THE INDONESIAN POLITICS IN 1960s
AS DEPICTED IN AHMAD TOHARI’S THE DANCER

A SARJANA PENDIDIKAN THESIS

Presented as Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
to Obtain the Sarjana Pendidikan Degree
in English Language Education

By
Sunu Broto Laksono
Student Number: 101214177

ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION STUDY PROGRAM
DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGE AND ARTS EDUCATION
FACULTY OF TEACHERS TRAINING AND EDUCATION
SANATA DHARMA UNIVERSITY
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Advisor

Date

Henny Herawati, S.Pd., M.Hum. 21 November 2014
A Sarjana Pendidikan Thesis on

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Yogyakarta, 10 December 2014
Faculty of Teachers Training and Education
Sanata Dharma University
Dean
Rohandi, Ph.D.
I dedicate this thesis to Indonesian people

TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF SUKARNO AND WITH THAT
A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF MY BELOVED INDONESIA

(Ir. Sukarno)
STATEMENT OF WORK'S ORIGINALITY

I honestly declare that this thesis, which I have written, does not contain the work or parts of the work of other people, except those cited in the quotations and the references, as a scientific paper should.

Yogyakarta, 10 December 2014

The Writer

Sunu Broto Laksono
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PUBLIKASI KARYA ILMIAH UNTUK KEPENTINGAN AKADEMIS

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AS DEPICTED IN AHMAD TOHARI’S THE DANCER

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Pada tanggal: 21 November 2014
Yang menyatakan

Sunu Broto Laksono
ABSTRACT


Ahmad Tohari’s The Dancer is an English-translated trilogy which is originally entitled Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk consisting of Catatan Buat Emak (1982), Lintang Kemukus Dini Hari (1985), and Jantera Bianglala (1986). The trilogy attempts to wrap 1965 Indonesian tragedy in a story of the plight of a ronggeng dancer. However, the need of understanding for the historical background is highly required to digest the story line easily.

This study focuses on three matters: 1) the Indonesian politics in 1960s as seen in Ahmad Tohari’s The Dancer, 2) the causes of Paruk’s destruction, and 3) the political turnaround following the Paruk’s destruction.

The method of this research is library research. In addition, data collection is also supported by the information obtained from the internet. Historical approach is implemented in the analysis based on the formulated research questions. The discussion starts by analyzing the political situations during the rule of the Old Order. The political situations are then used to provide a fundamental understanding of why Paruk gets destructed. The last analysis is conducted to show how the Indonesian politics changes.

Ahmad Tohari’s The Dancer portrays a high tension in Indonesian politics in 1960s. Firstly, the flourishing Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) during the anti-capitalist-imperialist Old Order seems to worsen the relationship between Indonesia and the Western bloc. Secondly, the popularity of the PKI also generates conflicts in the country. Paruk’s destruction based on a notion that the PKI as whole is responsible for the murders in Jakarta and the coup attempt. Firstly, Paruk has been associated with the PKI. Secondly, the total destruction of the PKI is to secure the next regime. Thirdly, due to the conflicts regarding the land reform, the civilians are also involved in the destruction. The civil war changing the Indonesian politics is represented by the dam construction and the entry of imported goods in Dawuan market. Firstly, the dam construction is one of the New Order’s flagship programs called Repelita. Secondly, the entry of imported goods in Dawuan market is the consequence of the integration of the country policies into the global capitalist system including industrialization, scientific progress, and technical innovation. Briefly, the civil war is a point where the pro-Western New Order which succeeds to end the political tension and restore the economy stability starts to emerge replacing the revolutionary Old Order.

Keywords: The Dancer, Indonesian politics, the Old Order, the New Order, the PKI, the Western bloc
ABSTRAK


Studi ini difokuskan pada tiga hal yaitu: 1) perpolitikan di Indonesia pada tahun 1960an seperti yang ditunjukkan melalui Ahmad Tohari’s The Dancer, 2) sebab-sebab dari kehancuran Paruk, dan 3) perubahan haluan politik yang mengikuti kehancuran Paruk.


Kata kunci: The Dancer, Indonesian politics, the Old Order, the New Order, the PKI, the Western bloc
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

After taking a long time, finally this thesis was completed at the end of 2014. I praise Allah SWT for all the blessings and grace. I am using this opportunity to express my gratitude to everyone who supported me throughout the course of this thesis. I am thankful for their aspiring guidance, invaluably constructive criticism and friendly advice during the process. I am sincerely grateful to them for sharing their truthfulness and illuminating views on a number of issues related to the thesis.

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Sincerely

Sunu Broto Laksono
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<tr>
<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>G30S</td>
<td>Gerakan 30 September</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOSTRAD</td>
<td>Komando Cadangan Strategis Angkatan Darat</td>
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<td>LEKRA</td>
<td>Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat</td>
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<tr>
<td>O&amp;M</td>
<td>Operation and Maintenance</td>
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<tr>
<td>PKI</td>
<td>Partai Komunis Indonesia</td>
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<tr>
<td>PNI</td>
<td>Partai Nasional Indonesia</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRRI</td>
<td>Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia</td>
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<tr>
<td>REPELITA</td>
<td>Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun</td>
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<td>RPKAD</td>
<td>Resimen Pasukan Komando Angkatan Darat</td>
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<tr>
<td>RRI</td>
<td>Radio Republik Indonesia</td>
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<td>WUA</td>
<td>Water Users Associations</td>
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

This chapter consists of some sections to introduce the readers to the basic information related to the topic discussed. The first section tells about the reasons of conducting the study. The following section is the part which formulates the problems to be answered through the study. Then, the formulated questions will be answered as the objective of the study. The subsequent section mentions the benefits of the study. Then, the last section defines several terms to avoid misunderstandings.

A. Background of the Study

An event happened in the past may become an inspiration or a reference to write a story. A writer usually adapts a certain situation as the setting of time and place where the characters of story to be directly involved. This has also driven a writer named Ahmad Tohari to put several historical events into a frame of a trilogy entitled The Dancer. The trilogy generally portrays a life in a fictive rural area in Central Java which takes place in 1940s until 1970s. By using the main characters’ life background, Tohari cleverly involves them in a political situation when Indonesia endured a decisive moment in 1965. This moment is familiarly recognized as G30S/PKI which means a coup attempt which was allegedly committed by Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) on 1st October 1965.
The trilogy portrays this event as a turning point year for Indonesia to enter a new stage of life which is initiated by dangerous months of living. The explanation is that everyone could be killed especially those who are associated with any communist movements even die for their innocence. Meanwhile, a new stage of life means that the event has become the beginning of a new order which impacts on how the government makes policies in every aspect. The change of policies is obviously shown through the portrayal of an infrastructure improvement project around Paruk which is also followed by symptoms of modernity. It seems that a moment to live a new life has arrived since the dangerous months of living is over. The trilogy does not provide any explicit explanation about this phenomenon. Consequently, it potentially raises questions and confusions amongst the readers.

Without having enough knowledge regarding the event, the readers, especially those who are born in new order’s era, will find several vague transitional parts of the story. For instance, “civil war” (p. 260) is actually a very important phrase to be clearly explained because of its importance to understand the next story line. To understand why the plots are written that way, the readers are required to have several basic understandings concerning the problem. Otherwise, the risk of misinterpretation will affect the readers’ perception in perceiving the story. Therefore, this study is conducted to provide explicit explanations to assist the readers in revealing the unclear story lines in the trilogy.
Considering the background which has been explained before, this study attempts to describe the Indonesian politics in 1960s as depicted in Ahmad Tohari’s *The Dancer*. It becomes the ground why such political situation is able to trigger the “civil war” which is portrayed by the trilogy as murders in Jakarta. Then, the study analyzes how the domino effects of the civil war which occurs in Jakarta causes the arrests and massacres who especially live in rural areas including Paruk; a fictive hamlet in Central Java. It must raise questions amongst the readers why Paruk gets the impacts of the civil war. Moreover, a number of arrested people from unknown areas are also portrayed through the trilogy. The impact of civil war puts Paruk into hard and dangerous months of living. However, the plot of story starts to decline its tension by showing the changes that follow the aftermath of the civil war. The significant changes are indicated by the beginning of the construction of dam to support the irrigation system around Paruk. Lastly, it leads us to a question asking how the civil war becomes an event which changes the Indonesian politics as seen in the construction of the dam.

B. Problem Formulation

The study is conducted to answer the following questions:

1. What is the Indonesian politics in 1960s as depicted in Ahmad Tohari’s *The Dancer*?

2. Why does the civil war destroy Paruk as depicted in the novel?
3. How does the civil war change the Indonesian politics as seen in the novel?

C. Objectives of the Study

This study reveals three related objectives discussed, as follow:

1. To describe the Indonesian politics in 1960s as depicted in Ahmad Tohari’s *The Dancer*.
2. To explain why the civil war destroys Paruk as depicted in the novel.
3. To explain how the civil war changes the Indonesian politics as seen in the novel.

D. Benefits of the Study

This study is helpful to widen the perspective of the researcher concerning the decisive historical event which had determined Indonesian political direction during the rule of the New Order. The researcher must read many books related to the topic in conducting the study to result an objective analysis since the topic is a very controversial one to discuss.

Secondly, hopefully, this study can provide the readers with a reasonable reference in interpreting some events in the novel which significantly affect the plot of the story.

Thirdly, considering the strength of the trilogy which contains rich and very detailed description of texts, this study is also beneficial in providing
materials for writing. Besides, it provides abundant vocabularies to be used as materials in enriching student’s vocabulary.

Lastly, for the future research, this study may be also helpful to be an initial reading to raise a question about the discrimination towards those who still survive from the killings as depicted in Ahmad Tohari’s *The Dancer*.

E. Definition of Terms

There are some words or phrases that must be clearly defined to avoid misunderstandings amongst the readers related to the formulated problems. The terms are as follow.

1. Politics

Harold Lasswell considered politics as a matter about “influence and influential” (as cited in Sharma and Sharma, 2007, p. 2). In this study, having influence and being influential mean having power. The Old Order has centralized the power due to the application of guided democracy system. Ruling by an influential anti-imperialists-colonialists president, his influence calls for any revolutionary movement fighting against imperialism and colonialism. Meanwhile, Michael Curtis defined politics as “organized dispute about power and its use, involving choice among competing values, ideas, persons, interests and demands” (as cited in Sharma and Sharma, 2007, p. 4). During the Cold War, the imperialist Western bloc and the revolutionary communist Eastern bloc competes over third world countries including Indonesia regarding the values,
ideas, persons, interests and demands. Deriving from this background, the flourishing Communist during the rule of the Old Order has been generating disputes between the revolutionaries and the counter-revolutionaries in the country. Furthermore, due to its communist-preferred, the Old Order is in disputes with international community especially the Western bloc.

