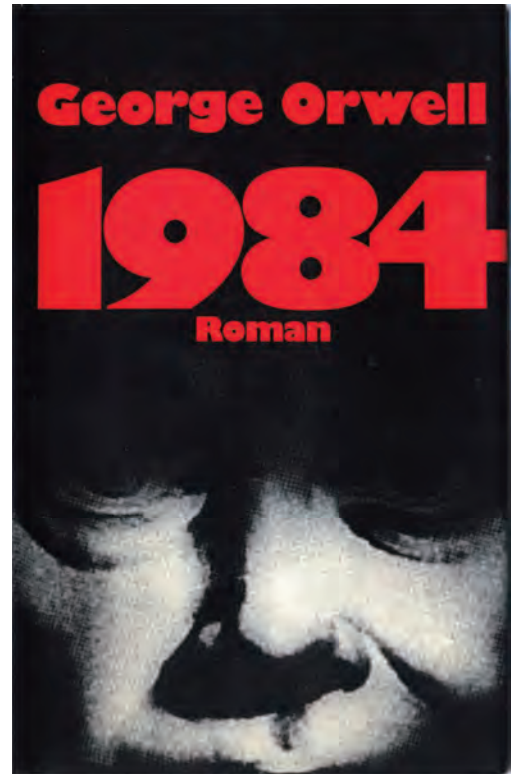
In 2009, Chris Huhne MP invoked the power of Orwell when he attacked government plans warning:

“We are sleepwalking into a surveillance state and should remember that George Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was a warning, not a blueprint.”

Headline writers invoked the name of Big Brother in every story about CCTV, identity cards or government databases.

Claims on *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *Animal Farm* by the Right had been utterly rejected by Orwell during his lifetime. In a 1949 letter to his American publisher he wrote:

“My recent novel is NOT intended as an attack on Socialism or the British Labour Party (of which I am a supporter) ...”



German edition uses a still image from the 1958 Hollywood film. [TOP]

French edition from 1983 (though the cover image may have been used on an earlier edition). [BOTTOM]

Soviet Russia

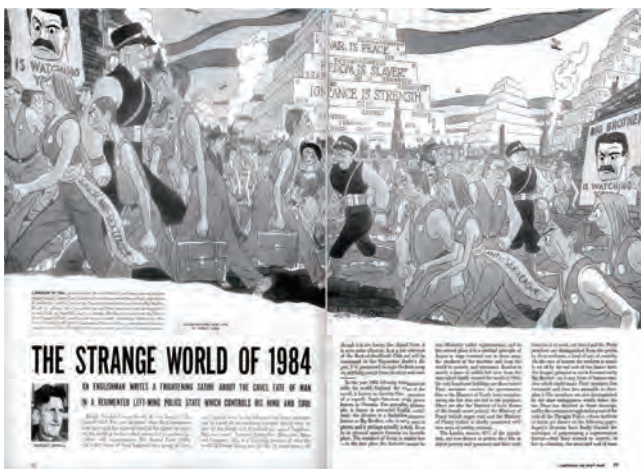
Orwell may have appreciated the irony of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* becoming openly available in Russia in the late 1980s, whilst being challenged in some U.S. school districts including Jackson County, Florida, for being “pro-communist” and containing “explicit sex scenes.”



Indeed the history of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in the USSR would not have surprised Orwell in the least. The book was not officially available, although it circulated in samizdat editions (a form of dissident activity where individuals reproduced censored publications by hand and passed the documents from reader to reader). In 1950 Pravda reviewed the book in a piece entitled “Enemies of Mankind,” and described it as an anti-Stalinist polemic. However, John Rodden’s article “Soviet Literary Policy, 1945 – 1989: The Case of George Orwell,” describes how, “In a diabolical example of doublethink” the Soviet press later twisted *Nineteen Eighty-Four* into a “tract on the day-to-day horrors of American life” and described it as a satire of the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover’s power to invade American’s privacy.

Meanwhile J. Edgar Hoover opened a file on the book and *Life* magazine devoted much of its July 4th (Independence Day), 1949, issue to “The Strange World of 1984.” Their article opened with a different interpretation than the Soviet’s, saying Orwell:

“Fought in the Spanish Civil War, saw firsthand what the communists were up to and has since devoted all his talents to warning the world of the fate which awaits it if it confuses liberalism with regimentation.”



Samizdat edition from the USSR [TOP]
Life magazine’s 1949 article on the newly published *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. [BOTTOM]

Totalitarianism

It is essential to any understanding of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* to look at the politics of the age Orwell was writing in.

He was concerned, despite the end of the Second World War and the defeat of fascism in Italy and Germany, that totalitarianism might yet still prevail. The American, Russian and British leaders had agreed to carve up Europe into zones of influence, effectively handing the populations of Eastern European countries from a totalitarian Nazi Germany to a totalitarian Stalinist Russia.

Orwell was scathing about the literary intellectuals in his circle, who supported Stalinism whilst ignoring or even denying its actions against its own people and others who wanted a different form of socialism. In *Why I Write* (1946) he wrote:

“Every line of serious work that I have written since 1936 [The start of the Spanish Civil War, in which Orwell fought and was wounded] has been written, directly or indirectly, against totalitarianism and for democratic socialism, as I understand it.”

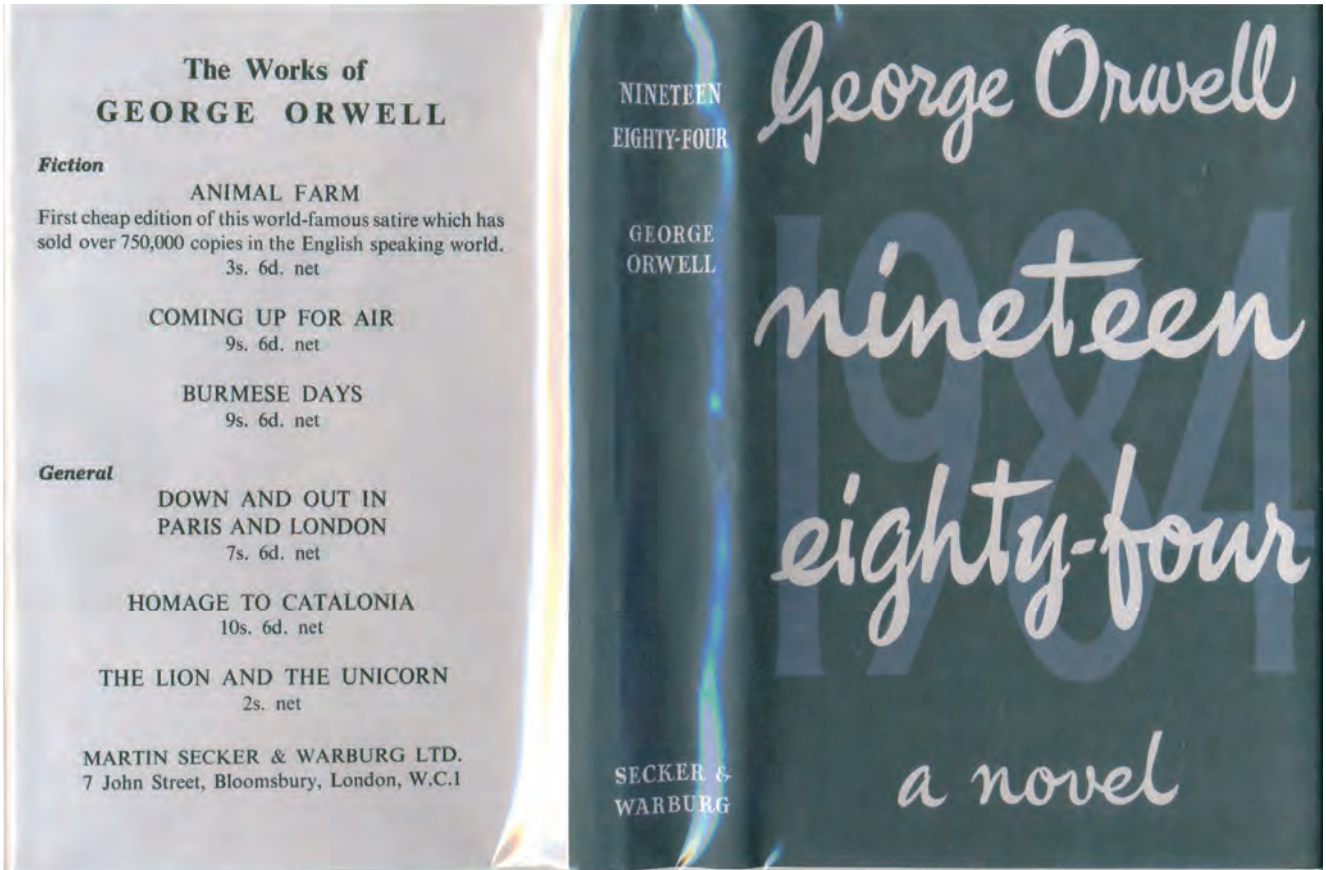
These and other experiences led to Orwell satirising them as “Double Think”—the power of holding two contradictory beliefs in one’s mind simultaneously, and accepting both of them. In *The Prevention of Literature* he said, “Totalitarianism does not so much promise an age of faith as an age of schizophrenia.”

