



UNIVERSITAS
SANATA DHARMA
Y O G Y A K A R T A



Proceeding

The 3rd Literary Studies Conference

**THE 1965 COUP
IN INDONESIA:
QUESTIONS OF
REPRESENTATION
50 YEARS LATER**

21 – 22 October 2015

Hosted by
English Letters Department,
Graduate Program in English Language Studies,
Universitas Sanata Dharma, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Co-hosted with



Ateneo de Manila University,
the Philippines

PROCEEDING
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Questions of Representation
50 Years Later”**

Department of English Letters and
Graduate Program in English Language Studies
Universitas Sanata Dharma, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

co-hosted with

Kritika Kultura
RAFIL (Reading Asia, Forging Identities in Literature)
Ateneo de Manila University, the Philippines

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Faculty of Letters Universitas Sanata Dharma Yogyakarta
21-22 October 2015

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“The 1965 Coup in Indonesia: Questions of Representation 50 Years Later”

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Rector’s Address

I would like to extend my warmest regards to all speakers and participants of this conference. Let us ask for God’s blessing upon this occasion so it can be an effective means to strengthen our role as researchers and writers. I do hope that the conference facilitates a fruitful sharing and exchange of ideas to respond one of the most difficult tragedies to understand, the 1965 coup in Indonesia.

We might agree to what, how and why the coup happened but it is unbelievable to realize that part of the event was thousand innocent citizens killed in a massive massacre. It has left us a painful scar for the victims as well as created a series of serious problems to all related victims up to now. The anxiety, frustration and resentment are still around and felt deeply by the family members of the victims.

It is really unbelievable and difficult to make sense of the event especially when we perceive ourselves as people of having dignified characters such as respecting others, keeping harmonious way of life, and believing in God. Some people understand that the event was a perfect contradiction: defending *Pancasila* (The Five State-Principles), yet at the same time violating those values and principles.

It has been 50 years now, the coup and its related events have been burdening us especially to those who critically understand and feel how bad the tragedy ruins the life of thousand innocent people. It is time for us to step forward by understanding the tragedy from a new and more humanistic perspective. No matter how difficult it is, because many live-witnesses are still around, understanding the event from the victims’ perspectives might be appropriate and provide a scheme to heal the wound of the victims as well as the whole nation.

It is the responsibility of ours as academicians to provide the context, framework and narrated presentation to better understand and make sense of the event. I do hope that such endeavor will shed light on us and especially to politicians and public leaders who have position and authority to propose reconciliation and solution. Therefore, *The 3rd Literary Studies Conference on The 1965 Coup in Indonesia: Questions of Representation 50 Years Later* is really an appropriate and relevant call to all of us.

Have an enjoyable conference and may it bring a better conversations, understanding, and awareness to such important but painful tragedy. Thank you for visiting Sanata Dharma.

Johanes Eka Priyatma, Ph.D.
Universitas Sanata Dharma, Rector

Words from the Dean

Fifty years ago a terrible bloody coup took place in Indonesia. It has been a nightmare in the modern history of Indonesia for it has caused a great number of casualties and a variety of horrible and sad stories to be in circulation in the communities right after the event. Unfortunately, most of the public and official discussions on the incident have been confined merely to the party that masterminded the coup, to the one that benefited from it, or even to the one that was supposed to be blamed, which in a way sounds distorting, reductive, and impoverishing.

I guess the committee of the *Literary Studies Conference*, the international conference which is annually hosted by the English Letters Study Program of Universitas Sanata Dharma, make use of the fiftieth commemoration of the coup as a momentum to reflect upon the history of Indonesia as a nation and part of the global community by raising the issue of the representation of the event in cultural texts and practices, especially literature, which have been produced across the country as the theme of the conference of this year. The choice of the theme is undertaken on the basis of the belief that the production and reproduction of a national discourse of one country is implicated in the production and reproduction of its national cultural texts and practices. As contended by Fredric Jameson, the relationship between the two in the field of literature is particularly evident in the third world literature.

The questions to be answered at the conference are whether the representations of the 1965 coup in Indonesian cultural texts and practices only confirm “what is already known”, conforming to the political mainstream or whether they go beyond that, giving a voice to both those that possess no voice and those that have been silenced. Indonesian cultural texts and practices of the former kind situate themselves as an instrument for maintaining the prevailing structure of power. On the contrary, those of the latter kind serve the function of establishing one’s critical collective awareness.

Indeed, the establishment of one’s critical collective awareness in turn enables him to see the history of his nation with a proper perspective, locating the history as an opportunity to learn as both a human and a citizen. Only when one comes to this awareness, as Ignas Kleden puts it, would he not present himself as a romantic, treating history as a mere repertoire of human virtues, nor would he situate himself as a pathologist, treating it as a mere document of human follies.

Dr. F.X. Siswadi, M.A.
Faculty of Letters, Dean

A Welcome Note from the Chair

As stated in its Strategic Plan 2013 - 2017, one of the short-term goals of Universitas Sanata Dharma is the improvement of the productivity, quality, and scope of its academic contribution and community service. This goal is carried out through various activities such as developing the quality of the education system and improving the quality of the lecturers. Those are supported by the improvement of research quality and research publication. It is emphasized that the researches done by Universitas Sanata Dharma must be qualified and contextual.

The English Letters Department as one of the leading departments at Sanata Dharma University actively participates in reaching this goal by conducting the annual international conference ‘Literary Studies Conference’.

This year’s conference is different from the previous one because the 3rd Literary Studies Conference is hosted together not only with Ateneo de Manila University but also with Kritika Kultura, RAFIL Consortium, and the Graduate Program in English Language Studies, Universitas Sanata Dharma.

Without neglecting the main focus of Literary Studies Conference which is to focus on the Asian Literature, the selected theme of the conference is “The 1965 Coup in Indonesia: Questions of Representation 50 Years Later.”

The theme is selected to commemorate a painful event that occurred in Indonesia 50 years ago. Another reason is because similar experience also occurred in other countries in South East Asia.

It is expected that this conference can give us a chance to see and to question the coup from literary and linguistic perspectives, and to share our ideas so that we can better understand and make sense of what happened 50 years ago.

Finally, have an enjoyable conference and may it bring enlightenment for us to contribute in creating more humane society for all of us.

Anna Fitriati, S.Pd., M.Hum.
Conference Chair

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Masalah 1965 dalam Representasi Artistik dan Ideologi Estetis

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Pembantaian orang-orang komunis menyusul kudeta militer G-30-S adalah peristiwa besar yang mengubah sejarah Indonesia secara radikal. Tak kurang dari 500.000 orang mati, menurut perhitungan konservatif. Bahkan kemungkinan juga mencapai angka antara satu hingga tiga juta nyawa, menurut film *The Act of Killing* yang disutradai oleh Joshua Oppenheimer. Selain itu, sekitar 1,5 juta orang yang dijebloskan ke penjara tanpa pengadilan (Roosa, Ratih & Farid 2004: 9). Dengan angka korban sebesar itu, sudah tentu terjadi perubahan besar dalam masyarakat Indonesia, begitu juga ekspresi kulturalnya. Melalui makalah ini, penulis akan mempelajari lebih lanjut bagaimana peristiwa kelas dengan skala sebesar itu tampil ke dalam karya seni, khususnya dalam sastra dan seni rupa. Setelah mengidentifikasi pola-pola representasi artistik atas pembantaian 1965, penulis akan mencoba memeriksa perubahan yang terjadi pada aras pandangan estetis menyusul peristiwa tersebut.