2. **Civil war**

Eicher and Eicher (2001) define civil war as the representation of “the ultimate and organized extension of a family disagreement” such as a domestic quarrel which may develop into a philosophical argument (p. xvi). In this study, as Michael Curtis has mentioned, politics is an organized dispute about power and its use. Meanwhile, Karl von Clausewitz claimed that war is “an extension of political discord” (as cited in Eicher and Eicher, 2001, p. xvi). The disputes occur as the extension of political discord in how the authority is used. During the rule of the Old Order, this dispute occurs between the revolutionaries and the counter-revolutionaries in Indonesia. Finally, it reaches its climax when the so-called G30S erupts and causes six generals and one adjutant to Defense Minister killed in 1st October 1965.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter contains three main sections. The first part reviews briefly a related study which uses the same primary source. The second part presents the review of some of the theories which will be applied in the analysis section. Thirdly, the part which contains the review of the various historical references required in the analysis section. Then, the last part is the framework in which the theory and the review of the historical references applied.

A. Review of Related Theories

Considering the formulated research questions which demands historical references as the main sources to assist the analysis, this study applies the historical approach. Barry (2009) explains that the approach “based on the parallel reading of literary and non-literary texts, usually of the same historical period” (p. 166). In this study, Ahmad Tohari’s *The Dancer* is used as the primary source containing the story which is set in 1960s as the time background including the national events occurred during the years. Furthermore, the application of this approach positions literary and non-literary texts in the “equal weight and constantly inform or interrogate each other” (p. 166). For that reason, several reviews obtained from non-literary texts are used as the mirror reflecting the events portrayed through the novel.
B. Previous Study

This section is to show one of previous studies using Ahmad Tohari’s *The Dancer* as the primary source. The study is a thesis entitled *The Swaying of Oppression and Liberation through Srintil’s Selendang in Tohari’s Trilogy “Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk” and “The Dancer”* written by Suzana Maria Luki Astuti Fajarini in 2011. Although the same primary source used, this study is conducted to discover something new in the novel by applying a different approach. The previous study emphasizes the analysis of the oppressions undergone by the main female character in the novel by employing a deconstructive literary criticism and a feminist literary criticism. Meanwhile, this study mainly focuses on the description of Indonesian politics in 1960s by employing a historical approach in the analysis. It generally concludes that the Cold War affects the Indonesian politics in 1960s.

C. Review of Historical Background

This part contains the review of historical background related to the problem discussed. The first problem is about events occurred during the Old Order such as Malaysia confrontation including its consequences and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). The second problem is about 30th September Movement (G30S). The third problem elaborates changes brought by the New Order.
1. The Old Order

The Old Order refers to a government ruled by Sukarno (1945-1966). This part will expose the historical review upon the Malaysia confrontation and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI).

a. Malaysia Confrontation and Its Consequences

This part is going to start the review of the Indonesian politics in 1960s by referring to an event in West Kalimantan in 1967. Davidson (2009) accounts the New Order began to concern the existence of "rebels" in West Kalimantan. As the elimination of the PKI in Java and Bali took place, Suharto also used the military forces to break up the “rebels” in 1967 (p. 63). It can be seen that the “rebels” emerge as the New Order starts to rule Indonesia. Further, Eilenberg (1975) adds that after the New Order under the anti-Communist Suharto took power, Indonesian army collaborated with Malaysia annihilating the "rebels" which were labeled as "Communist insurgents" along the border in West Kalimantan. The “rebels” were initially formed by Sukarno to confront the establishment of the Malaysian Federation (p. 125).

The next analysis demands an explanation why the Old Order must confront the federation. Rotter (2010) explicates that Sukarno considered the Malaysian Federation as “a British neocolonial creation” (p. 272). As Rowthorn and Cohen (2008) map, this federation united “Malaya, Singapore, Sabah, and Sarawak” which are geopoliticaly adjacent to Indonesia especially in Kalimantan.
(p. 28). Kosut (1967) states the establishment of Malaysian Federation was interpreted by Sukarno as the extension of imperialism in Southeast Asia (p. 84). From this situation, it starts to discover such tension between the Old Order and the United Kingdom which represents the Western bloc’s concern in Southeast Asia during the Cold War.

Firstly, Indonesian revolution is needed to be defined as an essence of the confrontation background; why the Old Order firmly commands the confrontation. According to The New International Webster’s Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language Deluxe Encyclopedic Edition (1996), revolution is defined as an “extensive or drastic change in a condition, method, idea, etc” (p. 1079). Skocpol emphasizes that this extensive or drastic change must include a "popular uprising from above by an elite" (as cited in Kimmel, 1990, p. 171). As the highest authority in Indonesia during the Old Order, Sukarno represents the “elite” whom Skocpol refers to. Higgins (1992) mentions that Sukarno defined revolution as “a continuous process” not “a single cataclysmic event” (p. 56). Sukarno encompassed that “the Indonesian revolution included the national revolution, the political revolution, the social revolution, the cultural revolution and the revolution of man” (p. 56). He had asserted that Indonesian revolution was to oppose the "imperialism, feudalism, and the enemies of the revolution in general" (as cited in Rotter, 2010, p. 273). Therefore, the establishment of the Malaysian Federation becomes a strong reason for Sukarno to launch the confrontation.
On the other hand, this confrontation also can be seen as a wider event when the tension of the Cold War kept escalating in 1963. Noam Chomsky espouses the establishment of Malaysian Federation was the Western bloc’s political strategy to prevent the domino theory. The capitalists feared a successful unaligned socialist state because it would provide an example of an alternative path to the communist or capitalist ones. It would cause others to fall like dominoes into the socialist neutralist pattern (as cited in McColl, 2005, p. 256). This fear is explicable as Hughes (1968) describes that under the leadership of D.N. Aidit, the PKI was the third largest Communist party in the world after the Soviet Union and China. Meanwhile, the results of the election in 1955 positioned the PKI as the fourth largest party in Indonesia (p. 81-84).

Furthermore, Rotter (2010) analyzes that this fear was compelled by a political inclination that “Sukarno was generally seen to be sympathetic to the Communists” (p. 231). Therefore, the flourishing Communist in Indonesia and the Sukarno’s leftism become the Western Bloc’s concerns for risking their influence in Southeast Asia if Indonesia fell into the Communist Eastern Bloc. If it happened, as Chomsky had assumed, the Western bloc would have lost their control in Southeast Asia. For that reason, apparently the establishment of the Malaysian Federation was to anticipate such condition while the tension of the Cold War kept escalating. However, Kosut (1967) explains that when the political instability in Indonesia occurred as the aftermath of the 30th September Movement (G30S), the tension of the confrontation began to subside in 1966 (p. 84). Beeson
(2006) grants that the New Order quickly “ended Sukarno’s confrontation with Malaysia” (p. 167).

The next review attempts to relate the confrontation with its consequences regarding the economic matter in Indonesia. Crouch (1978) examines that the economic downturn approaching 1965 was the result of political tensions between Indonesia and the Western Bloc when Sukarno launched a military campaign to crush the Malaysian Federation (p. 57). Rotter (2010) explains that the United States (US) was involved in this confrontation because the United States “schemed to keep Malaysia under British control” (p. 273). As a financially influential country, the United States played the role to overcome the situation. Washington threatened to cut off all aid unless Sukarno ceased the confrontation.

Haplessly, the situation became worse since Sukarno challenged the Washington’s threats (p. 273). As Weinstein (2007) notes, Sukarno adamantly continued the confrontation and took the risk for losing the economic assistances (p. 219). Later, as Beeson (2006) explains that Sukarno’s "Go to hell with your aid!" was a clear decision that confrontation had to be continued. Consequently, the decision had made Indonesia withdrawn from “the World Bank, the IMF, and the United Nations” (p. 166). Furthermore, this economic downturn has also caused another problem; food shortages. As stated by Rosin, Stock, and Campbell (2012), during the early 1960s, a combination of drought, a rat plague on Java, the destruction of crops due to the eruption of the Gunung Agung volcano on Bali, and imprudent economic policy resulted in large-scale food shortages across the
archipelago (p. 147). Although it was not the only cause of the famine that hit Indonesia in 1964, the food shortages are the result of the combination between the economic downturn and the poor condition of the nature. Rotten (2010) adds that due to the worsening political situation between Indonesia and the Western Bloc that resulted in the economic downturn, "Sukarno openly moved to the left politically" (p. 273).

In conclusion, Malaysia confrontation is actually the impact of the flourishing PKI and the Indonesian revolution in opposing the Western bloc’s political strategy during the Cold War. It has significantly contributed to the escalating tension of the Cold War especially in Southeast Asia when Indonesia openly drifts the politics to the Eastern bloc due to the faltering economy.

b. The Indonesian Communist Party

This review starts from a matter of color usage in politics. Color may represent anything because it has special meanings and a kind of impression. In politics, a party designs the flag including the symbol and the choice of colors in it. For instance, Zhu (1998) associates the red color with Communism:

If someone were following the traditional pattern of trying to join Communist Party to become a government official, it was said that this person was taking the “red” road, because red was the color for communism (p. 232).

Kim (1996) supports the association that during the Cold War “ideology also repeatedly indoctrinated us by identifying the color red with communism”. Therefore, Communists were called “Reds” (p. 49). Meanwhile, in Indonesian politics, it is called as the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party). Simply, as Saull
(2001) describes, communism and capitalism were rivals during the Cold War regarding their visions of domestic and international order (p. 131). Decter (1961) elaborates the function of the Communist party. Firstly, this party is working toward the inevitable collapse of capitalism throughout the world. Secondly, as the “vanguard party of the working class”, the party is to hasten the historical process by leading the international proletariat to its revolutionary triumph (p. 19).

According to The New International Webster’s Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language Deluxe Encyclopedic Edition (1996), proletariat is defined as “the indigent classes collectively of a community; the lower classes” or “wageworkers collectively, regarded as the creators of wealth; workingmen” (p. 1008). Meanwhile, proletarian is “a person of the lowest or poorest class” or “laborer; a wageworker” (p. 1008). As Marx defined that “the proletariat has a central role in capitalist societies” and they were about “to transform the society” (as cited in Wolfe, 1996, p.125). This society transformation is identical to Sukarno’s revolution, as Rotter (2010) cited, in which a continuous process to extensively oppose the "imperialism, feudalism, and the enemies of the revolution in general" (p. 273). That the Indonesian revolution takes part in the Cold War as the power which opposes the capitalist Western bloc, it can be concluded that Indonesian revolution and the PKI are in the same interests in Indonesian politics in 1960s.

Varutti (2014) shows that in the political movement, Communists also spread its propaganda through culture or art. In communist propaganda terms,
first, “culture and art should reflect people’s life”. Second, “culture and art should stress national characteristics and styles so that people will accept and favour them, thus educating, encouraging and entertaining people” (p. 22). Further, Mao explains that “the people” were mainly represented by the peasants, thus the idea of a “culture for the masses” can be taken to approximate that of a “culture for the peasants” (as cited in Varutti, 2014, p. 22). Bräuchler (2009) notes that in the 1960s, a song called Genjer-genjer, “a song created by M. Arif, a member of LEKRA (the Institute of People’s Culture, which was accused of being affiliated to the PKI)”, became popular because this song was associated with a large party at the time; the PKI (p. 189). Echols (1989) also defines Genjer-genjer as “a song associated with Indonesian Communist Party” (p. 184).