In Britain he had seen many freedoms curtailed during the war; letters were opened, publications censored, and people interned—not for what they had done—but for what they might do. He was dismayed that all of this had met with little opposition from the freedom-loving British people.



[TOP] A German student guide to the book from 2009 and a Hungarian edition [BOTTOM] both feature John Hurt as Winston Smith from the Michael Radford film of the book. Neither of these editions were a film tie-in.

A projection of Hurt as Big Brother featured in a stage production by the Paper Zoo theatre group.



The Nazis had shown that given the right conditions, ordinary people could take part in acts of barbarity. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* has several examples where ordinary people casually accept and even enjoy cruelty—Winston describes scenes in a war film where civilians are strafed by a helicopter, his friend enjoys the way prisoners of war kick their legs as they are publically hanged.

In a letter to his American publisher in 1949 he wrote:

“The scene of the book is laid in Britain in order to emphasise that the English-speaking races are not innately better than anyone else and that totalitarianism, if not fought against, could triumph anywhere.”

Cover of the first edition published by Secker and Warburg in 1949. Copies were also produced with an identical red dust jacket. This dust jacket is a facsimilie.

Nineteen Eighty-Four was an attempt by Orwell to see that it did not.

You can't judge a book by its cover, but the book trade knows we do. When Penguin issued (at the author's insistence) several Graham Greene novels without a cover illustration, sales dropped dramatically. J.D. Salinger had a specific clause in his contract that prevented Penguin from using imagery or reviews on his covers. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* has always been a steady seller, so Penguin has perhaps been able to be more experimental with their choice of cover.

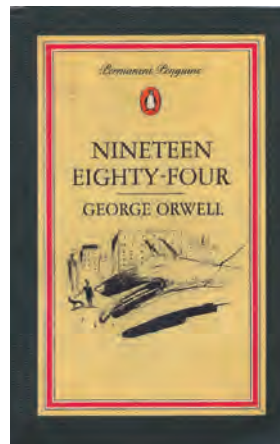
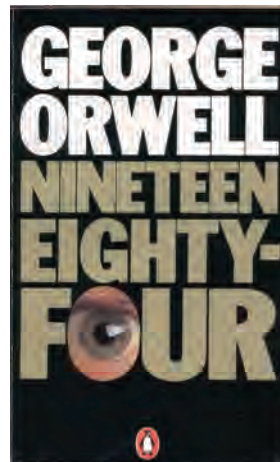
The world described in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is brilliantly evoked. It deals with ideas that are still central to our society and for decades the book has been recognized as part of our cultural landscape. How then to package it?

As the book has continually sold, new editions have been printed, their covers tell us something about the concerns of society at that point.

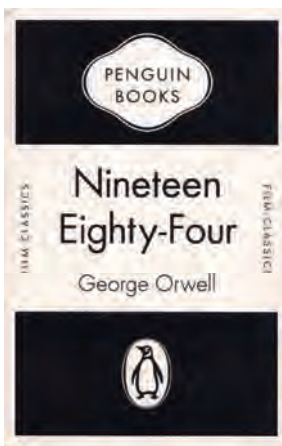
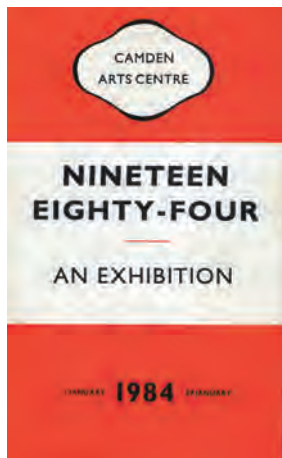
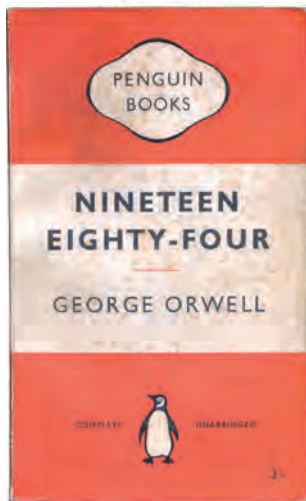
Secker and Warburg published the first edition on June 8, 1949, priced at ten shillings (50p) in a print run of 25,000 copies—ten times more than Orwell's previous novels, reflecting the success of *Animal Farm*. The first edition featured a pedestrian book jacket design, some in green, some in red, with the title written both in numbers and in words. It should be remembered when looking at the design of early editions that *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was not yet *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. The imagery of its prose had not as yet entered the culture.

Penguin

In Britain most of the paperback editions have been published by Penguin. It has jumped about their lists and been a "Penguin Classic," "Modern Classic," "Twentieth Century Classic" and a plain old "Penguin Book." Interestingly, the Penguin edition was produced with Secker and Warburg who as well as publishing the hardbacked first edition, had in 1951, published their own paperback edition. Today both houses continue to issue their own editions.



Penguin covers from 1981 [TOP] 1983 [MIDDLE] and 1983 (Permanent Penguins) [BOTTOM]



First Penguin edition, in their iconic grid design [TOP]
The design was borrowed as the catalogue cover
for an exhibition [MIDDLE] and inspired the cover of a free
edition by *The Times* of books that had been made into
films. [BOTTOM]

Orwell had already been published by Penguin; his *Burmese Days* appeared in 1944. (As an aside, left-wing publisher Victor Gollancz, who had published Orwell's *The Road to Wigan Pier*, famously refused *Homage to Catalonia*, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* because of their perceived anti-Stalinism).

The cover of the original 1954 Penguin followed their house style, which had been designed by founder Allen Lane, and Edward Young and later refined by Jan Tschichold in the four-page "Penguin Composition Rules." For works of fiction this was orange bands and a simple sans-serif black lettering. Although now iconic, the Penguin style was driven by an interest in uniformity and cost (Penguins were supposed to sell for the same price as ten cigarettes). It has been described as "a lean cover for lean times" and likened to a government pamphlet. This was unintentional, but would have suited this book's subject matter.

In 1984 one of many events organized to mark the book was "Nineteen Eighty-Four An Exhibition" at Camden Arts Centre by ten artists (including a young Anthony Gormley) who each showed a work related to the book. In a nice piece of irony, the exhibition catalogue was a copy of the original Penguin edition. More recently Penguin issued a number of items such as tea towels and even deckchairs featuring reproductions of famous covers. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* appeared as a mug and as a notebook (surely they should have done a diary?).

The restrictions on design imposed by Penguin were to some extent relaxed after 1951 when their books started to feature woodcut cover illustrations. By the time of Germano Facetti's appointment as head of design in 1961, the company was able to cost effectively print images on covers.

Because of Penguin's rigid cover style, the most interesting looking editions of the 1950s tended to come from other publishers.