Pola-Pola Representasi Artistik atas 1965

Ada berbagai cara untuk mengangkat masalah pembantaian orang-orang komunis pasca-1965 dalam karya seni. Cara-cara itu dapat dipilah berdasarkan metode pembingkai yang digunakan. Berikut ini, kita akan melihat empat bingkai yang biasa dipakai dalam menyetengahkan persoalan 1965 dalam prosa. Selain itu, kita akan memeriksa juga bagaimana wacana soal 1965 diangkat ke dalam medium lukisan, yakni dengan mengkaji penguatan gaya lukis abstrak yang direpresentasikan oleh A.D. Pirous dan pemikiran di baliknya.

Bingkai Pertobatan: Cerpen Zulidahlan dan Novel Kubah

Salah satu cara paling umum dalam merepresentasikan peristiwa pembantaian PKI pasca-kudeta militer 1965 adalah dengan menghadirkan kaum komunis yang tersisa sebagai mereka yang sudah sepatutnya meminta maaf dan bertobat. Dalam politik sastra Indonesia selepas 1965, Bingkai Pertobatan macam itu digunakan oleh Zulidahlan dalam cerpennya di *Horison* tahun 1967, "Maka Sempurnalah Penderitaan Saya di Bumi". Alkisah seorang pemuda ditinggal mati ibunya setelah beberapa anggota keluarganya yang simpatisan komunis ditangkap militer pasca-1965. Ia kebingungan bagaimana mesti mengurus pemakaman ibunya, sebab masyarakat menganggap keluarganya simpatisan komunis. Akhirnya ia memberanikan diri untuk mengabarkan kematian ibunya pada kepala kampung yang ternyata menerimanya dengan lapang dada. Warga kampung pun lantas membantunya menguburkan sang ibu. Si pemuda pun akhirnya memuji Tuhan dan minta maaf pada warga kampung karena kesalahan keluarganya. Dengan mendudukan perkaranya seolah si kepala kampung yang seharusnya berlapang dada dan si pemuda yang semestinya meminta maaf, Zulidahlan menempatkan orang komunis (dan keluarganya) sebagai pihak yang sudah semestinya bertobat. Demikian pula yang terjadi dalam novel *Kubah* (1980) karya Ahmad Tohari. Karman, sang protagonis, dikisahkan mula-mula sebagai seorang anak baik yang taat sembahyang. Namun karena gagal mendekati anak gadis Haji Bakir, jadi tak pernah ke masjid lagi. Kemudian ia diindoktrinasi oleh orang-orang komunis sehingga ikut dibuang ke pulau B (Buru) setelah peristiwa 1965. Sepulangnya ke kampung, Karman justru diterima dengan ramah dan dimaafkan dosa-dosanya. Ia dilibatkan dalam pekerjaan membangun kubah masjid kampungnya dan merasa memperoleh lagi kemanusiaannya. Bingkai yang dipakai dalam cerita semacam ini jelas pertobatan: menjadi komunis diartikan sebagai sebuah dosa yang masih perlu dimintakan permaafan bahkan setelah yang bersangkutan disiksa dan dibuang.

Bingkai Sublimasi: Cerpen Satyagraha Hoerip dan Usamah

Cara lain dalam merepresentasikan kekerasan 1965 adalah dengan mengabstraksikan sekaligus menggeser fokus masalah, dengan kata lain, mensublimasikan pokok ihwal pembantaian itu sendiri ke suatu hal lain yang diasumsikan lebih tinggi dan lebih penting untuk diceritakan. Bingkai Sublimasi mengemuka dalam cerpen "Pada Titik Kulminasi" karangan Satyagraha Hoerip (majalah *Horison* no. 3, September 1966) dan "Perang dan Kemanusiaan" karya Usamah (majalah *Horison* no. 8, Agustus 1969). Cerpen Satyagraha Hoerip mengisahkan seorang budayawan bernama Soes yang gamang ketika dituntut untuk turut membasmi PKI, khususnya iparnya sendiri, Kuslan, yang merupakan orang komunis. Kemudian tekad Soes untuk menghabisi nyawa iparnya dibulatkan oleh petuah gurunya, Hari Sumardjo, yang memberikan wejangan dengan mencontohkan bagaimana Nabi Muhammad tak ragu-ragu menumpas musuh-musuh Islam. Pada akhirnya, Kuslan diserahkan ke aparat militer untuk dibunuh, dan dengan begitu, Soes terelakkan dari perbuatan berdarah itu. Di sini, upaya pembantaian atas orang komunis disublimasikan ke dalam narasi kuasi-teologis tentang kewajiban umat beragama, untuk kemudian disublimasikan lagi ke dalam narasi penegakan hukum oleh aparat militer. Hal yang serupa terjadi juga dalam cerpen Usamah. Cerpen ini

dituturkan dari sudut pandang orang pertama yang mengisahkan upaya protagonis untuk membantu militer dalam mengganyang PKI. Ia membantu tentara mengidentifikasi kaum komunis, sekaligus menginterogasi dan menyiksa mereka. Sang protagonis akhirnya tak kuat menjalani peran sebagai interogator dan penyiksa, bukan karena tidak setuju dengan tindak pembasmian PKI itu, melainkan lebih karena merasa kemanusiaannya terusik. Di sini, wacana soal penyiksaan dan pembantaian disublimasikan ke dalam monolog humanis yang impoten, yang bahkan tak berani menyatakan salah pada perbuatan-perbuatan itu. Ketakmanusiaawian konkrit yang ada di depan mata disublimasikan ke dalam lolongan kemanusiaan abstrak dalam bilik hati paling privat (bdk. Herlambang 2013: 121-123).

Bingkai Orang Apes: Novel *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk*, *Amba* dan *Pulang*