Glasberg and Shannon (2011) elaborate that the consciousness of being exploited had made the proletariat “in constant conflict” with the landlords “over the distribution of the fruits of the proletariat’s collective labor” (p. 31). In Indonesia, Mehr (2009) portrays the conflicts between the PKI and the land owners was the impact of "the land reform laws". As a result, the conflicts triggered by the land reform laws maps two main groups which are politically disputed. They were “various peasant organizations affiliated with the PKI and joined by sympathetic left-wing groups, faced determined opposition from the PNI, Islamic groups and the military” (p. 30). Sharma and Sharma (2006) explain that the society transformation demanded land reform laws in which "the personal property and the family were abolished". Besides, it emphasizes the "equal
distribution of land" (p. 57). In conclusion, the aggressive PKI has also created tensions within the country. All those conflicts color the Indonesian politics until a turnaround occurs in the beginning of October 1965.

2. **G30S (30th September Movement)**

This part is going to review the murders occur in Jakarta involving the G30S in 1st October 1965. Firstly, the analysis begins by anatomizing the murders itself. Conboy (2003) refers to RRI broadcast on 1st October 1965 as the most authentic source that reported an action saving the president from a coup attempt:

> Shortly after 0700, however, the fog started to lift. From the Radio Republic Indonesia (RRI) building on the opposition side of Merdeka Square, the first of several rebel radio broadcasts hit the airwaves. The broadcast was nothing short of explosive. Allegedly the words of Lieutenant Colonel Untung Sjamsuri speaking on behalf of a “30 September Movement,” it stated that their action had been done in opposition to a so-called General’s Council that was planning to seize power during the 5 October parade. It further stated that President Sukarno was safe in their custody (p.130).

It sounds that nothing terrible happens during the action but Crouch (1978) chronicles that it was actually a bloody incident when six generals (Lieutenant General Yani, Major General Suprapto, Major General Harjono M.T., Major General S. Parman, Brigadier General D.I. Pandjaitan, and Brigadier General Sutojo Siswomihardjo) and an adjutant to Defense Minister (First Lieutenant P. Tendean) were taken from their residence and brought them to an area known as Lubang Buaya at the edge of the Halim air force base on the outskirts of Jakarta. In this process, three (Yani, Harjono, and Pandjaitan) were killed either by bullets or bayonets. General Nasution, the Defense Minister, successfully managed to
escape but unfortunately his adjutant was taken during this operation. First Lieutenant P. Tendean and the other two were taken alive and also killed at Lubang Buaya. Then, their dead bodies were dumped into an unused well (p. 99).

Secondly, the review attempts to investigate the culprits of the murders. Shiraishi (1997) clarifies that Lieutenant Colonel Untung Sjamsuri is “the Commandant of a Battalion of the Tjakrabirawa, the personal bodyguard of President Sukarno” (p. 41). Seeing his position, he automatically has a duty to save the president from any dangerous situation. Through the broadcasting, on 1st October 1965, he claims that the G30S (30th September Movement) has saved President Sukarno from a coup attempt. Besides Lieutenant Colonel Untung Sjamsuri, Stodulka and Rössler (2014) add that the G30S were led by other “prominent Indonesian Army officers, namely “Colonel Abdul Latief, Soejono, and Brigadier General Soepardjo” (p. 197).

Roosa (2006) gives more detail about the composition of the G30S during the raid. The movement’s personnel included one company from the presidential guard under Untung, two platoons from Jakarta army garrison under Latief, and a battalion of air force troops under Soejono. In addition, there were ten companies-five each-from Battalions 454 and 530. There were also small contingents from a paratroop command south of Jakarta and from the military police (p. 45). As concluded by Anderson and McVey that the G30S was “an internal affair” in the army between young and junior "revolutionary" officers struck against the "reactionary" top army commanders, the PKI merely playing a subsidiary role by
taking advantage of these developments by supporting them (as cited in Fic, 2005, p.2). However, this internal affair is then used by the PKI as an advantage to eliminate their chief political rival. The supports are given by supplying civilian forces to the G30S. Roosa (2006) adds that about two thousand members of the PKI or PKI-affiliated organizations also participated in the morning’s operation. They were scattered among the forces that kidnapped the generals and occupied the buildings on Merdeka Square. Some were armed but most were not (p. 45). It affirms that the PKI is involved in the murders but Anderson and McVey justified that the PKI was not the mastermind because there was no solid evidence for that claim in the press reports and army’s statement (as cited in Roosa, 2006, p. 65).

Instead of commemorating the Armed Forces Day, Roosa (2006) mentions that on 5th October 1965, “the army released a quickly composed 130-page book that chronicled the events of October 1 and accused the PKI of being the mastermind” (p. 63). This accusation based on General Yoga Sugomo’s assumption, as disclosed by Wiwoho and Chaeruddin (1990), based on Yoga’s memoir, explains that knowing the G30S was led by Lieutenant Colonel Untung Sjamsuri, General Yoga Sugomo claimed that the PKI masterminded the G30S. Further, he explained that Untung was his subordinate when quelling the PRRI revolt in West Sumatra. He recognized Untung as a soldier who have a “leftish political view” (p. 149). Shortly, his presumption argues that being led by a leftist soldier, the G30S had to be the PKI’s strategy to weaken the army in Indonesian politics. This claim is then used as Suharto’s reason to predicate that the G30S is
masterminded by the PKI in eliminating the army; their chief political rival. Anderson and McVey also justified this claim that the PKI was not the mastermind because there was no solid evidence for that claim in the press reports and army’s statement. They kept emphasizing that the action was merely “an internal affair’ which was supported by the PKI (as cited in Roosa, 2006, p. 65).

This action is full of inconsistency. The inconsistency of this action is the unclear mission to be performed. Notwithstanding saving the president from a coup attempt, as Crouch (1978) mentions that “the raiding soldiers told the generals that they had been summoned to the palace by the president” (p. 99). The generals should have been taken to the president to clarify the alleged coup. But, in fact, the generals are killed at their residence while the others also meet the same fate at Lubang Buaya. Moreover, still on the same day, Fic (2005) also shows the G30S’ strange political maneuver broadcasted through RRI:

The announcement further said that a Revolutionary Council will be established soon as the supreme state authority, with its subsidiary agencies in the provinces, to replace the old political and social order in the entire country. The announcement was an unmistakable sign that Indonesia was in the middle of a classical coup d’etat (p.1).

It is really strange that the G30S openly states a coup against the president whom they have saved from a coup attempt. This political maneuver is concluded that through the G30S, the army considers the PKI is attempting to overthrow the president by establishing a Revolutionary Council as the supreme state authority.

The announcement of Revolutionary Council by the G30S obviously shows that the state is in a coup. Thus, as submitted by Bellamy (2012), “General
Suharto deployed loyal units and crushed the rebellion within twenty-four hours” (p. 204). He also mobilizes “KOSTRAD (reservists under Suharto’s command) and RPKAD (elite units, staunchly anti-communist)-to begin a wider campaign against PKI members and sympathizers” (p. 204). It can be seen that the G30S has been intentionally designed as if it is closely related with the PKI. It then becomes a justification for the army to openly destroy the guilty PKI as the Revolutionary Council is announced through the RRI.

Taking the advantage of this situation, despite establishing the Malaysian Federation to anticipate the domino effect, it is not astounding when, as noted by Nevins (2005), the United States embassy in Jakarta “provided the military with the names of thousands of PKI cadre who were subsequently executed” (p. 49). Crouch (1978) refers to a Fact-Finding Commission which was an army-sponsored survey conducted by students from Bandung and Jakarta. This commission made brief visits to only East and Central Java, Bali, and North Sumatra. It reported that “106,000 supporters of the PKI had been interned in prison camps”. Meanwhile, the attorney general estimated that at least 200,000 people had been arrested throughout Indonesia (p. 155).

Regarding the power, the conflicts are now imbalance. The wider campaign against the PKI develops to a horrible situation as Bellamy (2014) explains that in early October, local Muslim groups began the mass killings of Communists in Aceh. Having supports from the army, the mass killings “rapidly spread to Central and East Java and other provinces” (p. 205). Hadiwinata (2003)
specifically shows that the massacres occurred “mainly in rural areas where land-reform conflicts were intense” (p. 52). Nevins (2005) adds that the United States fully supported “the emergence of Suharto’s New Order” in crushing Communist in Indonesia by supplying “weaponry, telecommunications equipment as well as food and other forms of aid to the Indonesian army in the early weeks of the killings” (p. 49). This is similar to Bellamy (2012) that Suharto “encouraged the establishment of local militias and offered them the political authority, training, arms, and logistical support they needed to conduct mass killings” (p. 205).

Bellamy (2012) states that the mass killings were urgently conducted based on the notion that "the PKI as a whole was responsible for the coup attempt" and “the PKI’s network of grassroots followers made it a president threat to the regime” (p. 204-205).

Stokke and Törnquist (2013) estimates the victims of these structured, systematic, and massive killings “ranging from around 500,000 to two million lives lost” particularly in Java and Bali (p. 266). Crouch (1978) adds more details about the number of people killed in the massacres. A Fact-Finding Commission estimated that 78,500 up to one million people killed in East and Central Java, Bali, and North Sumatra. (p. 155). Nevins (2005) describes that the weakening of the PKI in Indonesia was “the West’s best news for years in Asia” (p. 48). It was understandable that due to the weakening of the communist forces in Indonesia, the tension of the Cold War in Southeast Asia would subside. However, Nevins
(2005) elucidates that the subsiding tension of the Cold War has demanded “one of the worst mass murders of the 20th century” (p. 48).

In 1967, as Kosut (1967) stated that Suharto emerged as “the Indonesia’s new strongman” as Sukarno was forced “to cede political powers” to him in March 1966 (p. 108). Later, through Provisional People's Consultative Congress in 7th March 1967, Sukarno was deprived of “all ceremonial powers” and “stripped him of all titles” (p. 108). McGlynn (2005) adds more details that the New Order was born when transfer of authority occurred as Sukarno’s signing on “a document now known as the March 11 Executive Order (Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret)” in 11th March 1966 (p. 28). Strassler (2010) chronicles that as the military pursued its campaign of mass killings and imprisonment of alleged communists, Suharto presented the politically weakened Sukarno with an ultimatum. On 11th March 1966, Sukarno signed a document that gave Suharto full authority to take all steps necessary to restore stability to the country. Nevertheless, Suharto used this document to legalize the disbanding of the Communist Party and to pass a resolution in the parliament revoking Sukarno’s president for life status and eventually to install himself as the president of Indonesia (p. 231).

Nevins (2005) argues that the military successfully took over the power as “the United States had effectively helped lay the groundwork for the military’s seizure of power through the United States interference in Indonesian affairs” (p. 48). Bahry (2003) portrays that Major General Soeharto benefited from the
September 1965 coup. He became a surviving general to carry on the Indonesian administration and had no rival (p. 42). It can be concluded that the G30S’ failed coup has paved the way for the New Order to be the only power in Indonesia. This failed coup has become the pretext of the mass killings of Communists in Indonesia. Furthermore, the mass killings would not have happened unless the army did not give supports the civilian and begin the wider campaign against the PKI. It is also unfortunate for the PKI that the United States interferes in these massacres. The Old Order is over, the New Order begins.