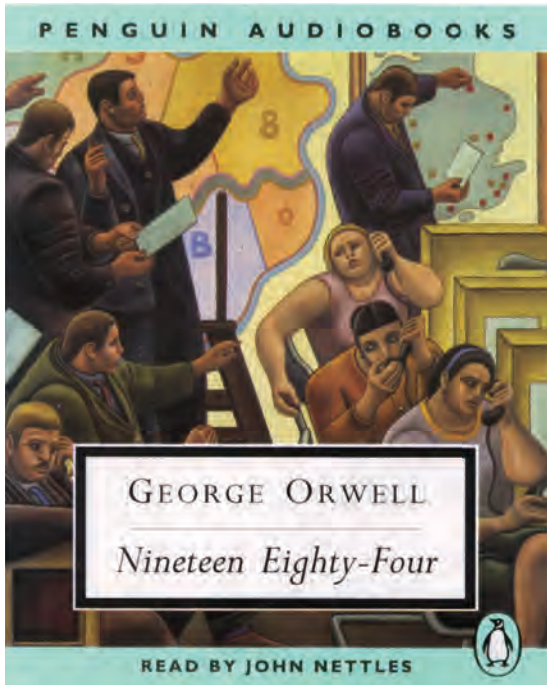
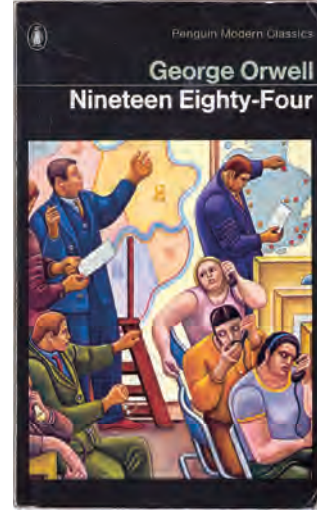
In 1961 Penguin launched its “Modern Classics” series. Editor Tony Godwin decided that modern authors were producing work deserving the status. In 1966 *Nineteen Eighty-Four* had appeared in a Penguin Modern Classics edition, the cover of which featured a section from “The Control Room, Civil Defence Headquarters” by William Roberts, which is in Salford Museum and Art Gallery’s collection.

The original is a 60x69cm oil paint on canvas and was commissioned in 1941 by the War Artists Advisory Committee. It was exhibited as part of a touring exhibition of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (fore runner of the Arts Council) in 1944 and came into the Salford collection in 1947. It was shown at The Tate Gallery in 1965 and in Newcastle in 2004. Rodney Todd White, whose company still specializes in photographing art works, took the photograph used on the book cover.

The work depicts bureaucratic officials engaged in earnest activity, which would not have seemed out of place in the Ministry of Truth where Winston Smith and Julia worked. The figures are rounded, but there is no cuddliness—there is furtiveness about the figures on the telephones suggesting their activity is not entirely benign.

“The Control Room, Civil Defence Headquarters” by William Roberts was on several Penguin covers in the late 1960s.

CONTROL ROOM COVER



The painting was used on three covers, in 1966, 1968 and 1969 with slight variations in the title layout. These followed the so-called “Marber grid” named after the Polish freelance designer Romek Marber. The image on such covers occupies just over two-thirds of the space, while the title section at the top is divided into three bands carrying Penguin’s colophon (logo) and the author and book title, which is set in left-aligned type on the 1966 and 1968 covers, and right-aligned type on the 1969 cover. This later cover also categorizes the book as “A Penguin Modern Classic” whilst it is “a Penguin Book” in the two earlier editions. The 1966 and 1968 versions also feature orange type for the title and series and the 1966 version carries the price—three shillings and sixpence (17 ½p). As a design, the 1969 version is the most successful, the 1968, the least. The large series designation of the 1968 version (set in 36 pt Optima) was the so-called “panic top,” a symptom of a troubled period at Penguin following departures of key members of staff.

The painting was used again in 1997 for the cover of an abridged audio-tape version read by John Nettles. This had the green “Penguin Classics” layout although when the book itself was reissued as a green Penguin Classic, a painting by C.R.W. Nevinson was used. The Nevinson painting also appeared on a new unabridged audio version read by Timothy West.

[TOP] **Penguin Classics variations**
[FROM L TO R] **1966, 1968, 1969**
[BOTTOM] **Audio version from 1997**

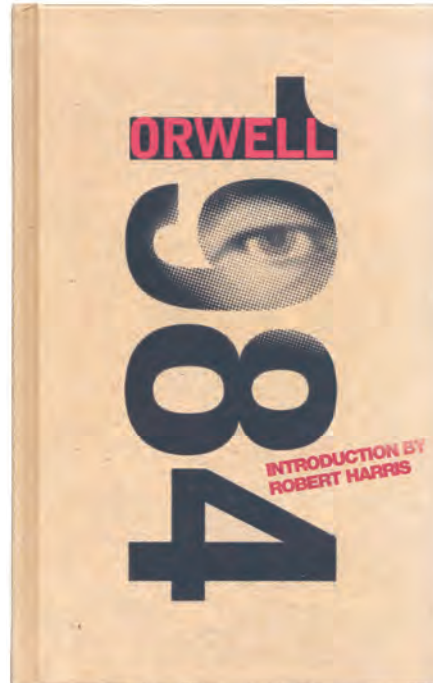
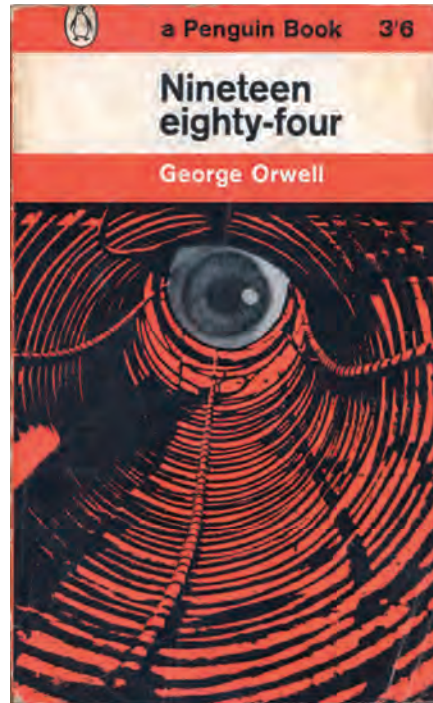
The all seeing eye

There have been hundreds of different covers, so not surprisingly different designers have explored similar themes and used similar visual metaphors.

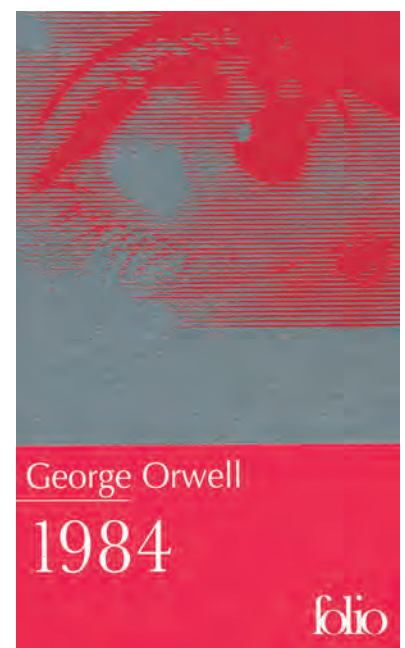
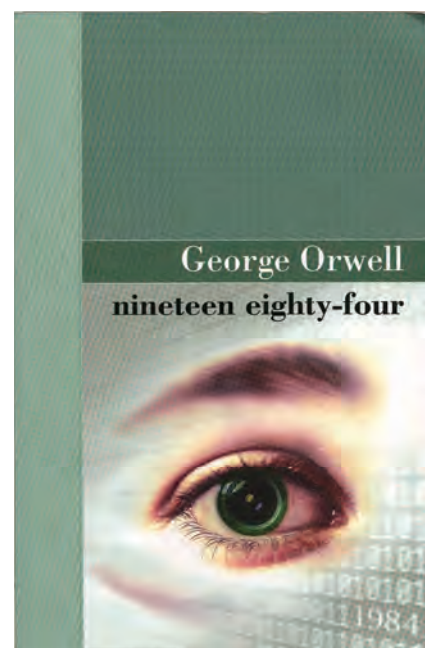
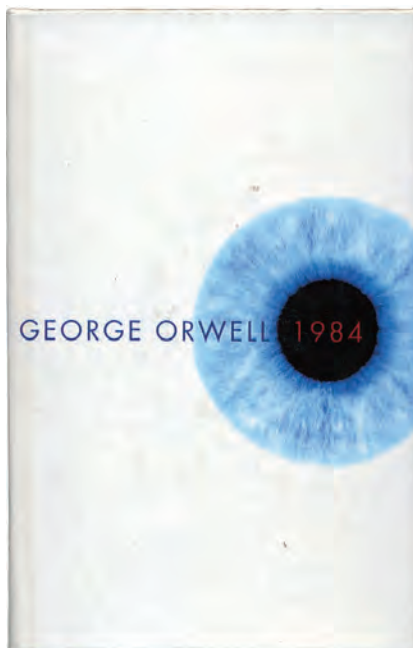
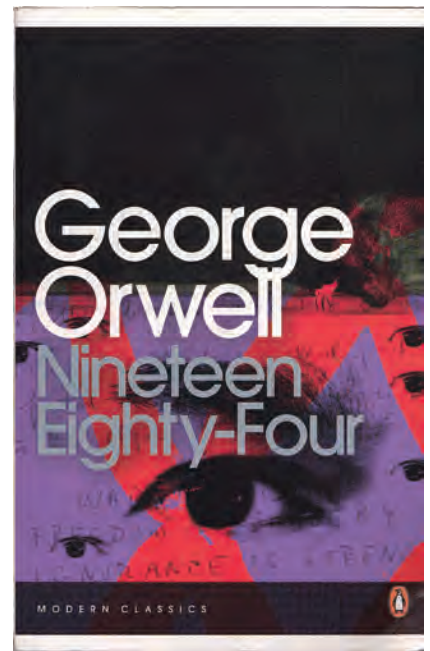
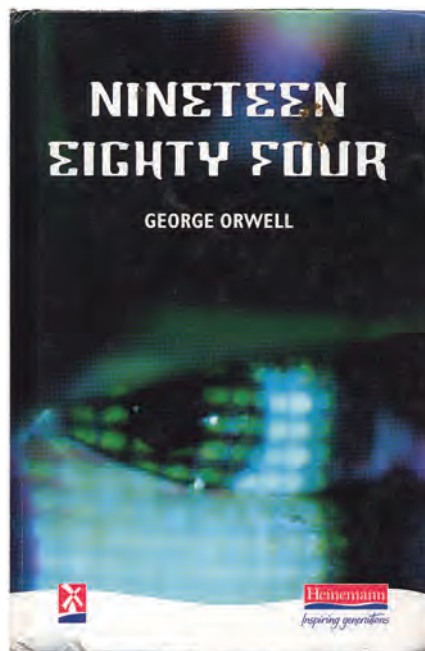
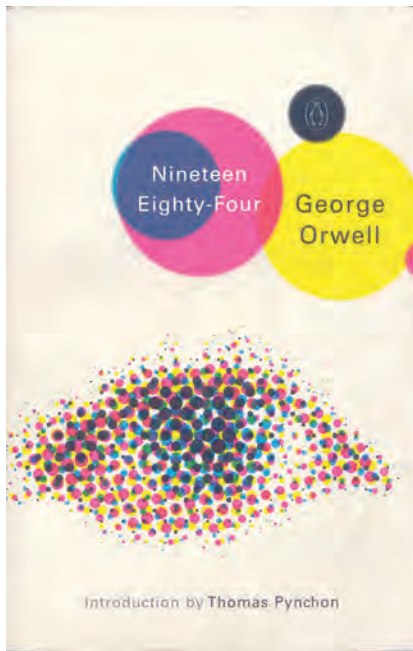
The all-seeing eye is an obvious allusion to the party slogan “Big Brother is Watching You” and has become the most common theme of the book’s covers. It was used as early as the 1962 Penguin edition (designed by Facetti himself). Here the eye was a photograph at the end of an illustration of what might be a tunnel-like cathode ray tube. However, rather than Big Brother, is this the terrified eye of Winston Smith as he watches the rats in Room 101? An eye featured as recently as 2009 on the Harvill Secker 60th anniversary hardback edition. Here though, the eye spied through the key-hole cleverly formed by the number 9 of 1984.