Jenis pembingkai cerita lain yang muncul agak lama setelah peristiwa kekerasan terhadap orang komunis adalah dengan menggeser fokusnya pada orang-orang apes yang kebetulan jadi korban kekerasan. Di sini bisa kita temukan suatu upaya menggali simpati para pembaca, tetapi tidak pertama-tama bagi orang komunis yang jadi korban, tetapi bagi orang-orang malang yang tak tahu-menahu persoalan tetapi ikut jadi korban. Bingkai Orang Apes mula-mula nampak dalam tokoh Srintil dalam trilogi novel *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* (1982) karya Ahmad Tohari. Ia digambarkan sebagai penari ronggeng yang, bersama rombongannya, tak tahu-menahu soal komunisme dan hanya kebetulan menjadi aktif dalam kegiatan-kegiatan PKI. Jadi fakta bahwa kemudian Dukuh Paruk hancur berantakan pasca-pembantaian 1965 lebih disebabkan karena nasib buruk--seperti gagal panen atau bencana alam--ketimbang akibat suatu operasi politik yang sistematis.¹ Pembingkai semacam ini masih dipakai dalam karya sastra yang lebih kontemporer, utamanya dalam novel *Pulang* (2012) karya Leila S. Chudori dan *Amba* (2012) karya Laksmi Pamuntjak. Baik Dimas Suryo dalam *Pulang* maupun Bhisma dalam *Amba* sama-sama bukan orang PKI. Keduanya terseret arus kekerasan pasca-1965 hanya karena apes: Bhisma ditangkap karena kebetulan mengikuti upacara kematian temannya yang terkait dengan PKI, sementara Dimas Suryo tak bisa pulang ke Indonesia karena tengah mengikuti konferensi jurnalis Kiri di Cile sebagai pengganti rekan jurnalisnya yang komunis. Keduanya meratapi nasibnya sebagai korban salah tangkap, sebagai orang apes yang sebetulnya 'tak bersalah'—dan, dengan begitu, mengimplikasikan bahwa penangkapan orang-orang yang kebetulan komunis tidak menjadi masalah, bahwa orang-orang komunis adalah mereka yang 'bersalah'.² Kedua novel itu justru sibuk mendefinisikan siapa yang betul-betul komunis dan siapa yang tidak--dengan kata lain, secara tidak langsung juga siapa yang pantas mati dan siapa yang tidak.³

Bingkai Wacana Tandingan: *September*, *Cantik Itu Luka*

Pola representasi yang lebih jarang digunakan terhadap peristiwa 1965 adalah rekonstruksi ulang atas sejarah guna memunculkan versi alternatif. Salah satu contoh yang paling mencolok dari Bingkai Wacana Tandingan ini adalah novel *September* (2006) karya Noorca M. Massardi yang juga sudah dianalisis oleh Wijaya Herlambang (2013: 264-300). Melalui novel ini, Massardi menghasilkan narasi sejarah yang berbeda seputar kudeta 1965, yakni dengan mengartikan kudeta tersebut sebagai buah perselisihan internal dalam kubu militer. Motor pemberontakan itu, dalam narasi *September*, adalah Suharto (yang disebut dalam novel sebagai Jenderal Theo Rosa). Tujuan pembunuhan ketujuh jenderal adalah justru untuk mengesankan orang banyak bahwa seolah kaum komunis lah yang melakukannya dan karenanya memberikan alasan bagi pembasmian atas kaum komunis. Dengan cara itu, *September* menghadirkan wacana alternatif dari sejarah pemberontakan 1965 versi Orde Baru. Bingkai Wacana Tandingan yang serupa juga kita temukan dalam narasi seputar 1965 dalam novel *Cantik Itu Luka* (2002) karangan Eka Kurniawan. Pada latar kota kecil Halimunda, kekerasan yang mengiringi kudeta 1965 ditampilkan dengan jernih. Orang-orang PKI di tingkat lokal yang tak tahu-menahu soal kudeta ikut dibantai. Pimpinan tentara setempat, Shodancho, punya masalah personal sendiri (kecemburuan) terhadap pimpinan PKI lokal, Kamerad Kliwon. Maka dengan antusias ia memerintahkan anak buahnya menghabis nyawa orang-orang komunis (walaupun, akibat intervensi istrinya, Alamanda, Kamerad Kliwon tak jadi dia bunuh). Tak berhenti sampai di situ, bertahun-tahun kemudian ribuan orang komunis yang terbantai berubah jadi hantu yang menyelimuti setiap sudut Halimunda dan membuat sang Shodancho mengidap paranoia akut. Dengan begitu, cerita hantu komunis menjadi alegori dari rasa bersalah kolektif bangsa Indonesia atas peran-sertanya dalam pembantaian massal 1965.

¹ "Penggambaran betapa Srintil dan penduduk Dukuh Paruk lainnya yang miskin, tidak berpendidikan dan tidak tahu apa-apa, dihukum dan kampung mereka dibakar akibat keterlibatan mereka dengan kegiatan PKI yang sama sekali tidak mereka pahami ideologinya, merupakan kritik yang cukup tajam terhadap politik rejim Orde Baru. Namun di sisi lain, citra PKI dalam *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* tidak jauh dari versi resmi Orde Baru: PKI dengan akal licik mencari simpati penduduk Dukuh Paruk, dan kelompok ronggeng Srintil sekadar dimanfaatkan untuk tujuan politis PKI tanpa memahami maksud dan arti kegiatan di mana mereka dilibatkan." (Bandel 2013: 134)

² "Dimas Suryo yang tak memilih ideologi tertentu itu menjerit pilu justru karena hak-haknya dirampas sebagaimana seorang komunis. Seakan "yang sungguh-sungguh komunis" lebih layak mengalami penderitaan itu ketimbang orang seperti dirinya—yang "tak bersalah" tapi ikut tersapu amuk tentara." (Anugrah)

³ "Satu-satunya alasan kenapa dibuat garis ketat antara korban yang PKI dan yang bukan, berdasarkan empati dan sinisme yang ada dalam narasi, adalah untuk membedakan siapa yang benar-benar pantas menerima hukuman dari rezim ORBA. Mereka yang cuma nongkrong dengan orang-orang PKI dan terkadang ikut angkat kepalan tangan kiri, seperti Bhisma dan Dimas, jelas tak pantas. Mereka yang memang meyakini makna kepalan tangan kiri tadi, apalagi kesyahduan The Internationale, seperti seniman-seniman Bumi Tarung dan Hananto, jelas pantas. Dengan kata lain, yang dipertanyakan adalah kebersalahan para korban yang ber-ideologi dan bukan kebersalahan negara yang memberangus mereka. Di sini, wacana korban novel-novel ini malah berubah jadi wacana anti-korban karena pelaku yang menjadikan mereka korban tidak dipertanyakan." (Ardhana)

Representasi 1965 dalam Seni Rupa: Mentari Setelah September 1965

Apabila kita beralih ke representasi 1965 dalam seni rupa, ada beberapa contoh yang bisa dikemukakan, khususnya berkaitan dengan karya rupa yang bermunculan dalam proses pengganyangan PKI. Salah satu contoh yang paling terang adalah lukisan *Mentari Setelah September 1965* (1968) karya A.D. Pirous.



Karya ini pertama kali dipamerkan dalam sebuah pameran bersama Pirous dan Gregorius Sidharta bertajuk “Dharta-Pirous: Pameran Patung dan Lukisan Dua dari Sebelas Seniman Bandung” pada tahun 1968 di Balai Budaya, Jakarta. Lukisan ini terhitung langka sebab Pirous sendiri nyaris tak pernah mengangkat topik politik sebagai pokok ihwal karya-karyanya. Lukisan ini adalah satu dari dua lukisan Pirous yang mengangkat persoalan politik (yang satunya adalah lukisan ekspresionis *Menggapai Kebebasan* yang diselesaikan tahun 1966).