3. New Order

History has recorded a flagship program of the New Order which is familiarly called as The Five-Year Development Plan (Repelita). FAO (1999) elucidates the description of the Repelita and the donors:

In 1969, with the launching of the five-year development plan called Repelita, the government started a major major programme in irrigation development which included: rehabilitation of existing irrigation works; expansion of service areas in existing schemes; construction of new irrigation systems; upgrading of semi-technical irrigation systems to technical level (p.109).

Huitema and Meijerink (2009) support that “the first three Repelita specifically emphasizing irrigation infrastructure development and self-sufficient rice production as main targets” (p. 162). Meanwhile, Robison (1986) notes that the first Five-Year Development Plan (1969-1974) “account for around 60% of the projected development budget expenditure” (p. 138). The question is how the government affords the state budget for such a program as the Old Order inherits the plight economic situation. As have been analyzed before that the economic
downturn is caused by the Old Order’s decision to prosecute the confrontation. Beeson (2006) grants that the New Order quickly “ended Sukarno’s confrontation with Malaysia” (p. 167). Therefore, as Hong (2003) says that the New Order “received strong support from organizations such as the World Bank” which had previously been cut off (p. 249). Besides, Robison (1986) also mentions that “the New Order was supported by the IMF, an international finance and monetary institution” (p. 138). Moreover, Hufbauer and Rahardja (2007) adds that “under Suharto, Indonesia maintained close relations with the donor community, particularly the United States, Western Europe, Australia, and Japan” (p. 2).

All those supports are obtained, as explained by Beeson (2006), as the New Order quickly “ended Sukarno’s confrontation with Malaysia, broke off diplomatic ties with China, and committed Indonesia to a much more low-key and pro-Western foreign policy” (p. 167). Beeson (2006) adds that the United States and its ally, Japan, greatly appreciated Indonesia’s political shift and rewarded it with “political support and large flows of development assistance” (p.167). Therefore, having such abundant financial supports, the New Order is able to manage the state budget in realizing the Repelita.

Besides the Repelita, that Indonesia maintains good relationships with Western bloc’s countries, as Beeson (2006) describes, the New Order also “reintegrated Indonesia with the global capitalist system and radically realigned its foreign policy” (p. 167). This is supported by Hong (2003) that the economy growth was based on "Western capitalism with industrialization, scientific
progress, and technical innovation” (p. 249). The modernization, as Hong (2003) states, had made Indonesia to be “opened to market forces” (p. 249). The change brought by the New Order has recovered Indonesia from the economic downturn. However, Hong (2003) portrays that Suharto’s policies did not foster “a profound sense of Indonesian-ness” (p. 249).

D. Theoretical Framework

To solve the research questions, the study applies a historical approach in which the data obtained both from the novel and book references are used to constantly inform and interrogate each other.

The discussion is initiated by analyzing hints found in the novel which refer to the Malaysia confrontation and its consequences towards Indonesia. The analysis also includes the causes triggering the confrontation as the representation of the political situation in Indonesia at that time. Then, next discussion spells out the political situation which occurs in Indonesia as the Malaysia confrontation takes place. Subsequently, the political situations are to give an introduction how the G30S emerges as the main cause of the Paruk’s destruction. Lastly, the analysis attempts to synchronize the destruction with the political changes in Indonesia as the impact of the eruption of the G30S.
CHAPTER III
METHODODOLOGY

This chapter contains three sections namely object of the study, approach of the study, and method of the study. Firstly, object of the study elaborates the physical description of the literary work studied, such as the information of its type, author, publisher and year of publication, edition, and its structure. It also presents the special record of the work, such as award. Finally, it presents what the work is generally about. Secondly, approach of the study states the approach employed in analyzing the work; the distinguished characteristic and the procedure of the application of the approach. Then, it states the reason of the application of the approach. The last section describes the procedures of the analysis of the work. This section includes the statement whether the study is a library study or field study, the primary sources, and the steps taken in the analysis.

A. Object of the Study

The Dancer is an English-translated fiction trilogy which is originally entitled Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk and written by Ahmad Tohari. Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk consists of three sequels entitled Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk (1982), Lintang Kemukus Dini Hari (1985), and Jantera Bianglala (1986) which is published in Indonesia by PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama (Jakarta, Indonesia). Then, in this trilogy, those three titles are translated into Notes for Momma, A Shooting Star at
Dawn, and The Rainbow's Arc. Notes for Momma is an introduction of main characters that live in a rural area named Paruk. Then, A Shooting Star at Dawn tells the story approaching the 1965 upheaval and the aftermath of it. The last sequel, The Rainbow’s Arc, continues the aftermath from the previous one and how the main characters begin their new life after the upheaval.

Ahmad Tohari is an Indonesian writer who authors eight novels, three anthologies of essays, and two collections of short stories. He is the recipient of several national and international literary awards, including the Southeast Asian Writers Award and a fellowship through the International Writers Program in Iowa City. He is an experienced and respected journalist who regularly contributes political essays to Suara Merdeka. Besides, he is also a religious intellectual and leader who run an Islamic school (pesantren) and community center. Finally, he is a well-known expert of Javanese folk arts. Today, he lives in his home village of Tinggarjaya near Purwokerto, Central Java. This trilogy is translated by an Associate Professor of Music at the University of California-Riverside named René T.A. Lysloff. He first discovered this fiction of Ahmad Tohari in 1986 when he was conducting PhD research in the region of Banyumas, Central Java. He has published numerous articles on traditional music and theater in Central Javain scholarly journals as Ethnomusicology, Asian Music, and Asian Theater Journal. His most recently completed work is Srikandhi Dances Lengger, a book on shadow theaters and music in rural Central Java, to be published through KITLV.
B. Approach of the Study

Since the trilogy is written by adapting the Indonesian historical events, this study applies historical approach to assist the researcher analyzing the problem discussed. Barry (2009) explicates that the approach “based on the parallel reading of literary and non-literary texts, usually of the same historical period” (p. 166). The application of this approach positions literary and non-literary texts in the “equal weight and constantly inform or interrogate each other” (p. 166). For that reason, several reviews obtained from non-literary texts are used as the mirror reflecting the events portrayed through the novel. There are three problem formulations to be answered through the study. The first problem formulation is about the Indonesian politics in 1960s as depicted in Ahmad Tohari’s The Dancer. This part will be discussing the political situation in which the answers lead the researcher analyzing the next question. Then, the next problem formulation questions why the civil war destroys Paruk. It also refers to a historical event which happened in 1965. Therefore, the same approach is also applied for this problem. The last problem formulation applies the historical approach to discuss about the political changes in Indonesia as the civil war subsides.

C. Method of the Study

The data collection is conducted by library research to complete the study. The library research is conducted to obtain data especially from non-literary texts
as the secondary sources. George (2008) asserts that library research is “ultimately rewarding” as we examine the findings which then it adds our own “insights to make a compelling case” (p. 1). The main data used in this study are taken from the primary source; Ahmad Tohari’s *The Dancer*. They are in the form of words, phrases, sentences, or even paragraphs. The data are gathered by reading while making some notes related to the problems discussed.

In this study, the secondary sources are also needed to support the main data in the analysis. Since the historical approach is applied in this study, history books of Indonesia which are written both in Bahasa Indonesia or English become the secondary sources. Besides, some documentary videos which are relevant to the discussion were also included in the secondary sources. Moreover, this study also takes data from books which were written based on researches on social changes to explain the social changes as portrayed through the trilogy.

As the approaches applied in this study, document analysis becomes the technique in gathering the data. Hence, the first step is reading the primary source for many times while understanding the plot of the story and making some notes including the page. The inclusion of the page is very helpful to find desired parts quickly.

The second step is finding theories as the ground to answer the problem formulations. Then, the researcher reviews the historical background of the study by reading books which support the topic discussed. The third step is analyzing the data collected from the notes by using the reviews on the historical
background. After that, the results of the analysis are synthesized with the theories to accomplish the objectives of the study. Lastly, this study draws the conclusions based on the title, problem formulations, and the result of the analysis.
CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

This chapter contains analysis in finding the answers of the research questions. The first part is an analysis of the Indonesian politics in 1960s as seen in Ahmad Tohari’s *The Dancer*. The second part seeks to explain why the civil war also destroys Paruk. Meanwhile, the last part is the analysis of how the civil war changes the Indonesian politics.

A. Indonesian Politics in the 1960s

This part attempts to elaborate the Indonesian political situation in 1960s by analyzing the obtained hints in the novel which refer to the Malaysia confrontation and the existence of Indonesian Communist Party (the PKI).

1. Rasus Goes to West Kalimantan

This part is going to outline the Indonesian politics in 1960s by starting the analysis on a hint found in the novel telling that Rasus and his battalion are assigned to West Kalimantan (p. 380). The next hint is when “he kills a man from a group of rebels which enter a trap in an ambush” (p. 434). Those hints indicate that there is a military operation involving Rasus’ battalion against “a group of rebels” in West Kalimantan. As Davidson (2009) accounts that the New Order began to concern the existence of "rebels" in West Kalimantan. As the elimination of the PKI in Java and Bali took place, Suharto also used the military forces to break up the “rebels” in 1967 (p. 63). It can be seen that the “rebels” emerge as
the New Order starts to rule Indonesia. Further, Eilenberg (1975) adds that after the New Order under the anti-Communist Suharto took power, Indonesian army collaborated with Malaysia annihilating the "rebels" which were labeled as "Communist insurgents" along the border in West Kalimantan. The “rebels” were initially formed by Sukarno to confront the establishment of the Malaysian Federation (p. 125).

The next analysis demands an explanation why the Old Order must confronts the federation. Rotter (2010) explicates that Sukarno considered the Malaysian Federation as “a British neocolonial creation” (p. 272). Rowthorn and Cohen (2008) map, this federation united “Malaya, Singapore, Sabah, and Sarawak” which are geopolitically adjacent to Indonesia especially in Kalimantan (p. 28). Kosut (1967) states the establishment of Malaysian Federation was interpreted by Sukarno as the extension of imperialism in Southeast Asia (p. 84). From this situation, it starts to discover such tension between the Old Order and the United Kingdom which represents the Western bloc’s concern in Southeast Asia during the Cold War.

Firstly, Indonesian revolution is needed to be defined as an essence of the confrontation background; why the Old Order firmly commands the confrontation. According to The New International Webster’s Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language Deluxe Encyclopedic Edition (1996), revolution is defined as an “extensive or drastic change in a condition, method, idea, etc” (p. 1079). Skocpol emphasizes that this extensive or drastic change must
include a "popular uprising from above by an elite" (as cited in Kimmel, 1990, p. 171). As the highest authority in Indonesia during the Old Order, Sukarno represents the “elite” whom Skocpol referred to. Higgins (1992) mentions that Sukarno defined revolution as “a continuous process” not “a single cataclysmic event” (p. 56). Sukarno encompassed that “the Indonesian revolution included the national revolution, the political revolution, the social revolution, the cultural revolution and the revolution of man” (p. 56). He had asserted that Indonesian revolution was to oppose the "imperialism, feudalism, and the enemies of the revolution in general" (as cited in Rotter, 2010, p. 273). Therefore, the establishment of Malaysian Federation becomes a strong reason for Sukarno to launch the confrontation.