It was a small step from the watching eye to the watching telescreen. And being watched by Big Brother himself. Interestingly, the other function of the telescreen—broadcasting propaganda—rarely features. Designers prefer their slogans on posters. In Orwell’s time television had yet to become a true mass medium. Volksempfänger, (“People’s radios”) had been used by the Nazis in Germany. Orwell, despite or perhaps because of his time working for the BBC, did not like radio and was suspicious of its power. At the BBC he saw first hand how broadcasts were censored—often by the makers themselves, who cut out things that *might* be contentious without knowing why—possibly the germ for the idea of “thought crime.”

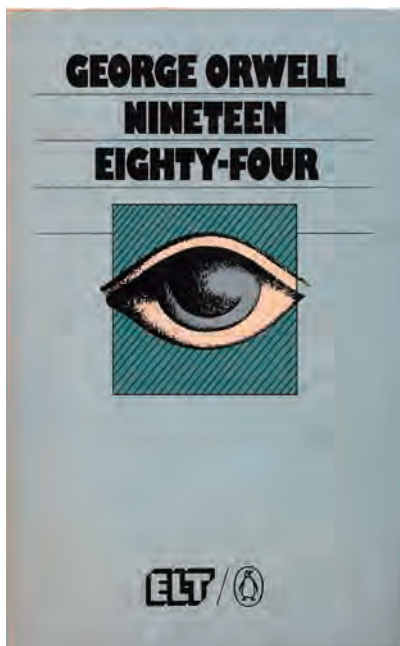
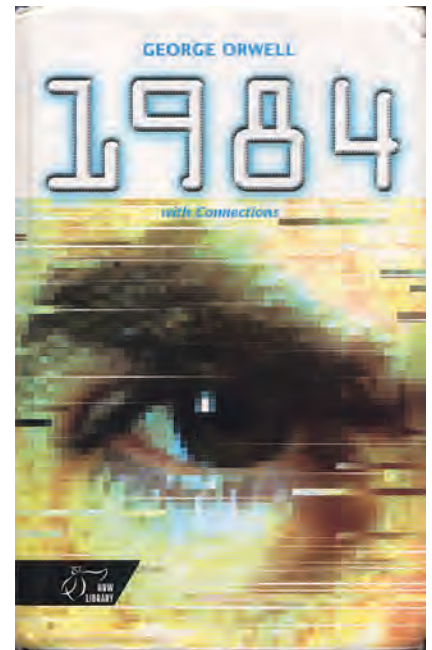
However ubiquitous a symbol the eye or telescreen can be seen as today, it was perhaps too abstract or not appealing enough for readers who did not already know the story. Although *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was a success from the start, publishers (particularly in the more commercially savvy U.S.) wanted to make it appeal to as broad a market as possible.



This 1962 Penguin cover by Germano Facetti was the first to feature an eye [TOP]
The eye was still a popular motif in 2009 when this 60th anniversary edition was published [BOTTOM]



[TOP ROW] **Penguin 2003, Heineman 1990, Penguin 2003**
 [BOTTOM ROW] **Signet Classic, Akasha 2008, Folio 2007**



[TOP ROW] **Penguin Readers (simplified text) 2008, 2003 version, Holt Reinhart possibly 2000**
 [BOTTOM ROW] **ELT Penguin (German) 1985, Bra Böcker (Swedish) 1984, Destino (Spanish) 1984**



Sex, Romance and Pulp

Many of the allusions to Stalinism and Fascism and the situation in post-war Europe were probably lost on, or not of direct interest to, U.S. audiences. Or they were thought of as too “heavy” for a mass-market book. American covers were, anyway, more like mini movie posters. So it is not surprising that American ‘pulp’ versions and advertising for the 1958 film version in particular, stressed titillation to sell the book and film to a general audience. One film poster warns “Sex Outlawed ... in the Terrifying World of the Future,” another asks “Will Ecstasy be a crime.” Both add a voyeuristic element by having a leather clad member of the Anti-Sex League watching a TV image of Winston and Julia kissing.

In the book, the Party is working on abolishing the orgasm according to O’Brien. However it is unlikely this is what the poster was alluding to. Rather it was an attempt to get sex into a book that despite having several sex scenes, could not be described as either romantic or erotic.

Lest it be thought that American publishers had a monopoly on prurience, a 1950 German edition by Burgers Taschenbucher has what at first glance seems a pulp detective cover, featuring a scantily clad woman and a pair of voyeuristic eyes. However, a closer look reveals an illustration with a stylised economy of line and a limited but striking colour palette by designer Kurt Hilscher.

The Signet paperback of 1950 manages to combine such elements of the story as a Big Brother poster, the Ministry of Truth building (which follows almost exactly the description in the book) and Winston and Julia, who in a nod to pulp is showing her cleavage and an Anti-Sex League badge. There is also a leather-clad man, who looks to have lost his way from a bondage party, in a homoerotic scene that is not in the book.



Pulp: German cover from 1950 as used on the cover of this book [TOP]

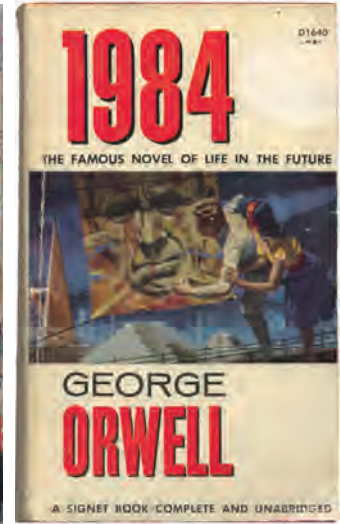
Poster from the 1958 film version [BOTTOM]

However, the jacket blurb warns of “Forbidden Love ... Fear ... Betrayal ...” It simultaneously sells the work as prophecy, sex and thriller and promises the purchaser a book of “terror in a world many of us may live to see”; telling us something about the preoccupations of the book-buying public of 1950s America. In the story Julia works in The Ministry of Truth producing vaguely pornographic books for the proles. One wonders if their covers might have been like the Signet editions. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was not alone in this treatment; even Orwell’s biographical *Down and Out in Paris and London* was given a pulp style in an Avon edition.