Astri Wright, seorang profesor sejarah seni Asia Tenggara di Cornell University, menafsirkan karya tersebut sebagai ekspresi perlawanan atas Orde Baru. Bentuk-bentuk dalam lukisan tersebut ia tafsirkan sebagai sosok laki-laki dan perempuan yang menunduk lesu ke arah tanah, sembari membelakangi matahari yang bersinar terik (George 2005: 25). Namun tafsiran semacam ini telah dibuktikan kekeliruannya oleh antropolog Kenneth George berdasarkan wawancara dengan Pirous pada tahun 1994. Tak dapat dilupakan adalah fakta bahwa Pirous termasuk penanda-tangan Manifes Kebudayaan. Ia jengah dengan iklim kesenian tahun-tahun 1960-an yang diwarnai dengan kritik para seniman Lekra terhadap gaya lukis abstrak sebagai “gaya nekolonial dan imperialis”. Kendati para anggota Lekra memang banyak bicara soal ‘realisme sosialis’, tetapi faktanya Lekra tidak pernah mengharuskan pengadopsian gaya realisme sosialis sebagai satu-satunya gaya berkesenian yang sah. Trubus dan Gambiranom, misalnya, adalah dua pelukis Lekra yang karyanya lebih banyak berupa lukisan potret ketimbang penggambaran adegan-adegan kerakyatan (Bujono 2004: 73). Apa yang ditekankan Lekra hanyalah agar para seniman memiliki simpati pada perjuangan rakyat. Inilah yang tak bisa diterima Pirous. Ketika ditanya tentang keengganannya terlibat dalam partai politik, ia menyatakan: “Tidak, saya ingin menjadi seorang pelukis, titik. Saya tidak ingin terlibat dalam politik. [...] Saya tidak ingin melukis tema-tema tersebut” (George 2005: 34). Tak heran, ketika Sukarno jatuh, PKI dan Lekra diuber sampai ke liang kubur, dan Suharto naik ke tampuk kekuasaan, ada kelegaan yang merebak dalam diri Pirous.

Dalam konteks inilah lukisan *Mentari Setelah September 1965* diciptakan. Pirous menceritakan dalam wawancaranya dengan George arti penting lukisan tersebut ketika dipamerkan pada tahun 1968. Ia katakan bahwa lukisan tersebut adalah “primadona”, “titik pusat dari seluruh lukisan-lukisan saya”, “fokus saya” dan “[sebuah ekspresi dari] rasa terima kasih tentang situasi saat itu” (George 2005: 39). Ia kisahkan juga pada George bahwa seumur hidup ia tak akan mau menjual karya itu. Pasalnya, *Mentari Setelah September 1965* merupakan, tutur Pirous, “sebuah peringatan tentang yang ini, matahari ini yang membawa kebahagiaan setelah ’65 ... Adalah hal yang spiritual, yang bisa Anda sebut, sekadar catatan spiritual saya, rekaman spiritual saya” (George 2005: 40-41). Dengan demikian, karya tersebut tak bisa

ditafsirkan sebagai simbol pesimisme atau kejengahan terhadap Orde Baru, melainkan justru ekspresi rasa syukur pada Suharto. Dalam wawancaranya, Pirous bahkan merasa sangat terganggu dengan tafsiran yang menyatakan karya tersebut sebagai ungkapan ketidaksukaan pada Orde Baru.⁴ Simpatinya pada Orde Baru tidak ambigu. Ketika ditanya pada tahun 1994 apakah seni lukis Indonesia suatu saat nanti dimungkinkan untuk mengungkapkan penderitaan mereka yang terbantai dalam pembasmian komunis, ia menyatakan:

“Mungkin akan lama sebelum hal ini terjadi. Bila suatu saat pemerintahan Soeharto mencapai puncaknya dan kemudian jatuh, atau bila ada orang-orang yang ingin menodai sejarah Indonesia dengan kebohongan, atau dengan sesuatu yang tidak merefleksikan kepentingan mayoritas, [kemudian mungkin] lukisan-lukisan tentang mereka yang terbunuh akan menjadikan mereka pahlawan kembali. Bukankah sejarah selalu seperti itu? Namun untuk sekarang, hal itu belum akan terjadi.” (George 2005: 49; garis bawah dari penulis)

Dalam hal ini, bisa kita lihat, persepsi Pirous atas pembasmian komunis sebetulnya tak jauh beda dari persepsi mereka yang diwawancarai dalam film *The Act of Killing*.

Konsolidasi Ideologi Estetis Pasca-1965

Setelah menguraikan beragam pola representasi artistik atas pembantaian 1965, kini kita akan beralih memeriksa paham estetis macam apakah yang diuntungkan oleh peristiwa tersebut.

Dunia kesusastraan Indonesia pasca-pembasmian komunis memperlihatkan corak khas yang begitu mencolok. Corak yang dimaksud adalah kekayaan penjelajahan bentuk sastra itu sendiri. Pada tahun 1973, Sutardji Calzoum Bachri muncul dengan ‘kredo puisi’-nya yang hendak mengembalikan puisi kepada mantra. Bersama dengan Sutardji, Danarto juga bereksperimen dengan elemen tipografis untuk menghasilkan ‘puisi konkrit’ (semisal puisi *Abracadabra*). Dalam dunia prosa, eksplorasi bentuk narasi juga dapat dikenali dalam kuatnya pengaruh surealisme dan absurdisme dalam cerpen-cerpen Danarto dan Putu Wijaya. Tema-tema yang dipilih pun cenderung jauh dari persoalan politik. Yang lebih sering dijumpai adalah warna mistisisme, baik Sufisme maupun Kejawan, yang menekankan hubungan yang begitu privat antara individu dan Tuhannya. Dalam konteks kritik sastra, berkembang Aliran Rawamangun yang mengadopsi pendekatan strukturalis dalam kritik sastra, atau apa yang berkembang di Amerika Serikat sebagai *New Criticism*, yakni pendekatan yang memusatkan perhatian pada aspek-aspek formal karya sastra sebagai semesta yang cukup-diri, tanpa acuan ke dunia luar. Kecenderungan formalis ini mulai ditentang memasuki dekade 1980-an. Pada aras teoretis, gugatan terhadapnya muncul lewat berkembangnya gagasan seputar ‘sastra kontekstual’ yang diangkat oleh Arief Budiman dan Ariel Heryanto. Selain itu, pada aras praktis, kecenderungan tersebut ditandingi oleh terbitnya tetralogi Pramoedya yang sangat menekankan ‘pokok ihwal’ (*subject matter*) cerita ketimbang eksplorasi bentuk.