On the other hand, this confrontation also can be seen as a wider event when the tension of the Cold War kept escalating in 1963. Noam Chomsky espouses the establishment of Malaysian Federation was the Western bloc’s political strategy to prevent the domino theory. The capitalists feared a successful unaligned socialist state because it would provide an example of an alternative path to the communist or capitalist ones. It would cause others to fall like dominoes into the socialist neutralist pattern (as cited in McColl, 2005, p. 256). This fear is explicable as Hughes (1968) describes that under the leadership of D.N. Aidit, the PKI was the third largest Communist party in the world after the Soviet Union and China. Meanwhile, the results of the election in 1955 positioned the PKI as the fourth largest party in Indonesia (p. 81-84). Furthermore, Rotter
(2010) analyzes that this fear was caused a political inclination that “Sukarno was generally seen to be sympathetic to the Communists” (p. 231). Therefore, the flourishing Communist in Indonesia and the Sukarno’s leftistism become the concerns for the Western Bloc for risking their influence in Southeast Asia if Indonesia fell into the Communist Eastern Bloc. If it happened, as Chomsky had assumed, the Western bloc would have lost their control in Southeast Asia. For that reason, apparently the establishment of Malaysian Federation was to anticipate such condition while the tension of the Cold War kept escalating. However, (1967) explains when the political instability in Indonesia occurred as the aftermath of the G30S, the tension of the confrontation began to subside in 1966 (p. 84). Beeson (2006) grants that the New Order quickly “ended Sukarno’s confrontation with Malaysia” (p. 167). Therefore, it can be concluded that Rasus’ military operation is to halt the confrontation as Sukarno no longer holds the order. In addition, it also represents a drastic political change during the abortion of the confrontation.

Tohari then shows a hint characterizing that "the nation’s door closed to outside economic assistance and most foreign cultural influences" (p. 361). The situation has resulted in the economic downturn in Indonesia in 1964. The economic downturn is portrayed as follow:

…In fact, over recent years, it had probably become even gloomier. The tiny hamlet could not avoid the economic decline which had been affecting the whole nation for some time. Not only did Paruk not have the wherewithal to understand the nation’s economic plight… (p. 248)
The next analysis attempts to relate the confrontation with its consequences regarding the economic matter in Indonesia. Crouch (1978) examines that the economic downturn approaching 1965 was the result of political tensions between Indonesia and the Western Bloc when Sukarno launched a military campaign to crush Malaysian Federation (p. 57). Rotter (2010) explains that the United States was involved in this confrontation because the United States “schemed to keep Malaysia under British control” (p. 273). As a financially influential country, the United States played the role to overcome the situation. Washington threatened to cut off all aid unless Sukarno ceased the confrontation. Haplessly, the situation became worse since Sukarno challenged the Washington's threats (p. 273). As Weinstein (2007) notes, Sukarno adamantly continued the confrontation and took the risk for losing the economic assistance (p. 219). Later, as Beeson (2006) explains that Sukarno’s "Go to hell with your aid!" was a clear decision that confrontation had to be continued. Consequently, the decision had made Indonesia withdrawn from "the World Bank, the IMF, and the United Nations" (p. 166).

Furthermore, Tohari also adds that during this economic downturn, "famine hit Indonesia in 1964" (p. 249). As stated by Rosin, Stock, and Campbell (2012), during the early 1960s, a combination of drought, a rat plague on Java, the destruction of crops due to the eruption of the Gunung Agung volcano on Bali, and imprudent economic policy resulted in large-scale food shortages across the archipelago (p. 147). Although it was not the only cause of the famine that hit Indonesia in 1964, the food shortages are the result of the combination between
the economic downturn and the poor condition of the nature. Rotten (2010) adds that due to the worsening political situation between Indonesia and the Western Bloc that resulted in the economic downturn, "Sukarno openly moved to the left politically" (p. 273). In conclusion, Malaysia confrontation is the impact of the flourishing PKI and the Indonesian revolution during the Cold War. It has significantly contributed to the escalating tension of the Cold War especially in Southeast Asia when Indonesia openly drifts the politics to the Eastern bloc due to the faltering economy.

2. The Aggressive-Revolutionary Indonesian Communist Party

In the morning of 17th August 1964, Sakum and her son visit Dawuan to first-hand witness the euphoria of the Independence Day celebration which they consider that it is more vibrant than the previous years. There are fiery speeches and cheers from the crowds attending the celebration. The situation is portrayed as follow:

A thousand hands lifted high to the accompaniment of roaring shouts, comparable only to a thunderstorm in a leafless teakwood forest. People giving speeches expended all their energy, their necks straining. Agitation, propaganda and slogans burned throughout the field as a thousand fists were raised with the cacophony of drums. Those in the audience stood tall with a self-confidence forged out of the speakers’ rhetoric. The overflowing sense of enthusiasm permeated the members of the audience, giving them the strength to withstand to torment of the increasingly hot sun (p. 194).

Sakum and his son also hear a young man screaming, “The enemy of the people has turned to dust!” (p. 195). The rising question is who “the enemy of the
people” refers to. A conversation between the blind Sakum and his son apparently shows who dominates the event.

“What do you see?” he’d asked.
“Red, Daddy, I see red.”
“Red, Daddy, I see red.”
“What’s red?”
“Everything. People have red hats. Banners are red. Oh, there’s also black, green, and yellow. Wow, it’s great!” (p. 195)

For the first time, the novel starts to introduce a political tension to the readers. It might be a tension between “the Red” and “the enemy of the people”. The analysis starts from this conversation which seems to emphasize red color. Color may represent anything because it has special meanings and a kind of impression. In politics, a party designs the flag including the symbol and the choice of colors in it. For instance, Zhu (1998) associates the red color with Communism:

If someone were following the traditional pattern of trying to join Communist Party to become a government official, it was said that this person was taking the “red” road, because red was the color for communism (p. 232).

Kim (1996) supports the association that during the Cold War “ideology also repeatedly indoctrinated us by identifying the color red with communism”. Therefore, Communists were called “Reds” (p. 49). Meanwhile, in Indonesian politics, it is called as the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party). It can clearly be concluded that “Red”, as Sakum’s son says, refers to the PKI. Simply, as Saull (2001) describes, communism and capitalism were rivals during the Cold War regarding their visions of domestic and international order (p. 131). Decter (1961) elaborates the function of the Communist party. Firstly, this party is working
toward the inevitable collapse of capitalism throughout the world. Secondly, as the “vanguard party of the working class”, the party is to hasten the historical process by leading the international proletariat to its revolutionary triumph (p. 19).

After that, a man says, “The miserable proletariat being victims of the evil oppressors” (p. 198). He elaborates that the evil oppressors refer to “the imperialists, capitalists, colonialists, and their lackeys” (p. 198). This is exactly the same as what Sukarno asserted that the Indonesian revolution was to oppose imperialism, feudalism, and the enemies of the revolution in general (as cited in Rotter, 2010, p. 273). From several statements above, it can be concluded that the enemy of the people refers to the imperialists, capitalists, colonialists, and their lackeys. That the Indonesian revolution takes part in the Cold War as the power which opposes the capitalist Western bloc, it can be concluded that Indonesian revolution and the PKI are in the same interests in Indonesian politics in 1960s.

Tohari starts involving Srintil into the Indonesian political background as Mr. Ranu requests Srintil to dance in the Indonesian Independence Day celebration on 17th August 1964 held in Dawuan (p. 172). In addition, a member of the committee requests the insertion of "proletariat" and "revolution" into the ronggeng lyric (p. 193). It seems that “proletariat” and “revolution” are such important words to be conveyed in the performance. According to The New International Webster’s Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language Deluxe Encyclopedic Edition (1996), proletariat is defined as “the indigent classes collectively of a community; the lower classes” or “wageworkers collectively,
regarded as the creators of wealth; workingmen” (p. 1008). Meanwhile, proletarian is “a person of the lowest or poorest class” or “laborer; a wageworker” (p. 1008). As Marx defined that “the proletariat has a central role in capitalist societies” and they were about “to transform the society” (as cited in Wolfe, 1996, p.125). This society transformation is identical to Sukarno’s revolution, as Rotter (2010) cited, in which a continuous process to extensively oppose the "imperialism, feudalism, and the enemies of the revolution in general” (p. 273). This request is due to a consideration that Srintil’s popularity as a ronggeng dancer is expected to be able to appeal the masses as well as the propaganda spread by inserting political slogans into the ronggeng lyric (p. 252). Starting from this occasion, Srintil then often dances at communist propaganda meetings (p. 277). A man also comes to Paruk and gives a party poster that read “downtrodden proletariat” (p. 197).

Varutti (2014) shows that in the political movement, Communists also spread its propaganda through culture or art. In communist propaganda terms, first, “culture and art should reflect people’s life”. Second, “culture and art should stress national characteristics and styles so that people will accept and favour them, thus educating, encouraging and entertaining people” (p. 22). Further, Mao explains that “the people” were mainly represented by the peasants, thus the idea of a “culture for the masses” can be taken to approximate that of a “culture for the peasants” (as cited in Varutti, 2014, p. 22).
The participation of Paruk *ronggeng* troupe in Bakar's campaign rally has made Srintil now closely associated with Bakar and his followers. She had become popularly known as *Ronggeng* of the Proletariat by the end of 1964 (p. 254). It is as noted by Bräuchler (2009) that in the 1960s, a song called *Genjer-genjer*, “a song created by M. Arif, a member of LEKRA (the Institute of People’s Culture, which was accused of being affiliated to the PKI)”, became popular because this song was associated with a large party at the time; the PKI (p. 189). Echols (1989) also defines *Genjer-genjer* as “a song associated with Indonesian Communist Party” (p. 184). Regardless their political ignorance, Srintil and her *ronggeng* troupe are now considered as Communists.

Nevertheless, on other occasion, Srintil starts to realize that there is something wrong with her involvement in every political event held by the PKI. She witnesses the violence perpetrated by the masses who attend every campaign rally in which she performs:

One night, after a rally in which she had danced, hundreds of the spectators went berserk. As if possessed, they rampaged through rice paddies, plundering the ripening crops. The situation became violent as the owners arrived to protect their fields. By the time the police had arrived, seven bodies lay on the ground covered in blood. This first brawl was followed by a second a month later, and another the following month. During the third riot, the situation was particularly tense. It took place in the daytime, and involved hundreds of aggressors fighting the owners of fields. A full-scale war of hoes and sickles was avoided only because of the timely arrival of the police (p. 254-255).

As described by Glasberg and Shannon (2011) that the consciousness of being exploited had made the proletariat “in constant conflict” with the landlords “over the distribution of the fruits of the proletariat’s collective labor” (p. 31). In
Indonesia, Mehr (2009) portrays the conflicts between the PKI and the land owners was the impact of "the land reform laws". As a result, the conflicts triggered by the land reform laws maps two main groups which are politically disputed. They were “various peasant organizations affiliated with the PKI and joined by sympathetic left-wing groups, faced determined opposition from the PNI, Islamic groups and the military” (p. 30). Knowing these events, Srintil and Sakarya start to worry because Paruk will be considered to be fully responsible for every riot occurs. However, Bakar tries to explain that:

What’s happening is just a form of mass action, a reaction by the poor who have long suffered injustice. They have sweated working the paddy fields owned by a few, but have never benefited from their labor, except to receive just enough to subsist, sometimes less than that. All they are doing now is demanding what’s rightfully theirs (p. 255).