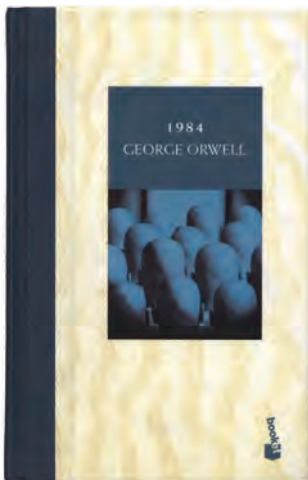
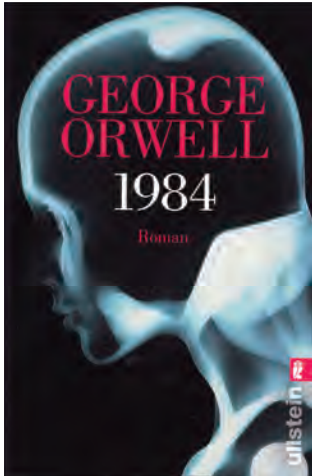
By 1959, Signet had toned down the sex—Winston and Julia were dressed as wholesome young Americans fleeing a Big Brother poster. “The Famous Novel of Life in the Future” was now a romantic thriller. In the same year there was an interesting German cover by Herbert Pothorn. This features a bleak landscape with a discarded note, which reads “I Love You” (in English). This illustrates the note passed by Julia to Winston that started their love affair. However, it will be remembered in the story that Winston was careful to burn Julia’s note. This cover also carries the tag line “EIN UTOPISCHER ROMAN.” In German, “ROMAN” can mean either “novel” or “romance.” Orwell had subtitled the book “a novel” as he had subtitled its predecessor *Animal Farm* “a fairy tale.”

Science Fiction

The book has been variously categorized and interpreted as a satire, a polemic, a prophecy and contentiously as a science fiction story. Some American covers of the 1950s tried to capitalize on the craze for flying saucers and stories of alien invasions. Many of these stories had a sub-text of an outside (read communist) threat to the American way of life. American audiences could read *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as carrying a similar message. Undoubtedly many new readers would have come to the book by way of the 1958 film, which used sci-fi film sets completely at odds with the descriptions in the book .



Signet 1950 cover [TOP LEFT] and 1959 [TOP RIGHT]
Down and Out in Paris and London gets the
pulp cover treatment [BOTTOM LEFT]
1959 German edition by Diana Verlag [BOTTOM RIGHT]



It was not just American covers that portrayed the book as a work of science fiction. As late as 1983, a Longman edition featured a cover by English sci-fi illustrator Peter Elson.

The Longman editions were primarily aimed at schools, so the book would appeal more to younger readers if it was presented as being in the same genre as *Day of the Triffids*. The book is still a set book on school literature courses, hence the number of study guides available for the title.

One definition of science fiction says the genre looks at new or different social systems, but Orwell clearly had in mind existing systems and said he believed,

“... totalitarian ideas have taken root in the minds of intellectuals everywhere, and I have tried to draw these ideas out to their logical consequences.”

Other than the telescreens, the technology in the book is all very 1940s—we are told in passing that there has been an atomic war, but this has little bearing on the story and Orwell made no effort to speculate what atomic war might mean. Recent inventions such as helicopters and rockets are mentioned, but to readers who had lived through rapid war-time technological developments, these would not have appeared futuristic. Orwell had been an avid reader of H.G. Wells, but was very critical of Wells’ belief that a world government of air-powered technocrats would solve humanity’s problems. Orwell believed politics, not fiction, was important. To read *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as an example of science fiction is, I believe, to miss the point and incidentally led to some unsatisfactory choices of cover. These would have *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as another book about the future. Whilst some are striking illustrations, they seem lifted from a stock library rather than responding to the content of the book. They could just as easily grace Huxley’s *Brave New World*.

Covers that could have been “Brave New World”

Ullstein 2009 [TOP] **Folio** [MIDDLE] **Destino 2003** [BOTTOM]

Dystopia

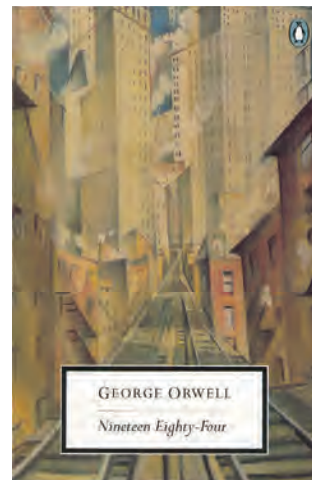
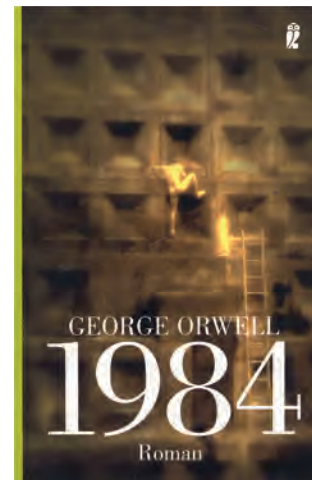
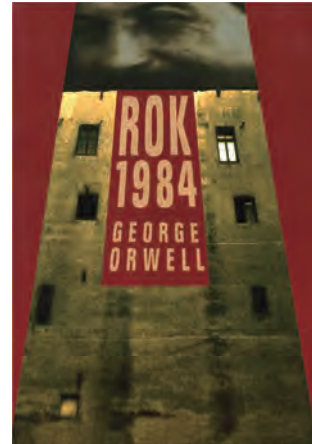
The book's schizophrenic categorization puts it more convincingly in a sub-genre of dystopian novels that includes *We* (1923) by E.I. Zamyatin, which Orwell had reviewed in *Tribune* as "one of the literary curiosities of this book-burning age."

We has been cited as a direct influence on *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, but W.J. West in *The Larger Evils* (1992) argues that all the central ideas in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* were already developed by the time Orwell reviewed Zamyatin's book in 1946. James Burnham's *The Managerial Revolution* is also cited as an influence on Orwell's ideas. But rather than copying the work of others, Orwell used them to test his own ideas. He was not afraid to change his opinion in the light of experience or argument.

There are of course other books which deal with dystopian futures such as *Brave New World* by Aldous Huxley (1932), which Orwell considered partly derived from *We*. *Darkness at Noon* (1940) by Orwell's friend Arthur Koestler deals with many of the same themes as *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Other works including Jack London's *The Iron Heel* (1907) and a number of H.G. Wells' novels, propose possible dystopian futures and were read by Orwell, but none equal *Nineteen Eighty-Four* either in endurance or influence.

Every literary dystopia since has surely has been influenced by Orwell and none that followed can escape comparison with him. Key works in this genre include Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451*, *A Clockwork Orange* (and Anthony Burgesses' later work cheekily called 1985) and films such as Terry Gilliam's "Brazil."

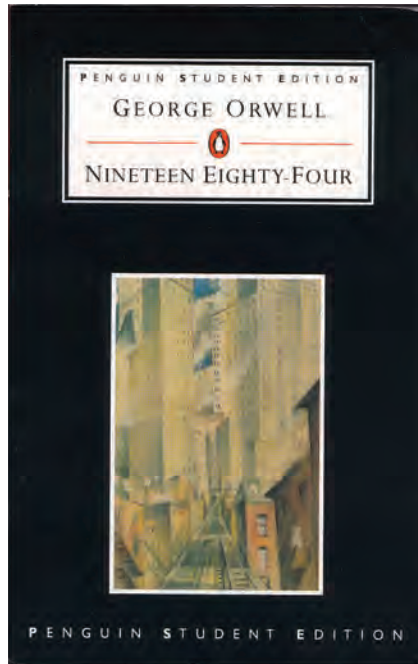
Several covers of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* seek to portray what dystopia might look like. Some dystopias were bleak. One, a possibly misjudged Penguin Twentieth Century Classic edition (and a similar student edition), featured "The Soul of the Soulless City" a 1920 painting of New York City by C.R.W. Nevinson. The city here is dynamic and strikingly modern.