Beralih ke seni rupa, Bambang Bujono pernah menulis bahwa pembubaran Lekra merupakan peristiwa seni rupa Indonesia terpenting sejak dibentuknya Persagi (Bujono 2004: 67). Dengan tumbanganya Lekra, berakhir pulalah suatu tradisi estetika seni lukis yang punya wawasan dan sikap sosial-politik yang eksplisit. Naiknya Orde Baru berarti juga menyeruaknya keperluan akan suatu rezim estetika yang memuja segala yang serba-samar dan ambigu dalam perkara politik. Keperluan inilah yang dengan leluasa diisi oleh seni lukis abstrak. Bersamaan dengan tumbuh-kembangnya gaya lukis abstrak di Indonesia pada dekade 1960-an dan 1970-an berkembanglah suatu semangat estetis yang disebut Sanento Yuliman sebagai *lirisisme*. Dalam lukisan-lukisan abstrak terkandung corak lirik sejauh setiap lukisan semacam itu, tulis Sanento, “merupakan bidang ekspresif, tempat seorang pelukis seakan-akan ‘memproyeksikan’ emosi dan getaran perasaannya, merekam kehidupan jiwanya. Bidang lukisan itu dipandang sebagai dunia imajinasi yang memiliki kodrat sendiri” (Yuliman 1976: 40). Dalam hal ini, kita perlu membedakan antara *lirisisme* yang dikandung dalam lukisan abstrak seperti diidentifikasi Sanento dengan ekspresionisme yang muncul dalam generasi awal pelukis Indonesia modern seperti Sudjojono dan Hendra Gunawan. Landasan pemikiran dari gaya ekspresionis, seperti diungkap Sudjojono, adalah bahwa lukisan merupakan ungkapan jiwa—suatu ‘jiwa yang kelihatan’ (*jiwa ketok*). Walau begitu, ‘jiwa’ ini baru akan kelihatan setelah dihadapkan dengan kenyataan. ‘Jiwa’ dalam pengertian serupa ekspresionis itu berarti kacamata untuk membaca kenyataan. Itulah sebabnya Sudjojono masih bisa berbicara soal kebenaran dalam seni lukis.⁵ Lain halnya dengan para

⁴ “Dalam percakapan kami, sang pelukis tetap menekankan bahwa setia orang bebas untuk melihat ada gambar manusia atau pemandangan alam dalam *Mentari Setelah September 1965*. Hal itu tak jadi masalah. Hal yang menggangu adalah penafsiran yang tak tepat mengenai posisi politik karya tersebut. [...] Seperti yang ia katakan, dalam bahasa Inggris, bukan bahasa Indonesia: ‘*It is too much*’.” (George 2005: 42)

⁵ “Kebagusan dan kebenaran ialah satu. Kebenaran bagaimana juga tentu bagus, asal saja keluarnya kebenaran tadi tak berdusta pada hati sendiri. Dari itu tak heran kita mengapa anak kecil yang lari-lari telanjang di tengah jalan, kelihatan segala-galanya, toh tetap bagus. Dan muka mereka meskipun penuh ingus toh simpatik. Sebab apa? Sebab *barès* [terus terang], sebab tak berlagak, sebab benar dan dengan sendirinya bagus. Tetapi bagus yang hendak bagus saja yang tidak mengandung kebenaran di dalamnya, biasanya malah tidak bagus. Kalau pembaca tidak percaya, cobalah anak tuan yang baru berumur 6 bulan, tuan pangkas, tuang potong polka, lalu tangannya tuan tolak-pinggangkan, dan tuan tengokkan kepalanya ke kanan dan ke kiri sebagai mandor besar kebun mengontrol pekerjaan kuli-kulinya, tuan terkejut akan efeknya. Tuan ketawa melihat anak tadi. Sebab ‘kebagusan’ tadi tidak mengandung kebenaran. Jadi kebenaran *zonder* [tanpa] bermaksud mencari ‘bagus’ saja tetapi mencari kebenaran sebagai kebenaran, tentu tetap bagus. Kebagusan *zonder* kebenaran sebaliknya: jelek, *njeléhi* [menyebalkan], mentertawakan [menggelikan].” (Sudjojono 1946: 40)

pelukis abstrak era 1960/1970-an. Dalam tradisi lirik, apa yang penting bukanlah kebenaran intuisi akan kenyataan, melainkan kekayaan semesta imajinasi yang cukup-diri.

Keterkaitan erat antara pengaruh-utamaan gaya lukis abstrak dengan estetika formalisnya dan politik kebudayaan kapitalisme bukanlah fenomena khas Indonesia saja. Di Amerika Serikat, gaya lukis dan estetika semacam itu telah lama disinyalir punya hubungan kerabat dengan CIA. Dalam jurnal *Artforum* tahun 1974, Eva Cockcroft menulis artikel klasik bertajuk *Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War*. Di sana Cockcroft menunjukkan intervensi CIA antara lain melalui lembaga seni berpengaruh, Museum of Modern Art (MoMA). Jabatan ketua dewan pembinanya pernah diisi oleh John Hay Whitney, seorang mantan pejabat OSS (lembaga pendahulu CIA). Lewat lembaga inilah serangkaian pameran lukisan abstrak-ekspresionis digelar di Eropa di akhir dekade 1950-an yang karya-karyanya, dalam ungkapan sejarawan seni Alfred H. Barr, Jr. dalam katalog pameran tersebut, merupakan “demonstrasi simbolik atas kebebasan dalam dunia di mana kata ‘kebebasan’ berasosiasi dengan sikap politik tertentu” (Cockcroft 1985: 131).⁶ Lewat lembaga inilah perupa abstrak-ekspresionis Jackson Pollock memperoleh nama besarnya dan digadang-gadang sebagai seniman terbesar Amerika Serikat pada dekade 1950-an. “Dengan memberikan penekanan individualis dan menghapuskan pokok ihwal yang kentara dari lukisan mereka,” tulis Cockcroft (1985: 132), “para perupa abstrak-ekspresionis berhasil menciptakan gerakan seni baru yang penting. Mereka juga punya sumbangan, entah mereka sadari atau tidak, bagi suatu fenomena politik, yakni perceraian antara seni dan politik yang dengan sempurna melayani kepentingan Amerika Serikat dalam Perang Dingin.”

Penutup

Dalam bukunya bertajuk *Strategi Kebudayaan* (1978), Ali Moertopo menulis bahwa “Orde Baru adalah sebuah proses kebudayaan” (Jones 2005: 136). Konsolidasi kapitalisme-negara pada zaman Orde Baru mensyaratkan konsolidasi kebudayaan nasional. Dalam konteks kesenian, Orde Baru membutuhkan jenis praktik kesenian yang tidak kritis pada pemerintah, yang tak mencampuri urusan politik—singkatnya, yang asyik sendiri. Estetika formalis dengan pas menjawab kebutuhan ini. Dengan membuat seniman sibuk pada ‘kekhasan wahana’-nya sendiri, formalisme memberikan legitimasi bagi pengasingan dunia seni dari semesta politik. Sementara sanggar-sanggar seni komunis dan nasionalis dibubarkan, para sastrawan kiri dibekuk dan dikebumikan-paksa, para pegiat kesenian di luar kubu itu diarahkan untuk asyik sendiri dengan mistik keindahan formal. Maka tak aneh apabila dengan cepat lukisan abstrak menjadi identik dengan ‘lukisan pembangunan’, yakni jenis lukisan yang begitu selarasnya dengan semangat pembangunan Orde Baru sampai-sampai segera memenuhi rumah-rumah kelas menengah atas serta kantor-kantor pemerintah dan perusahaan swasta (Siregar 2010: 105-106). Dan semua itu terjadi berkat pelanggaran HAM berat yang menimpa jutaan orang komunis sesudah 1965. Dari pembantaian, lahirlah keindahan—kesimpulan itulah yang dapat ditarik dari pergeseran besar dalam kesusastraan dan seni rupa Indonesia pasca-1954.