In fact, Bakar adapts a belief system that his party is a representation of the Ratu Adil that promises “delivery of justice, through promoting ideas like the equal distribution of land, regardless of rank or position” (p. 253). Sharma and Sharma (2006) explained that the society transformation demanded land reform laws in which "the personal property and the family were abolished". Besides, it also emphasizes the "equal distribution of land" (p. 57). In conclusion, the aggressive PKI has also created tensions within the country. All those conflicts color the Indonesian politics until a turnaround occurs in the beginning of October 1965.
B. The Civil War

This part is to provide reasons why the civil war in Jakarta also destroys Paruk. It starts with the explanation about the murders in Jakarta and the involvement indications of the Indonesian Communist Party in it.

1. Murders in Jakarta

In the early October 1965, an anxiety engulfs Paruk as the spread of a rumor about murders of government officials in Jakarta (p. 260). It is because the rumor says that the culprits are people like Bakar (p. 260). As has been concluded before, Srintil and her ronggeng troupe has closely associated with Bakar and his followers. These murders are distinct from the violence that Srintil has witnessed sometime ago. Although the riots might be a hint for this case, the murders are considered as sudden events which happen without any explicit preceding explanation provided in the novel. Without having basic knowledge regarding the event, the readers must remain confused reading the next plot of the story. Firstly, the analysis begins by anatomizing the murders itself. Conboy (2003) refers to RRI broadcast on 1st October 1965 as the most authentic source that reported an action saving the president from a coup attempt:

Shortly after 0700, however, the fog started to lift. From the Radio Republic Indonesia (RRI) building on the opposition side of Merdeka Square, the first of several rebel radio broadcasts hit the airwaves. The broadcast was nothing short of explosive. Allegedly the words of Lieutenant Colonel Untung Sjamsuri speaking on behalf of a “30 September Movement,” it stated that their action had been done in opposition to a so-called General’s Council that was planning to seize power during the 5 October parade. It further stated that President Sukarno was safe in their custody (p.130).
It sounds that nothing terrible happens during the action but Crouch (1978) chronicles that it was a bloody incident when six generals (Lieutenant General Yani, Major General Suprapto, Major General Harjono M.T., Major General S. Parman, Brigadier General D.I. Pandjaitan, and Brigadier General Sutojo Siswomihardjo) and an adjutant to Defense Minister (First Lieutenant P. Tendean) were taken from their residence and brought them to an area known as Lubang Buaya at the edge of the Halim air force base on the outskirts of Jakarta. In this process, three (Yani, Harjono, and Pandjaitan) were killed either by bullets or bayonets. General Nasution, the Defense Minister, successfully managed to escape but unfortunately his adjutant was taken during this operation. First Lieutenant P. Tendean and the other two were taken alive and also killed at Lubang Buaya. Then, their dead bodies were dumped into an unused well (p. 99). In conclusion, the government officials mentioned in the rumor refers to the six generals and one lieutenant.

Secondly, the analysis attempts to investigate the culprits of the murders. Bakar clarifies the rumor that the murders are committed by members of the military against other military members (p. 260-261). However, Bakar’s hiding in Paruk is unquestionable. Bakar used to be known as someone who is fierce and fiery in his speeches now he is nothing more than someone who has lost power (p. 260). It might indicate such involvement of Bakar or even his party in the murders. Shiraishi (1997) clarifies that Lieutenant Colonel Untung Sjamsuri is “the Commandant of a Battalion of the Tjakrabirawa, the personal bodyguard of
President Sukarno” (p. 41). Seeing his position, he automatically has a duty to save the president from any dangerous situation. Through the broadcasting, on 1st October 1965, he claims that the G30S (30th September Movement) has saved President Sukarno from a coup attempt. Besides Lieutenant Colonel Untung Sjamsuri, Stodulka and Rössler (2014) add that the G30S were led by other “prominent Indonesian Army officers, namely “Colonel Abdul Latief and Brigadier General Soepardjo” (p. 197). Roosa (2006) gives more detail about the composition of the G30S during the raid. The movement’s personnel included one company from the presidential guard under Untung, two platoons from Jakarta army garrison under Latief, and a battalion of air force troops under Soejono. In addition, there were ten companies—five each—from Battalions 454 and 530. There were also small contingents from a paratroop command south of Jakarta and from the military police (p. 45).

As concluded by Anderson and McVey that the G30S was “an internal affair” in the army between young and junior "revolutionary" officers struck against the "reactionary" top army commanders, the PKI merely playing a subsidiary role by taking advantage of these developments by supporting them (as cited in Fic, 2005, p.2). However, this internal affair is then used by the PKI as an advantage to eliminate their chief political rival. The supports are given by supplying civilian forces to the G30S. Roosa (2006) adds that about two thousand members of the PKI or PKI-affiliated organizations also participated in the morning’s operation. They were scattered among the forces that kidnapped the
generals and occupied the buildings on Merdeka Square. Some were armed but most were not (p. 45). It affirms that the PKI is involved in the murders but Anderson and McVey justified that the PKI was not the mastermind because there was no solid evidence for that claim in the press reports and army’s statement (as cited in Roosa, 2006, p. 65). It discovers the meaning of Bakar’s hiding as he also clarifies that the murders are committed by members of the military against other military members.

Instead of commemorating the Armed Forces Day, Roosa (2006) mentions that on 5th October 1965, “the army released a quickly composed 130-page book that chronicled the events of October 1 and accused the PKI of being the mastermind” (p. 63). This accusation based on General Yoga Sugomo’s assumption, as disclosed by Wiwoho and Chaeruddin (1990), based on Yoga’s memoir, explains that knowing the G30S was led by Lieutenant Colonel Untung Sjamsuri, General Yoga Sugomo claimed that the PKI masterminded the G30S. Further, he explained that Untung was his subordinate when quelling the PRRI revolt in West Sumatra. He recognized Untung as a soldier who have a “leftish political view” (p. 149). Shortly, his presumption argues that being led by a leftist soldier, the G30S had to be the PKI’s strategy to weaken the army in Indonesian politics. This claim is then used as Suharto’s reason to predicate that the G30S is masterminded by the PKI in eliminating the army; their chief political rival. Anderson and McVey justified this claim that the PKI was not the mastermind because there was no solid evidence for that claim in the press reports and army’s
statement. They kept emphasizing that the action was merely “an internal affair’ which was supported by the PKI (as cited in Roosa, 2006, p. 65). In conclusion, Bakar’s hiding proves the involvement of the PKI in the murders in Jakarta.

This action is full of inconsistency. The inconsistency of this action is the unclear mission to be performed. Notwithstanding saving the president from a coup attempt, as Crouch (1978) mentions that “the raiding soldiers told the generals that they had been summoned to the palace by the president” (p. 99). The generals should have been taken to the president to clarify the alleged coup. But, in fact, the generals are killed at their residence while the others also meet the same fate at Lubang Buaya. Moreover, still on the same day, Fic (2005) also shows the G30S’ strange political maneuver broadcasted through RRI:

The announcement further said that a Revolutionary Council will be established soon as the supreme state authority, with its subsidiary agencies in the provinces, to replace the old political and social order in the entire country. The announcement was an unmistakable sign that Indonesia was in the middle of a classical coup d’etat (p.1).

It is really strange that the G30S openly states a coup against the president whom they have saved from a coup attempt. This political maneuver is concluded that through the G30S, the army considers the PKI is attempting to overthrow the president by establishing a Revolutionary Council as the supreme state authority.

2. The Helpless PKI

The announcement of Revolutionary Council by the G30S obviously shows that the state is in a coup. Thus, as submitted by Bellamy (2012), “General Suharto deployed loyal units and crushed the rebellion within twenty-four hours”
(p. 204). He also mobilizes “KOSTRAD (reservists under Suharto’s command) and RPKAD (elite units, staunchly anti-communist)-to begin a wider campaign against PKI members and sympathizers” (p. 204). It can be seen that the G30S has been intentionally designed as if it is closely related with the PKI. It then becomes a justification for the army to openly destroy the guilty PKI as the Revolutionary Council is announced through the RRI.

A week after Bakar and his friends leave Paruk, a rumor reaches the village that Bakar’s house had been burned down, as well as the homes of his followers. The police or the military had them all in custody (p. 261). The arrest of Bakar makes Paruk people more anxious because Paruk has infamously been known as a village that is close to Bakar. The campaign against the PKI has also reached Paruk. Until the beginning of 1966, Paruk increasingly feels threatened by the arrival of some strangers who surround Paruk at night. Kartareja and Srintil then take an initiative to report to the police station in Dawuan to ask for protection (p. 263). In addition, they also want to clarify that Paruk is not involved in the murders that occur in Jakarta. However, the arrival of Srintil and Kartareja actually leads them to an arrest because their names are on the list of people who should be arrested. Shortly, several soldiers go to Paruk for arresting Sakarya, Mrs. Kartareja, Sakum, and two others. Two days later after the arrest of Srintil and Kartareja, Paruk was burnt (p. 266). Almost all the twenty-three houses there had been left in ashes (p. 278). Some people argue that the bad thing happened to Paruk is a retaliation from land owners whom their crops seized by Bakar’s
followers for several seasons (p. 267). Meanwhile, Paruk is known to be close to Bakar because Paruk ronggeng’s appearance in every propaganda meetings held by Bakar’s party. It is essential to analyze “the list of names” used to arrest Srintil and Kartareja. Not only people from Paruk are arrested but also people from other regions. They are imprisoned in a walled house holding almost two hundred people (p. 273).

Taking the advantage of this situation, despite establishing the Malaysian Federation to anticipate the domino effect, it is not astounding when, as noted by Nevins (2005), the US embassy in Jakarta “provided the military with the names of thousands of PKI cadre who were subsequently executed” (p. 49). Crouch (1978) refers to a Fact-Finding Commission which was an army-sponsored survey conducted by students from Bandung and Jakarta. This commission made brief visits to only East and Central Java, Bali, and North Sumatra. It reported that “106,000 supporters of the PKI had been interned in prison camps”. Meanwhile, the attorney general estimated that at least 200,000 people had been arrested throughout Indonesia (p. 155).

Regarding the power, the conflicts are now imbalance. As Bellamy (2014) explains that in early October, local Muslim groups began the mass killings of Communists in Aceh. Having supports from the army, the mass killings “rapidly spread to Central and East Java and other provinces” (p. 205). Hadiwinata (2003) specifically shows that the massacres occurred “mainly in rural areas where land-
reform conflicts were intense” (p. 52). The novel portrays these mass killings as follow:

Sounds of occasional gunfire sporadically echoed in the distance. Every so often, there was a roar of an arriving or departing truck followed by the heavy steps of booted feet. The nights were often shattered by the howls of roaming wild dogs inflamed by the smell of blood and rotting flesh. Corpses, by the hundreds, drifted lazily down the rivers and streams. Hundreds more were buried in shallow mass graves, others left lying in open fields (p. 273).