Dystopias: 2009 Polish edition (Rok means year)

[TOP] 2006 German edition [MIDDLE]

1999 Penguin edition [BOTTOM]

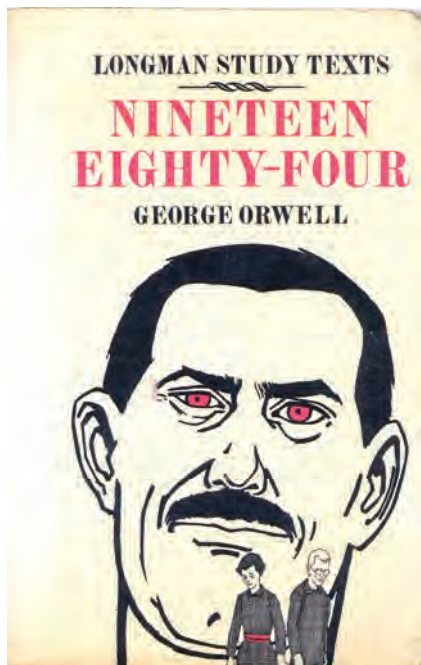


A section in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* features some of the text of *The Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism*, the book by Emmanuel Goldstein, the leader of the opposition to Big Brother. He describes the vision of future society that had been prevalent in the early twentieth century, as one of "... a glittering antiseptic world of steel and snow-white concrete." The cover of this edition perhaps owes more to that view. But Orwell's description of London in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is of a broken down place. Only the government buildings—the Ministries of Truth, Peace, Plenty and Love are "glittering white." Orwell rejected the ideas of a shiny future as imagined by H.G. Wells and described "a vision of London, vast and ruinous, city of dustbins."

Big Brother

The citizens of Oceania cannot be sure what they know is true. Winston Smith is not sure if the year he is living in actually is 1984. He also asks his torturer, O'Brien, if Big Brother actually does or ever did exist. The description of Big Brother that is given is brief, the novel says of his face on a poster:

"the face of a man of about forty-five, with a heavy black moustache and ruggedly handsome features."



There is an obvious resemblance to "Uncle Joe" Stalin, who was still very much in power in the USSR. This is further evidence that the work is a bleak political satire rather than science fiction. Emmanuel Goldstein is clearly modelled on Stalin's arch-enemy Leon Trotsky. It has been suggested that the idea for the posters came from the First World War recruiting posters that had a pointing Lord Kitchener proclaiming "Your Country Needs You." If so, Orwell was remarkable in creating an equally strong image in "Big Brother is Watching You." In Oceania, Big Brother is loved as much as feared and is close to a religious figure, an example of doublethink that many real totalitarian regimes including Stalin's USSR shared.

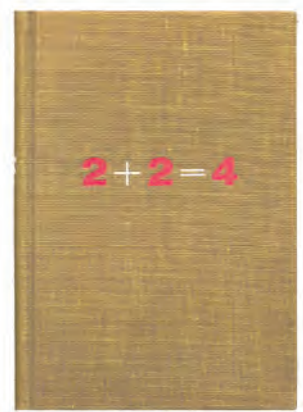
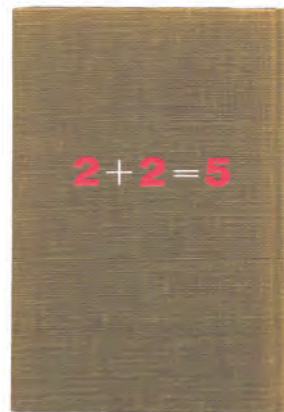
**Another use of the Nevinson painting on a Penguin student edition from 2000 [TOP]
Big Brother towers over Julia and Winston on a 1983 Longman student edition. [BOTTOM]**

Winston Smith himself only occasionally appears on covers. This might be seen as surprising given how the story centres on him, but *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is a book about ideas more than character, reflecting Orwell's strengths as a writer. The Penguin Classics edition from the year 2000 features a figurative work ironically titled "Abstract Painting" (1992) by Stephen Conroy. This depicts a figure, which might be Winston Smith (or it might equally be O'Brien) standing by an old telephone under three clocks. A New Windmills schools edition from 1990 features Winston and Julia (and Big Brother for good measure). The effect here might be meant to be ironic, hinting at some of the worst examples of totalitarian official portraits, but is more likely just poor painting.

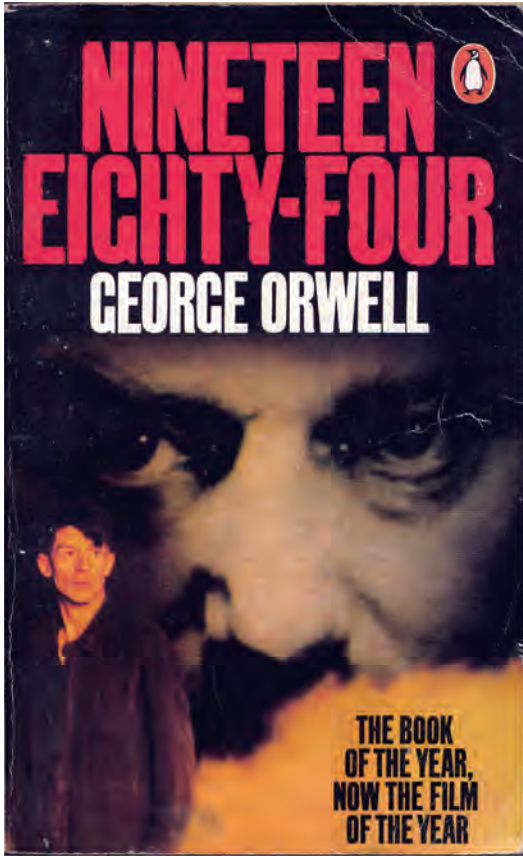
Whatever the novel, covers rarely try to illustrate a particular scene from the story. Rather there is a conscious effort to brand authors with a unified cover style to encourage collecting and increase shelf impact. Orwell wrote seven novels. He was only happy with the last two and would have preferred the others to go out of print. But after his death and the success of *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, his publishers often branded these earlier works together to encourage readers to explore (and buy) his back catalogue. Orwell's non-fiction including essays, diaries and broadcasts have been similarly repackaged. It is difficult to know from the covers which of his works are fiction and which are non-fiction.

However, because of its importance and success, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* has a publishing life of its own and has appeared in many editions by houses that do not publish any of his other works.

One of the most inventive covers uses text from the work as an illustration. This exquisite 1956 French hardback edition by Librairie Galimard features a brown cloth cover simply adorned on the front with an embossed red sum: $2+2=4$ and on the back: $2+2=5$. The edition was aimed at collectors who would know the significance of these sums from the torture scene.



Penguin's edition from 2000 [TOP]
New Windmills schools edition 1990 [MIDDLE]
French 1956 collectors edition [BOTTOM]



For Orwell, that there is an objective reality (we can all agree that 2 plus 2 does equal 4) was a touchstone in his criticism of intellectuals who chose to ignore their capacity for critical thought and believe the distortion of facts by the regime in the USSR, simply because the Stalinists were saying it. In the book, Winston Smith writes in his diary, “Freedom is the freedom to say two plus two make four.” Orwell had used $2+2=4$ a number of times before *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

One quote in particular shows that a central part of the story had been a concern of Orwell’s for some time. In “Looking Back on the Spanish War” Orwell wrote a totalitarian regime would be:

“... a nightmare world in which the Leader or some ruling clique, controls not only the future but the past. If the Leader says of such and such event, ‘It never happened’—well, it never happened. If he says that two and two are five—well, two and two are five.”

The first part of this quote also found its way into the book as the Party slogan:

“Who controls the past controls the future;
who controls the present controls the past.”

Special Editions

The popularity of the book ensures that no anniversary of Orwell or the book passes without a special edition. Not surprisingly, the coming of the year 1984 saw a number of versions including a facsimile of the original manuscript and shelves full of books and articles that sought to analyze the book and compare the fiction to the fact.

The original publishers Secker and Warburg, produced a new hardback edition, designed by Robbie Mahoney with illustrations by Alex Williamson. When viewed from the side, the page edges combine to display the words “Big Brother.”



Penguin’s 1984 film tie-in edition with stills from Michael Radford’s film ^{TOP}

German edition uses stills from the 1958 film version, but was not a tie-in ^{BOTTOM}

The 1984 film version by Michael Radford, starring John Hurt was the excuse for new covers featuring scenes from the film. Penguin's is almost directly lifted from the poster.