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⁶ Bandingkan juga pengamatan Frances Stonor Saunders atas strategi kebudayaan Amerika Serikat dalam ‘membungkus’ para maestro Modernis lain sehingga terlihat menguatkan posisi AS dalam Perang Dingin: “The art and sculpture exhibition was curated by James Johnson Sweeney, art critic and former director of New York’s Museum of Modern Art, which was contracted to organize the show: Works by Matisse, Derain, Cezanne, Seurat, Chagall, Kandinsky and other masters of early twentieth century modernism were culled from American collections and shipped to Europe on 18 April, aboard the appropriately named SS *Liberté*. Sweeney’s press release made no bones about the propaganda value of the show: as the works were created ‘in many lands under free world conditions’, they would speak for themselves ‘of the desirability for contemporary artists of living and working in an atmosphere of freedom’” (Saunders 1999: 119).

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Catatan Kecil Dalam Gerakan Besar Bangsa Indonesia

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Pendahuluan

Saya adalah korban Perang dingin, dalam rangka menjatuhkan kekuasaan Sukarno yang didukung penuh oleh Partai Komunis Indonesia. Maka PKI menjadi sasaran utama kaum OLDEFO (Old Establish Forces/ Kapitalis Dunia). Tanpa menghancurkan PKI terlebih dahulu, Sukarno tidak akan jatuh dari kekuasaannya. Kejatuhan Sukarno berarti terbuka kemungkinan bagi kapitalis dunia untuk menguasai akses dan aset ekonomi Indonesia. Untuk itu rakyat Indonesia yang berada di lingkaran Sukarno dan PKI, perlu dimusnahkan, dibunuh, dipenjarakan, dibuang, dan selama hidupnya didiskriminalisasi, dengan stigma bahaya latent komunis. Pelaksanaan strategi tersebut dilakukan oleh Orde Baru, Golkar, militerisme dan birokrat Indonesia.

Tulang belulang, dan *survivor*

Akibat dari pembunuhan massal yang diperkirakan berjumlah sekitar satu juta orang, pembunuhan di Bali diperkirakan sebanyak 100-120 ribu orang, menyebabkan terdapatnya kuburan massal di hampir seluruh wilayah Indonesia. Di bagian timur kota Singaraja, masyarakat mengenal sebidang tanah kosong yang disebut Kuburan PKI. Pengorganisasian melibatkan juga tokoh dan cara-cara keagamaan, seperti cerita seorang korban, bahwa semua orang yang dianggap PKI dan simpatisannya diharuskan melakukan pengakuan dosa di Pura, kemudian pada hari-hari berikutnya mereka dicituk dan dibunuh. Para jagal, sebelum melakukan pembunuhan, mereka bersembahyang terlebih dahulu di Pura, dipimpin oleh Pemangku. Sesudah melakukan pembunuhan, mereka kembali ke pura untuk membersihkan senjata yang sudah dipakai membunuh (Wawancara penulis dengan Korban, di Bali). Pembunuhan juga diorganisasi oleh militer seperti yang terdapat di pulau Jawa, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Bali, Flores, Kupang, Sumba, Sabu dan di beberapa sudut yang paling dalam Nusantara. Mereka yang dibunuh terdiri dari fungsionaris PKI, pendukung Sukarno dan juga orang yang tidak terkait dengan organisasi, laki-perempuan, orang dewasa, tua, akademisi, pengangguran bahkan anak bayi, remaja dan juga orang buta huruf. Tingkat intelektualnya, pendidikan formal dan kesadaran politiknya sangat berbeda-beda. Di dalam penjara Salemba dan Tangerang, tempat saya pernah ditahan juga terdapat orang gila, dan orang yang ditangkap karena tidak punya KTP, karena menolak tanahnya dijadikan proyek-proyek yang tidak jelas di tahun tujuh puluhan. Walaupun demikian, kesadaran akan perlunya solidaritas sesama tahanan agar bisa tetap hidup bermartabat sangatlah tinggi. Kesadaran inilah yang tidak mampu dihancurkan oleh sistem dan kekuatan Orde Baru.

Bagi yang masih selamat, bisa dikeluarkan dari penjara dan tempat pembuangan, sebagian besar melakukan upaya besar dan kecil, legal maupun ilegal untuk menuntut keadilan kepada pemerintah. Instruksi Menteri Dalam Negeri No. 30 tahun 1981, merupakan peraturan yang sangat diskriminatif mengekang upaya hidup bekas tahanan dan keluarganya, meskipun hanya untuk mencari pekerjaan. Disamping itu Orde Baru, mengerahkan semua kekuatannya melalui pendidikan, jurnalisisme, sastra, film dan kesenian lainnya, untuk mendiskreditkan bekas tahanan dengan stigma komunis, apa saja yang paling jelek dan paling berbahaya adalah Eks Tapol dan keluarganya, sehingga boleh saja diperlakukan di luar hukum, dan di sisi lain mengagung-agungkan kebaikan Orde Baru sebagai penyelamat bangsa. Walaupun situasinya sedemikian represif, banyak para bekas tahanan ikut dalam gerakan menjatuhkan Orde Baru secara ilegal dan melakukan perlawanan terhadap perlakuan Orde Baru, sehingga beberapa orang diantaranya sempat ditahan lagi. Beberapa sastrawan ET sudah menulis puisi, dan cerpen tentang pembunuhan, penderitaan ET dan keluarganya. (Martin Aleida, 1972, dan Putu Oka Sukanta 1982). Beberapa sastrawan anti komunis telah menulis cerpen-cerpen dan novel yang menyangkut peristiwa 1965 dengan titik berat bahwa pembunuhan dan pengucilan adalah wajar diterima dan dialami oleh mereka yang pro PKI dan Sukarno. Salah satu novel yang menarik tentang korban G.30 S, terbit tahun 1977 dengan judul “Mencoba Tidak Menyerah”. Yudhistira ANM Massardi, selain cepen Umar Kayam, Ashadi Siregar dan beberapa penulis lainnya. Apakah tulisan-tulisan tersebut menggugat pembunuhan, atau hanya sekedar menaruh belas kasihan kepada korban? Pertanyaan yang perlu ruang diskusi. Saya kutipkan salah satu bagian akhir novel “Mencoba Tidak Menyerah,” ...” *Tapi ketika penjual bakso itu sudah mendekat, betapa terkejutnya petugas ronda itu, karena melihat penjual bakso itu tidak ada kepalanya..... Cerita tentang setan tanpa kepala itu beredar sampai ke mana-mana, sehingga suasana kota malam hari begitu mencekam.... Orang-orang menafsirkan bahwa setan-setan tanpa kepala itu adalah orang-orang PKI yang telah dipenggal kepalanya.”* (BAYANGKAN, ALANGKAH NISTANYA ORANG YANG DITUDUH PKI, DIBUNUH TANPA PROSES HUKUM DAN KEMUDIAN DITUDUHKAN MENJADI SETAN..”