Nevins (2005) adds that the United States fully supported “the emergence of Suharto’s New Order” in crushing Communist in Indonesia by supplying “weaponry, telecommunications equipment as well as food and other forms of aid to the Indonesian army in the early weeks of the killings” (p. 49). This is similar to Bellamy (2012) that Suharto “encouraged the establishment of local militias and offered them the political authority, training, arms, and logistical support they needed to conduct mass killings” (p. 205). Bellamy (2012) states that the mass killings were urgently conducted based on the notion that "the PKI as a whole was responsible for the coup attempt" and “the PKI’s network of grassroots followers made it a president threat to the regime” (p. 204-205). Stokke and Törnquist (2013) estimates the victims of these structured, systematic, and massive killings “ranging from around 500,000 to two million lives lost” particularly in Java and Bali (p. 266). Crouch (1978) adds more details about the number of people killed in the massacres. A Fact-Finding Commission estimated that 78, 500 up to one million people killed in East and Central Java, Bali, and North Sumatra. (p. 155). Nevins (2005) describes that the weakening of the PKI in Indonesia was “the
West’s best news for years in Asia” (p. 48). It was understandable that due to the weakening of the communist forces in Indonesia, the tension of the Cold War in Southeast Asia would subside. However, Nevins (2005) elucidates that the subsiding tension of the Cold War has demanded “one of the worst mass murders of the 20th century” (p. 48).

The novel slightly expresses that there has been a new power emerge. The prisoners perhaps think that the gunfire is the source of power representing the authority that now shackles them (p. 274). The gunfire may represent the army is now controlling history—a history that had always been either violently defended or seized (p. 274). In 1967, as Kosut (1967) stated that Suharto emerged as “the Indonesia’s new strongman” as Sukarno was forced “to cede political powers” to him in March 1966 (p. 108). Later, through Provisional People's Consultative Congress in 7th March 1967, Sukarno was deprived of “all ceremonial powers” and “stripped him of all titles” (p. 108). McGlynn (2005) adds more details that the New Order was born when transfer of authority occurred as Sukarno’s signing on “a document now known as the March 11 Executive Order (Surat Perintah Sebeslas Maret)” in 11th March 1966 (p. 28). Strassler (2010) chronicles that as the military pursued its campaign of mass killings and imprisonment of alleged communists, Suharto presented the politically weakened Sukarno with an ultimatum. On 11th March 1966, Sukarno signed a document that gave Suharto full authority to take all steps necessary to restore stability to the country. Nevertheless, Suharto used this document to legalize the disbanding of the
Communist Party and to pass a resolution in the parliament revoking Sukarno’s president for life status and eventually to install himself as the president of Indonesia (p. 231). Nevins (2005) argues that the military successfully took over the power as “the United States had effectively helped lay the groundwork for the military’s seizure of power through the United States interference in Indonesian affairs” (p. 48). Bahry (2003) portrays that Major General Soeharto benefited from the September 1965 coup. He became a surviving general to carry on the Indonesian administration and had no rival (p. 42). It can be concluded that the G30S’ failed coup has paved the way for the New Order to be the only power in Indonesia. This failed coup has become the pretext of the mass killings of Communists in Indonesia. Perhaps, the mass killings would not have happened unless the army did not give supports the civilian and begin the wider campaign against the PKI. It is also unfortunate for the PKI that the US interferes in these massacres. The Old Order is over, the New Order begins.

C. The Indonesian Political Shift

This last part presents the analysis of the civil war changes the Indonesian politics in which the information in the previous part about the civil war supports the analysis. It might be a miracle for Paruk people that no one was killed during the massacres. Srintil and the other Paruk people are also released as paroles. Tohari then puts them in a new era which totally has different political background. Therefore, this part is going to explain how the civil war changes the
politics in Indonesia. The analysis starts when a child screams, “Soldiers! Soldiers! They’ve already reached the rice fields. Soldiers!” (p. 342). Then, Kartareja clarifies that they are not soldiers but “government workers surveying the land” (p. 344). Kartareja adds that “an aqueduct would be passing through that field. An irrigation dam is being built on the hill over there” (p. 344). The government workers “had been sent from Jakarta to oversee the construction of a dam that would provide water for 2,500 hectares of rice fields mostly located in the county of Dawuan” (p. 345). History has recorded this project as one of the flagship programs of the New Order. This program is familiarly called as The Five-Year Development Plan (Repelita). FAO (1999) elucidates the description of the Repelita and the donors:

In 1969, with the launching of the five year development plan called Repelita, the government started a major major programme in irrigation development which included: rehabilitation of existing irrigation works; expansion of service areas in existing schemes; construction of new irrigation systems; upgrading of semi-technical irrigation systems to technical level; introduction of special maintenance to upgrade the physical infrastructure; implementation of efficient O&M for launching sustainable O&M programmes; a credit programme; and strengthening of WUAs (p.109).

Huitema and Meijerink (2009) support that “the first three Repelita specifically emphasizing irrigation infrastructure development and self-sufficient rice production as main targets” (p. 162). Meanwhile, Robison (1986) notes that the first Five-Year Development Plan (1969-1974) “account for around 60% of the projected development budget expenditure” (p. 138). The question is how the government prepares the state budget for such a program as the Old Order inherits
the plight economic situation. Tohari gives a hint that the nation’s door, at first closed to outside economic assistance and most foreign cultural influences were now being thrown wide open (p. 361). As have been analyzed before that the economic downturn is caused by the Old Order’s decision to prosecute the confrontation. Beeson (2006) grants that the New Order quickly “ended Sukarno’s confrontation with Malaysia” (p. 167). Therefore, as Hong (2003) says that the New Order “received strong support from organizations such as the World Bank” which had previously been cut off (p. 249).

Besides, Robison (1986) also mentions that “the New Order was supported by the IMF, an international finance and monetary institution” (p. 138). Moreover, Hufbauer and Rahardja (2007) adds that "under Suharto, Indonesia maintained close relations with the donor community, particularly the United States, Western Europe, Australia, and Japan” (p. 2). All those supports are obtained, as explained by Beeson (2006), as the New Order quickly “ended Sukarno’s confrontation with Malaysia, broke off diplomatic ties with China, and committed Indonesia to a much more low-key and pro-Western foreign policy” (p. 167). As analyzed before, Rasus’ operation in West Kalimantan represents the drastic political shift in Indonesia after the New Order takes the power. Beeson (2006) adds that the United States and its ally, Japan, greatly appreciated Indonesia’s political shift and rewarded it with “political support and large flows of development assistance” (p.167). Therefore, having such abundant financial supports, the New Order is able to manage the state budget in realizing the Repelita.
Besides the Repelita, Tohari shows how the political shift impacts the market. In Dawuan market, there is a conversation when Babah Gemuk asks Sakum to tell Srintil that he has many good things. He has “powder from Paris, lipstick from Hong Kong, purses from Singapore” (p. 378). It might be a coincidence that Tohari writes such conversation. But, it is actually a hint showing that Indonesia maintains good relationships with Western bloc’s countries. As Beeson (2006) describes that the New Order “reintegrated Indonesia with the global capitalist system and radically realigned its foreign policy” (p. 167). This is similar to Hong (2003) that the economy growth was based on "Western capitalism with industrialization, scientific progress, and technical innovation” (p. 249). The modernization, as Hong (2003) states, had made Indonesia to be “opened to market forces” (p. 249). The change brought by the New Order has recovered Indonesia from the economic downturn. However, Tohari expresses that the “national values, formulated according to passionate ideas regarding sovereignty and the preservation of culture and tradition, had subsided after a violent struggle with modernity” (p. 361). Hong (2003) supports this view that Suharto’s policies did not foster “a profound sense of Indonesian-ness” (p.249). In conclusion, the integration of the Indonesian economy with the global capitalist system is manifested in the dam construction near Paruk and the entry of imported goods in Dawuan market representing the change of Indonesian politics for being pro-Western.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS, SUGGESTIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter contains two parts. Firstly, it summarizes the study into several paragraphs consisting of the conclusion of the analysis. The last part concerns with suggestions of the study. The first suggestion is directed to the future researches. Then, the second one presents the implementation of this study in education field.

A. Conclusions

The Indonesian political situation in 1960s as seen in Ahmad Tohari’s *The Dancer* is prone for conflicts to burst among political powers. Firstly, the flourishing Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) during the anti-capitalist-imperialist Old Order seems to worsen the relationship between Indonesia and the Western bloc. As a result, the worsening political situation inclines Indonesian politics to the Eastern bloc. Secondly, the popularity of the PKI generates conflicts in the country where the Old Order firmly dichotomizes the Indonesian politics into two main powers; revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries. On the other hand, the aggressive PKI also causes conflicts regarding the land reform law. The situations have invited the Western Bloc to take an advantage in dealing with the domino theory.

Paruk’s destruction based on a notion that the PKI as whole is responsible for the murders in Jakarta and the coup attempt. Firstly, Paruk is associated with
the PKI due to the involvement of its ronggeng troupe in every communist propaganda meetings. Secondly, the PKI’s network of grassroots followers must be completely eliminated as it potentially threatens the next regime. Thirdly, powered by the army, the civilians also take part in the elimination since the conflicts between them and the PKI sympathizers regarding the land reform law.

The civil war changing the Indonesian politics is represented by the dam construction and the entry of imported goods in Dawuan market. Firstly, the dam construction is one of the New Order’s flagship programs called Repelita. That this project is fully supported by the financial assistance from the Western bloc, it explains the political change in the country. Secondly, the entry of imported goods in Dawuan market is the consequence of the integration of the country policies into the global capitalist system including industrialization, scientific progress, and technical innovation. Briefly, the civil war is a point where the pro-Western New Order starts to emerge replacing the revolutionary Old Order.

B. Suggestion for Future Researchers

In this study, the discussions are fully limited on the historical matters. Considering the fact that the novel also portrays a social transformation since the order changes, the researcher suggests a study applying socio-cultural approach to be conducted in the future researches. The study is to reveal the relation between the civil war and the era in which Indonesia starts to be opened to foreign cultures and modernity. For example, the dam construction causes the increasing numbers
of radio in Dawuan. The study needs to analyze the role taken by this technology. Besides, it is followed by the presence of foreigners from Japan and France who always draws considerable attention, especially from the children. Another thing brought by the dam construction is films showed in the town square at night. Later, the study may become an advantageous reference since Tohari plans to make the fourth novel continuing the trilogy.