Stills from the unsatisfying 1956 film version, starring Edmond O'Brien, also appeared on several German hardback editions though oddly these were published many years later and are not "film tie-ins," so it has to be assumed the publishers were in search of cheap, readily available imagery.

To mark the 60th anniversary in 2009, Penguin published a cover designed by Jon Gray (usually known as "Gray318"). Not every book could get away with not having the title or author on the front (these only appearing on the spine). The front cover instead has the party slogans:

War is Peace
Freedom is Slavery
Ignorance is Strength

and on the back cover:

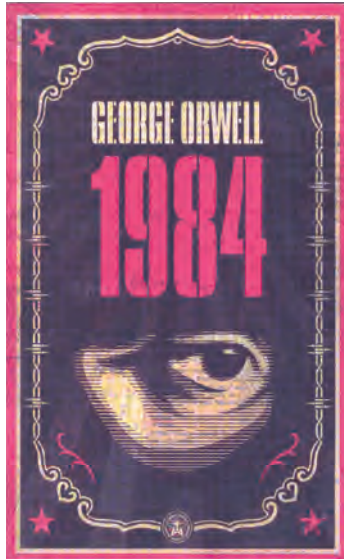
Down with Big Brother,
Down with Big Brother,
Down with Big Brother.

which Winston Smith wrote in his diary. The endpapers of this largely well received edition, featured black and white illustrations of recording tape and cctv cameras. Perhaps by the 70th anniversary, recording tape will be unfamiliar to most new readers.

New covers for the 2008 editions of *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* were commissioned from the American graffiti artist Shepard Fairey, who as "Obey" has enjoyed great commercial success, although he faced criticism for plagiarising a Soviet propaganda style he did not understand. Fairey had previously exhibited "Big Brother" as part of his series *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.



Penguin's 60th anniversary edition front and back cover by Jon Gray 2000 [TOP]
Inside front and back inside covers [MIDDLE]
Secker and Warburgs special illustrated edition from 1984 [BOTTOM]



His book covers were undoubtedly striking, Penguin's blog said they were: "Impressive as they are potent, get ready to turn a few heads as these classics are eyed up with envy," but they were essentially a reworked stock Fairey design. There was some further criticism that his "Andre the Giant" logo was incorporated into the design, but they seem popular amongst those who do not have issues with the artist.

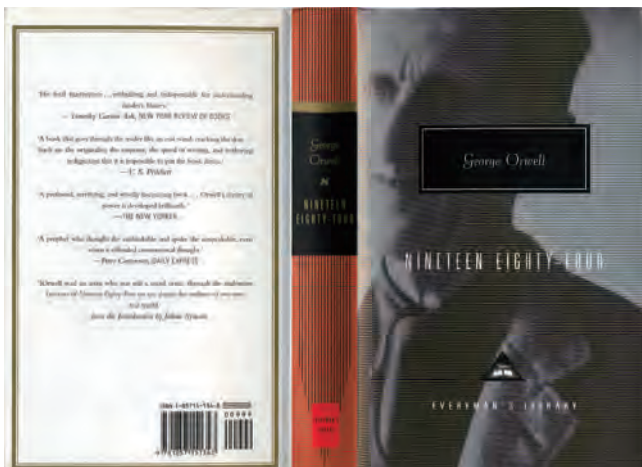
Aware of Fairey's collectability, Penguin issued both books with A2 size screen prints of the covers in a limited edition of 200 which sold for £100.

As a classic, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* has appeared in other limited and special editions. The Folio Society 2001 edition had a cover and eight illustrations by Steven Devine. Here the cover nods to film noir and the houses pictured remind one of the first pages, where Winston Smith wonders,

"Were there always these vistas of rotting nineteenth-century houses, their sides shored up with baulks of timber, their windows patched with cardboard ... ?"

As one of the most important novels of the last century, not surprisingly *Nineteen Eighty-Four* has been chosen by *The Observer* newspaper for their "Observer Classic of the Month Library" and in February 2009, Penguin and *The Times* newspaper gave away a series of ten "Books behind the Films" including an edition of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* with a cover similar to the original Penguin but with a black rather than orange horizontal grid.

As one of the best-known authors of the 20th century, Orwell's works pop up in lists of reprinted classics such as Everyman's Library. This was re-launched in a neat, formal uniform style (invoking the original Penguins) in 1991, later refreshed with a redesigned style of cover.



Shepard Fairey's controversial 2008 Penguin [TOP]
Folio Society 2001 edition [MIDDLE]
Everyman Library [BOTTOM]

Competition

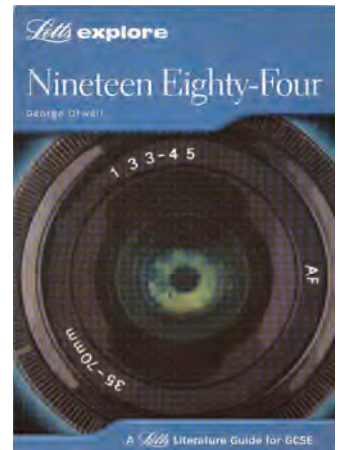
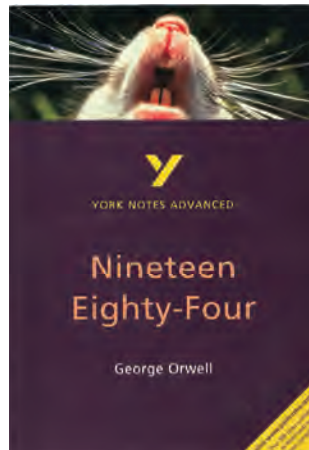
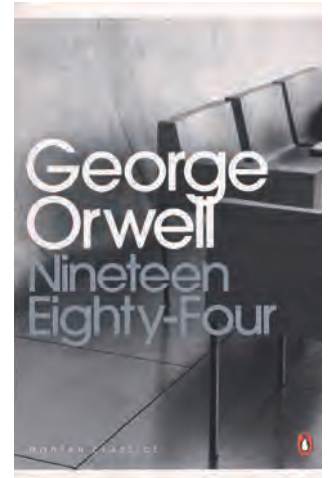
In 2003 Penguin and *The Guardian* ran a photography competition to produce covers for four titles from the Penguin Modern Classics series.

These were; *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Paul Bowles' *The Sheltering Sky*, Mikhail Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita* and L.P. Hartley's *The Go-Between*. Over 1300 entries were received (including one from me). The judges included photographer and former *Guardian* Picture Editor Eamon McCabe. The winning picture for *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was a stark, black and white image of chairs taken in the Pompidou Centre in Paris by Philippa Bogle. Another judge, novelist Esther Freud, wrote about the judging process and how she had preferred the runner-up's entry by Jeff Hutchinson. Bogle's chairs, although a striking image, suggest a futuristic, refined style, which seems at odds with the feel of the book. The template for the Modern Classics series had been designed by Jamie Keenan in 2000. The cover was later tweaked as Penguin refreshed the design of the series in 2007, with a new grid by art director Jim Stoddart which carried the title and author's name over the cover photo.

As a staple of English Literature students' reading lists, there are many examples of study notes and study editions of the book. Eyes get a look-in here too, but the York Notes edition is notable for featuring the rare appearance of a rat.

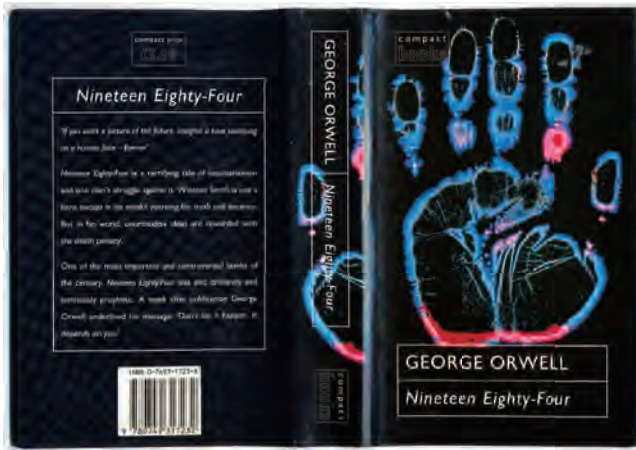
The telescreens of the book seem remarkably modern. Today CCTV is seen as the telescreens manifest. Newspaper headlines, when they are occasionally critical of CCTV surveillance, invariably invoke the all controlling "Big Brother."

As an aside, journalist Ross Clarke in his 2007 book about "One Man's Struggle Against the Surveillance Society," borrowed from another of Orwell's creations and called the book *The Road to Southend Pier*.