Sesudah Reformasi

Sesudah jatuhnya Suharto banyak bekas tahanan membuat organisasi antara lain Paguyuban Korban Orde Baru (Pakorba), Yayasan Penelitian Korban Pembunuhan 1965/66 (YPKP) Pimpinan Ibu Sulami, Lembaga Perjuangan dan Rehabilitasi Korban Orde Baru (LPKROB) untuk mengungkapkan kebenaran, melakukan penggalian kuburan massal, melakukan tuntutan ke pengadilan menuntut hak pensiun yang tidak dibayarkan negara selama mereka ditahan. Di samping itu ada *class action* di pengadilan menuntut para presiden Republik Indonesia bertanggung jawab terhadap pembantaian massal, tetapi ditolak. Menurut ahli sejarahwan tamatan Sorbon University, Dr. Asvi Warman Adam, “bahwa beberapa hikmah yang dapat ditarik dari upaya *class action* antara lain tentang hukum yang tidak netral, legitimasi terhadap pelanggaran HAM, pelanggaran yang berganda, dekonstruksi persepsi publik terhadap para korban serta pelurusan sejarah. Di dalam proses ini sudah ada pengakuan terhadap hak korban untuk memperoleh kompensasi seperti terlihat pada surat Komnas HAM, Surat Mahkamah Agung dan Surat DPR. Terdapat juga dukungan internasional dalam penegakan HAM serta upaya *class action* ini melibatkan banyak korban dan menyebabkan mereka terkonsolidasi.”

Juga ada upaya untuk menuntut dikembalikannya rumah mereka yang diduduki, dirampas oleh penguasa militer. Sebagian ET berhasil, tetapi sebagian lainnya ditolak.

Kegiatan lain di bidang sastra dan seni banyak dilakukan baik oleh bekas tahanan, keluarganya, maupun para penggiat Hak Asasi Manusia. Buku novel “Merajut Harkat”, Putu Oka Sukanta, terbit th.1999, adalah novel pertama yang bicara soal tahanan dan penjaranya. Sekarang sudah terbit dalam bahasa Perancis, diterjemahkan oleh Jacqueline- Camus. Bahkan sebelumnya sudah menerbitkan buku kumpulan puisi tentang penjara Orde Baru, yaitu “Selat Bali” 1982, dan Tembang Jalak Bali terbit di Kuala Lumpur 1986. Lembaga Kreatifitas Kemanusiaan 2005, dibentuk oleh beberapa seniman muda (satria, film, pertunjukan) yang dipimpin oleh Putu Oka Sukanta dan IGP Wiranegara (sineas terpendang di Indonesia), telah menerbitkan beberapa buku dokumenter dan fiksi, 6 film dokumenter tentang korban tragedi kemanusiaan 65/66. Salah satu buku terbitan LKK yang sudah diterjemahkan ke bahasa Inggris dan diterbitkan oleh Herb Feith Foundation dan Monash University Australia adalah “Memecah Pembisuan/Breaking The Silence”, kordinator dan editor Putu Oka Sukanta. Salah satu buku yang diterbitkan LKK adalah “Lobakan” kumpulan cerita pendek dari beberapa pengarang yang diluncurkan di 4 tempat di Bali dan mendapat sambutan meriah, hampir semua media cetak di Bali memberitakannya. Sebagai akibatnya, tekanan terhadap aktivis yang berencana melakukan tindak lanjut dari peluncuran buku tersebut, yaitu mengumpulkan kesaksian para korban di Bali, mendapat tekanan dari pihak keamanan, intimidasi, sehingga rencana tersebut terpaksa dihentikan. Selain LKK, ada juga penerbit Ultimus, yang banyak menerbitkan buku-buku fiksi, dan dokumenter seputar tragedi 65. Sedangkan penerbit Hastra Mitra yang mengorbitkan buku-buku Pramoedya, sekarang sudah tidak aktif lagi.

Nani Nurani, penari dan penyanyi yang Eks Tapol, sejak 2003 - 2008, menuntut untuk mendapatkan KTP seumur hidup, dan pengadilan memutuskan bahwa Pemerintah dan Camat Koja Jakarta Utara, telah melanggar konvensi Genewa. Sejak th 2011 -sekarang, Nani Nurani mengajukan gugatan ke pengadilan rehabilitasi nama baik dan kompensasi kerugian.

Kegiatan lainnya adalah penggalian kuburan massal oleh organisasi ET bersama Ibu Sulami dan jaringannya di Wonosobo, mendapat perlawanan sengit dari kelompok agama tertentu, seperti yang didokumentasikan dalam film *The Shadow Play.2001*, Hilton Cordell Australia. Film-film dokumenter selain *Shadow Play*, antara lain “An Indonesia Tragedy, 40 Years of Silence, Robert Lamelson, 2012, TV Al-Jazeera, program 101 East Indonesia’s Killing Fields, Step Vaessen, Produksi 6 Episode LKK, Jembatan Bacem, Elsam dan ISSI Jakarta, The Act of Killing, dan The Look of Silence (2013) oleh Joshua Openheimer, yang gaungnya mengetuk perhatian dunia, dan beberapa film produksi LSM di Indonesia.

Penggalian kuburan massal masih terus dilakukan di beberapa tempat, walau banyak kesulitannya.

Yayasan Penelitian Korban Pelanggaran Hak Asasi Manusia (YPKP HAM) yang bergerak di bidang penelitian mengenai korban Peristiwa Gerakan 30 September tahun 1965, Koesalah Soebagio Toer (ketua), menjelaskan, “dalam kegiatannya selama tiga bulan di tahun 2000 ia telah berhasil mengumpulkan 110.000 jumlah korban, di antaranya 10 persen korban meninggal dan selebihnya korban pemenjaraan dan pelanggaran hak asasi manusia. Dan angka ini terus bertambah. Angka-angka ini lebih fenomenal daripada angka dalam kasus Komune Paris tahun 1871, seperti dikemukakan oleh Duta Besar Perancis untuk Indonesia Gerard Cros pada 30 Mei 2000. Seperti dikemukakan oleh Duta Besar tersebut, dalam pertempuran terakhir di Paris itu, rakyat ditindas dengan kejam, hingga 20.000 di antaranya tewas. Kemudian dalam pembersihan lanjutannya 38.000 orang dijebloskan dalam penjara dan 7.000 orang lagi dibuang. Dan angka-angka itu baru terkumpul seratus tahun kemudian!

Pada tahun 2008 telah berdiri Koalisi Keadilan dan Pengungkapan Kebenaran (KKPK), sebuah aliansi yang terdiri dari berbagai organisasi dan individu yang mendukung perjuangan dan penegakkan HAM dengan cara mendorong pertanggungjawaban Negara untuk menyelesaikan pelanggaran HAM yang berat. KKPK dibentuk sebagai respon atas pembatalan UU KKR 27/2004 oleh Mahkamah Konstitusi. KKPK telah menerbitkan buku “Menemukan Kembali Indonesia” yang merangkum analisa pelanggaran HAM dan kesaksian korban pelanggaran HAM. (www.kkpk.org).

KKPK dalam bulan Agustus 2015 telah membuat rekomendasi sehubungan dengan upaya penuntasan Pelanggaran HAM masa lampau, antara lain sebagai berikut. Ada tiga ruang permasalahan yang saling tumpang tindih dan beririsan:

1. Akar masalah yang masih membelenggu dan terawat oleh budaya impunitas,
2. Kewajiban untuk memfasilitasi pemulihan korban dan keluarganya
3. Kekerasan struktural yang menimbulkan dan mereproduksi ketimpangan dan kemiskinan.