C. Implication

Indonesia is a rich country in natural resources and has a large population. Natural resources are one of contributing factors to advance the nation. However, the need for qualified human resources is an absolute thing that must be met in order to benefit these resources for the nation interests. First, the quality of human resources is by building the nation character. Adams (1966) tells an inspiring moment between Sukarno and his Dean. On May 25, 1926, Sukarno was graduated with the Degree of “Ingenieur”. Sukarno was now entitled to sign his name: Ir. Dr. Raden Soekarno. When the Dean conferred his Master of Engineering doctorate upon him, the Dean said, “Dr. Sukarno, a diploma may someday crumble and wither away to ashes. It has no immortality. Remember that the only substance which is eternal is a man’s character (p. 67). The moment has inspired Sukarno so during his reign, as emphasized by Novotny (2010), he stressed the importance of "nation and character building" to be a great nation. “Nation and character building” refer to the principle of anti-colonialism-
imperialism. Hafner, Kroissenbrunner, and Potz (2010) elaborates that the one and the only uniting factor was the common fate of being the colonized people for centuries. It was form this uniting factor that the sense of nationality, or the sense of being Indonesians, had been built. What united a group of people into a nation, according to Sukarno, was not a common race, ethnicity, or religion but a common fate which then formed a common character. This sense of being Indonesian needs to continuously be kept alive and strengthened, otherwise the “building” called the nation-state Indonesia will be torn apart. That was why Sukarno insisted on putting the nation and character building as his life-long “political project” (p. 75). Therefore, his government is totally dedicated to build the nation character in opposing any form of colonialism and imperialism through revolution.

Further, Intan (2008) explains that national consciousness, which creates the bond of membership in one nation, according to Darmaputera, does not just happen by itself since it involves the element of emotional desire. This national consciousness cannot be present, maintained and developed unless the country experiences what he calls the process of “cultivating a national character, deliberately, calculatedly and continuously” (p. 227). Second, the qualified human resources are those who are competent in terms of science. So, they can develop technology that can help the management of the natural resources. For that reason, Higgins (1992) mentions Sukarno had asserted that the Indonesian revolution also included the revolution of man” (p. 56). This revolution involves Indonesia into
the political tensions during the Cold War between the Western capitalist bloc and the communist Eastern bloc. Political tensions in Indonesia begin to subside when the Old Order collapsed and was replaced by a pro-Western order. On the other side, this is also a sign for Indonesia to start entering the globalization era. Tohari (2003) even portrays this event in the trilogy clearly. The nation’s door, at first closed to outside economic assistance and most foreign cultural influences were now being thrown wide open. National values, formulated according to passionate ideas regarding sovereignty and the preservation of culture and tradition, had subsided after a violent struggle with modernity (p. 361).

Gary, Shuey, and Kiely (2001) define globalization as a widely and somewhat loosely used term, intended to describe the recent and rapid process of intercontinental economic, social, and political integration. This worldwide integration allows people to communicate, travel, and invest internationally, and helps companies market their produces widely, acquire capital and human material resources more efficiently, share advanced technology, and enjoy economics of scale. While many benefits from globalization, others are hurt economically, some cultures may be harmed, and local environments may suffer (p. 37). They also argue that the factors that are most often credited with driving globalization are the rapid advances in electronic information and transportation systems, the end of the Cold War with the attendant collapse of Communism, and the inherent urge of many people to trade, travel, and spread information. The concurrent spread of democracy and free markets makes politically possible that
which has become physically and economically possible (p. 38). Through economic policies that have been integrated into the global capitalist system, the New Order has managed to recover the economic downturn in Indonesia and start a more stable government. However, the problems that arise are related to natural resource management in Indonesia.

The implementation of liberal economic policies during the New Order has opened greater opportunities for foreign investors to manage natural resources in Indonesia. Such economic policies have an impact on the orientation of education where it is designed to meet the needs of the market that has been dominated by foreign interests. As a result, the education seems to have lost its orientation to build the character of anti-colonialism and imperialism. Stormquist (2002) relates the linkage between the globalization and the education. The intensified participation of economic interests in education is not accidental. First, the globalization emphasis on the creation of a skilled labor force, and, even if the connection between education and economic productivity is far from strong, educational policymakers consider themselves to be responsive to business needs by increasing pressure on educational systems. Second, as the economic area of life acquires increasing importance and, simultaneously, the public school system is found deficient, it makes sense to open the educational system to market forces and thus the market-preferred system, which is privatization. In other words, the attribution of failure to schools is also convenient to educational entrepreneurs who see schools as the new business arena (p. 39). Therefore, this nation is often
called as slavers. This is actually what Sukarno, in his opening address at Asian-African Conference in Bandung, April 1956, has warned that colonialism has also its modern dress, in the form of economic control, intellectual control, actual physical control by a small but alien community within a nation. Colonialism is no longer using military oppression but through political lobbying which is motivated by the interests of the global economy.

In 2015, Indonesia will be challenging the AFTA (ASEAN Free Trade Area) in which the economic competition will be very tight. Indonesia will be soon entering 2015 in which the AFTA (ASEAN Free Trade Area) becomes a concern for the nation. Economic competition based on liberal economic system will turn Indonesia into a jungle that the powerful parties will only survive. Here, education should be an area that receives more attention so that education is able to produce the qualified human resources who have characters. In conclusion, history is actually a teacher. It is valuable to determine this country to be better. Otherwise, as George Santayana warned, those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.
REFERENCES


APPENDICES

Appendix A: Synopsis of Ahmad Tohari’s *The Dancer*

Set in the tumultuous days of the mid 1960s, *The Dancer* describes a village community struggling to adapt to a rapidly changing world. It also provides readers with a ground-level view of the political turmoil and human tragedy leading up to and following the abortive Communist coup.

This trilogy of novels traces the lives of two characters: Srintil, a dancer whose unwitting involvement with the region's leftist propaganda machine sets her at odds with Rasus, the love of her life who embraces Islam and finds a career in the army.

Through their separate experiences, both learn the concepts of shame and sin: Rasus after he leaves their home village and journeys into the wider world and Srintil when the outside world finally comes crashing into her remote and isolated village.

Taken from:
http://www.amazon.co.uk/The-Dancer-Ahmad-Tohari/dp/6029144219
Appendix B: Biography of Ahmad Tohari

NAME  | Ahmad Tohari
---|---
Born  | June 13, 1948
      | Tinggarjaya, Jatilawang, Banyumas
Language | Indonesian
Nationality | Indonesian
Genre  | Fiction
Notable works | Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk

Ahmad Tohari was born in the village of Tinggarjaya, Jatilawang, Banyumas, the fourth of twelve children. Although Tohari's parents were both from farming backgrounds, his father had received an education and, while employed as director of the regional office for the Ministry of Religious Affairs, was responsible for the establishment of the pesantren in Tinggarjaya. Tohari's father has been described as a "progressive intellectual" and under his guidance Tohari developed a deep understanding of Indonesian politics and a strong sense
of social and environmental responsibility. Tohari has described himself as a mischievous child who often visited a neighboring *abangan* village (i.e., one that practices a less orthodox version of the Islamic faith). This experience, plus his mother's tolerance, gave Tohari the opportunity to experience lifestyles different to his own. His mother maintained good relations with a *ronggeng* dancer from a neighboring village, and it was this that later provided Tohari with the background for the *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* trilogy. Although Tohari's education in the *pesantren* developed by his parents left him with deep religious convictions, as an adult his progressive interpretation of Indonesian Islam has been criticized by some as being out of step with the status quo. Tohari has described himself as a "progressive religious intellectual" whose aim is to nurture a modern Islam that honors Indonesia's diverse indigenous culture and traditions while following the teaching of the Koran. Tohari's formal education ended with high school in Purwokerto. He explored several faculties of economics, social and political studies and medicine, but did not graduate from any of them. Tohari didn't initially plan to become a novelist, preferring instead to study medicine at the school of medicine of the Jakarta Islamic Hospital Foundation, but was forced to leave for economic reasons.

Tohari moved to Jakarta in the early 1970s and worked briefly Bank Negara Indonesia (BNI) (1970–72), was editor of the newspaper Harian Merdeka (1979-1981) and editor of the magazine Amanah (1986 - 1993). He began writing short stories, poems and essays in the early 1970s while working for the BNI.
Initial recognition came in 1975 when he was named favorite short story writer in a Dutch Radio Hilversum contest. Further success came in 1978 when his novel, *Di Kaki Bukit Cibalak* (On the Foothill of Cibalak), won a novel writing contest organized by the Jakarta Arts Council. In 1980, he published his novel, *Kubah* (Dome). This was followed in 1981 with publication of the first book of Tohari's famous trilogy, *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk*, in series in the publication Kompas daily. The second and third books, *Lintang Kemukus Dini Hari* (A Shooting Star at Dawn) and *Jentera Bianglala* (The Rainbow's Arc), were published in 1985 and 1986 respectively. The trilogy and *Kubah* discussed in some detail the fate of those accused of collaborating with the Communist Party after the 30 September Movement. This did affect publication. Although the trilogy was serialized in Kompas, several sections of the final in the trilogy, *Jentera Bianglala*, had to be rewritten as the daily feared publishing them in their original form. The complete trilogy was later published with the previously removed sections restored.

Having spent most of the 1970s and 1980s working in Jakarta, Tohari decided to return to his village because he felt he did not belong in the city. In interviews, Tohari has explained how his ideas for books, including *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk*, have often been inspired by things around his home village. Tohari still lives in the Banyumas area and his experience of growing up in a small village continues to color his literary works. Tohari is married with five children.

Tohari is a prolific writer. Besides the aforementioned works he has published a number of works, including eleven novels, three anthologies of
political and religious essays, two collection of short stories, and numerous individual short stories and essays. Notable works include *Bekisar Merah*, *Belantik*, *Mas Mantri Gugat*, *Lingkar Tanah Lingkai Air*. Many of the short stories that were originally published in newspapers and magazines have been collected into the compilations *Senyum Karyamin* and *Nyanyian Malam*. He is one of only a few Indonesian writers who have written stories set against the background of the Indonesian killings of 1965-66.

His books have been published in Japanese, Chinese, Dutch and German. An English edition of *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* was published in 2003 by the Lontar Foundation in Jakarta.

In 2011, the second film version of Tohari's novel *Sang Penari* (The Dancer), produced by Shanty Harman and directed by Ifa Isfansyah, was screened in Jakarta. Tohari has voiced his approval of this latest screen version of his work, having previously expressed his disappointment in the 1983 version, *Darah dan Mahkota Ronggeng* (Blood and Crown of the Dancing Girl), made by filmmaker Yazman Yazid.

He has received several national and international awards for his work, including the S.E.A. Write Award (Southeast Asian Writers Award) in 1995, and a Fellowship through the International Writing Program in Iowa City, Iowa. He has often written for the national newspaper *Suara Merdeka*, and the famous weekly *Tempo*. He was staff editor for the Jakarta newspaper, *Merdeka* from 1979
until 1981, and General Editor for *Amanah*, a political and religious magazine, from 1986 to 1993.

In 2009, Tohari set up a magazine called *Ancas* (Vision) in his home town. Initially run by just 10 people, the aim of the magazine is to preserve and promote the local Banyumasan language. The venture is proving to be a successful one, with circulation growing from 2,000 to 3,500 in just two years. With his family, he runs an Islamic school (pesantren), and is a well-known export of Javanese folk arts, and a consultant for the regional office of the Indonesian Ministry of Culture and Education. In addition, Tohari has given his support to young writers in his recent endorsement of three new short story compilations, and in the encouragement he has given to a group of writers planning to set up an independent publishing house. Tohari continues to write, and has stated his desire to write one more novel to match *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk*.

Taken from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_Tohari