Penguin's 2000 [TOP LEFT] and 2007 [TOP RIGHT] were the result of a competition.

As a bona fide classic that captures teenage minds, there are a number of study editions such as York Notes 2001 edition [BOTTOM LEFT] and Letts Explore from 2004. [BOTTOM RIGHT]



New technologies mean individuals can be observed and monitored in ways Orwell could not have foreseen. These new methods such as DNA sampling, data mining and GPS tracking have been suggested in more recent cover art. Perhaps surprisingly, more barcodes than CCTV cameras seem to have appeared on *Nineteen Eighty-Four* covers. Undoubtedly there will be new covers that reference new technologies. It will be interesting to see if, in the future, people know what a bar code is and understand the connection, as we suggested might be the case with the audio tape of Jon Gray's inside cover.

New technologies can be suggested by old ones. A 1987 edition from the "Compact Books" series, used a technique from the 1930s called Kirlian photography (photograms made with voltage) to suggest modern hand print recognition, which is now well established as a security measure. Kirlian photography had once been used to offer proof of the presence of psychic auras.

These technological references are at odds with the story's lack of technology—they are a short-hand way of saying the book is still relevant to today. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* continues to be read, inspire debate and continues to be used as a way of understanding what is happening in contemporary society.

There have been several attempts to extend the story, including *Twenty Eighty-Four* by Innes Hamilton and 1985 by György Dalos (not to be confused with Anthony Burgess' 1985). In the 1990s, with the rise of CCTV and the so-called surveillance society, Big Brother inspired books such as "Little Brother" by Cory Doctorow. "Little Brother" is used as an alternative to the term "sousveillance," where people use small devices to record activities from the viewpoint of the participant rather than that of officials. There is also the whole genre of reality TV which borrows Orwell to try to give a veneer of cultural zeitgeist to TV programs such as Endimol's "Big Brother."



Technology: Kirlian photography on the cover of Compact Book's 1993 edition [TOP]
Bar codes on two German editions from Buchergilde Gutenberg [BOTTOM LEFT] **and Ullstein** [BOTTOM RIGHT]

Orwell's language and ideas have become part of everyday culture. Not surprisingly the design elements that have been used on his covers have entered the visual culture to represent the fears and warnings he was concerned about.

Nineteen Eighty-Four still challenges readers and challenges designers to illustrate its powerful ideas in the form of a book cover.

Conclusion

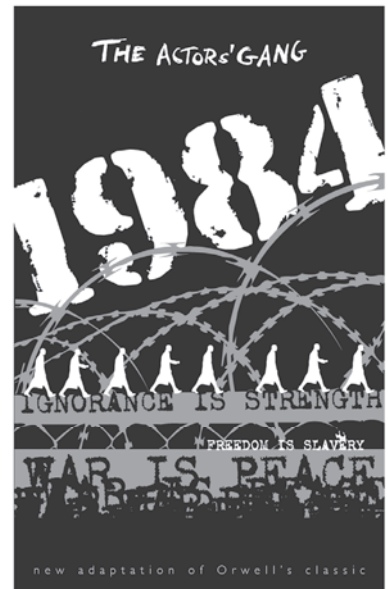
Originally books were covered to protect the pages and covers said more about the wealth of the owner than the contents of the book.

It has been suggested that with the launch of the Kindle, iPad and other eReaders, the consumption of the written word is set to change in a way almost as profound as the Gutenberg revolution. Mass market books may cease to be tangible objects and the cover image relegated to being an icon clicked to start a download. It has been argued that when music stopped being packaged in a 12" square printed sleeve that could be held and read, and became a small piece of paper encased in a plastic jewel case, the album cover ceased to be a cultural artwork. Similarly we may be at the end of a golden age of book cover design.

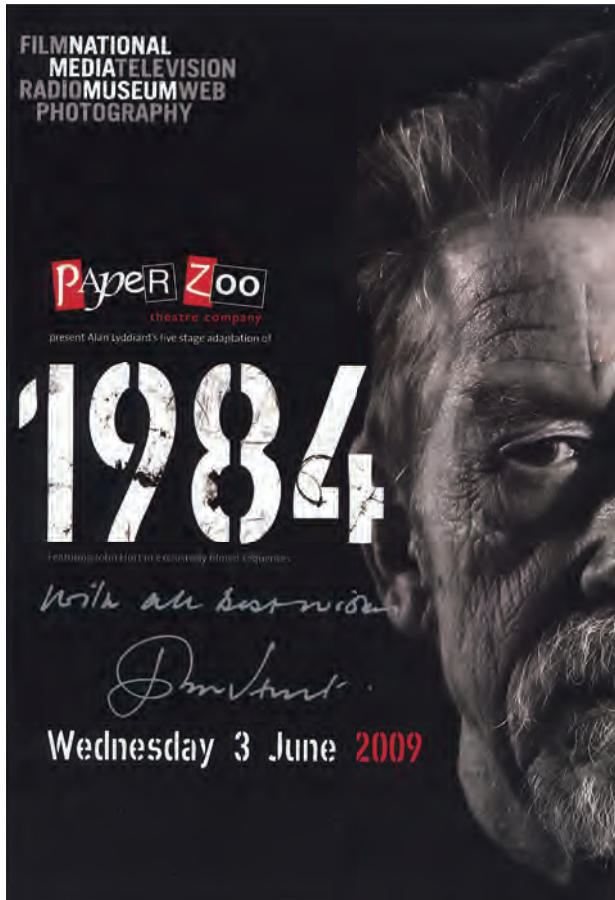
Finally, in a truly Orwellian twist, Amazon sold a download version of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *Animal Farm* for its Kindle eReader. On July 17, 2009, they remotely deleted the downloaded versions from customer's devices without warning. They disappeared down the memory hole because the company who had put them on Amazon's Kindle store did not have the rights to the work. ●

Telescreens: Spanish publisher Destino 2010 [TOP]
York Advanced Notes, 2005 [MIDDLE]
Penguin Essentials 1989 (a short-lived series of titles) Is it Big Brother watching, or is it Winston being watched? [BOTTOM]





Nineteen Eighty-Four is a novel that has few detailed descriptions, but it manages to form strong images in the minds of its readers. This, and its continuing prescience may partly explain the number of stage adaptations. The challenges facing the designer of book covers are similar to those facing the designers of any printed ephemera. Here are a selection of items from stage productions of the novel.



David Dunnico is a documentary photographer from Manchester, UK. In his work Reality TV, he documented public surveillance by CCTV, often described using the language of Orwell as evidence of a Big Brother state. It was upon showing this work alongside a stage production of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in 2009 that he began collecting editions of the book.

In 2012, the Salford Museum and Art Gallery hosted an exhibition of Dunnico's photographs and his *Nineteen Eighty-Four* collection.

In 2015, the IAPP acquired Dunnico's collection as well as a number of his photographs and CCTV ephemera. In October of 2015, the IAPP exhibits its first offering from this ever-expanding collection curated by IAPP Knowledge Manager Emily Leach.

About the IAPP

The International Association of Privacy Professionals (IAPP) is the world's largest association of privacy professionals with more than 23,000 members across 83 countries.

The IAPP is a not-for-profit association founded in 2000 with a mission to define, support and improve the privacy profession globally. We are committed to providing a forum for privacy professionals to share best practices, track trends, advance privacy management issues, standardize the designations for privacy professionals and provide education and guidance on opportunities in the field of information privacy.

The IAPP is responsible for developing and launching the only globally recognized credentialing programs in information privacy: the Certified Information Privacy Professional (CIPP), the Certified Information Privacy Manager (CIPM) and the Certified Information Privacy Technologist (CIPT). The CIPP, CIPM and CIPT are the leading privacy certifications for thousands of professionals around the world who serve the data protection, information auditing, information security, legal compliance and/or risk management needs of their organizations.

In addition, the IAPP offers a full suite of educational and professional development services and holds annual conferences that are recognized internationally as the leading forums for the discussion and debate of issues related to privacy policy and practice.

More information about the IAPP is available at www.iapp.org.



George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is one of the most important novels of the 20th century. Since it was first published in 1949, it has sold millions of copies, been translated into dozens of languages and never gone out of print. It has a unique power to always appear prescient.

The IAPP presents this collection of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* cover designs and ephemera as a way to look at how different cultures have viewed privacy and surveillance throughout time.

Here, David Dunnico looks at how hundreds of different covers have tried to capture the power of Orwell's ideas to sell Big Brother to every new generation of readers.



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