Oleh karena itu KKPK merekomendasikan kepada Pemerintah R.I agar:

1. Memutus lingkaran impunitas melalui penyelesaian yang efektif.
2. Membangun kesadaran kritis bangsa agar tidak terjadi lagi pelanggaran berat HAM di masa yang akan datang.
3. Menghapus pola kekerasan dan diskriminasi sistemik dengan perubahan yang mendasar dan transformatif.
4. Membangun gerakan revitalisasi komitmen dan dialog untuk penguatan nilai-nilai Pancasila yang berpijak pada kebenaran tentang kekerasan masa lalu.

Selain upaya pengungkapan kebenaran dan mendorong pemerintah melalui jalur hukum telah dilakukan oleh berbagai kalangan, ada juga upaya penguatan “korban” melalui usaha ekonomi, seperti mendirikan koperasi, kelompok Simpan Pinjam (Credit Union), yang berdampak juga terhadap proses penyembuhan, dan perasaan keterasingan dari masyarakat dan birokrasi. Kegiatan semacam ini telah dilakukan oleh “korban/Survivor” bersama pendampingnya, seperti di Palu, di Jogja, di beberapa daerah Sumatra dan tempat lainnya.

Reaksi Pemerintah

Sampai saat ini belum ada satu keputusan pemerintah yang melaksanakan tuntutan para korban dan LSM jejarungnya, agar melakukan pengakuan adanya kekerasan negara terhadap rakyat, melakukan klarifikasi terhadap apa sebenarnya yang terjadi di tahun 1965/66, membentuk pengadilan HAM, maupun pengembalian nama baik korban dan pemberian kompensasi.

Kalau kita memahami bahwa karakter penguasa sebenarnya tidak banyak berubah dari watak dan kepentingan Orde Baru, maka situasi macet sejak jatuhnya Suharto sampai sekarang ini adalah sebuah kewajaran. Tetapi suara-suara burung semakin keras terdengar bahwa Jokowi, aas nama negara dan pemerintah, telah bersiap untuk menyelesaikan masalah pelanggaran HAM masa lalu, dengan membuat ruang diskusi dan pembentukan badan penyelesaian masalah tersebut. Beberapa reaksi telah disampaikan oleh beberapa penggiat HAM atas rencana yang dinilainya tidak signifikan menyelesaikan masalah mendasar dari pelanggaran HAM masa lalu tersebut.

Reaksi dunia luar

Salah satu bukti signifikan dari adanya reaksi dan perhatian dunia luar, terutama dari dunia akademisi adalah diterbitkannya buku “ 1965 Indonesia dan Dunia / 1965 Indonesia and The World” , disunting oleh Bernd Schaefer dan Baskara T.Wardaya, diterbitkan oleh Goethe Institut dan Kompas Gramedia, 2013. Buku ini merangkum hasil penelitian sejarawan dari berbagai universitas tentang keterkaitan negara asing dalam tragedi kemanusiaan 165/66 di Indonesia. Baca antara lain: The United States and the International Dimension of the Killings in Indonesia, Bradley Simpsom, dan artikel dari Heinz Schutte, “September 30, 1965 and its Aftermath in the French Press.

Sebentar lagi, November 2015 akan dilangsungkan sebuah pengadilan “International Public Tribunal” di Belanda. Ini adalah salah satu upaya untuk menarik dukungan luar negeri, dan mendorong pemerintah RI, lebih cepat bertindak menyelesaikan masalah pelanggaran berat HAM masa lalu.

Penutup

Peradaban dibangun dengan pengakuan dan kritisasi masa lampau bangsa.

Jakarta, awal September 2015.

**A Comparative Analysis of Systematic Political Strategy
of Repression & Oppression during 1965-1966 of Suharto's Regime in Indonesia
& in Mid-1980s of Aquino's Administration in the Philippines Presented in Two Films-
Joshua Oppenheimer's *The Act of Killing* & Lino Brocka's *Orapronobis***

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Abstract

This study looks at the two cases of repressive and oppressive situation in a sudden transition of government of two nations (1965 Indonesia & 1986 Philippines) presented in two films, Joshua Oppenheimer's 2012 documentary film *The Act of Killing* and Lino Brocka's 1989 political film *Orapronobis* (also known as *Fight for Us*). Specifically, it also tackles the political strategies used by the two regimes to suppress political dissidents such as the local leftist movements, the use of *preman* & the *Pemuda Pancasila* in Indonesia's New Order by Suharto & the *vigilantes* (represented in the film by the group *Orapronobis*) as part of Philippine counterinsurgency strategy of Aquino's administration in the Philippines. In addition to analyzing the films in accordance with their socio-historical context, the study traces the history why these groups were utilized during the oppressive years through related literature, historical accounts, and other essential sources. It also focuses on the similarities and differences of those two cases of Indonesia & the Philippines. Consequently, such similarities and differences were found that are essential to further discuss the question how was the 1965 Indonesia related to the 1986 Philippines. This study provides alternative perspectives on what and how to gaze at a historical chapter of a nation, specifically the events of 1965-1966 Indonesia & mid-1980s Philippines. It also contributes to the issue of interrelationship of Indonesia & the Philippines through history.

Keywords: *Suharto, New Order, preman, Pemuda Pancasila, Aquino, Philippine Counterinsurgency campaign, vigilantes, Orapronobis*

Introduction

Much of accounts and reports were already written and presented for attempts to give explanations and historical narrative to the 1965 coup which consequently led, chronologically, to the 1965-1966 killings in Indonesia. But as Roosa (6-7) puts it, "Nearly all the personal testimonies and written records from late 1965 onward seem intended to misdirect, obfuscate, or deceive." In another statement, Roosa was referring to the September 30th Movement or the *Gestapu*, as the Army named it after the Nazi secret police, as "...actions plotted by military officers, intelligence operatives, and double agents," hence, "a historian's usual sources of information - newspapers, magazines, government records, and pamphlets - are of little help" (Ibid). This is one of the problems that scholars and historians have to face in dealing with such complicated data and facts which are not necessarily coherent. In addition to this, bias and censorship, not surprisingly, were in favor of those who were in the seats of power. This is the main factor why the September 30th Movement and the 1965-1966 killings were still in the stage of public discussion. Facts regarding these events seemed to be altered or manipulated to be used as a motivation of converting a minor affair of that *Gestapu* into a large-scale killings, or genocide with respect to the 1965-1966 event.

The prominent ideology created by the regime itself at the time of Suharto was to crush the Communists, and took the advantage, while people were having ideological confusion towards Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI) because of the blaming of Suharto, to "restore security and order." He blamed the PKI for organizing the *Gestapu* and ordered to repress the party and all the people associated with it. This anti-PKI propaganda of Suharto's New Order had been so consistent that a "national enemy" was created in the minds of the Indonesian people. The "demonization" of the Communists by the regime produced myths and fabricated stories that would be inculcated in the memory of the people. It is so systematic that it penetrated, strategically, from the lower level of their education system into to a wider public sphere. The creation of "national enemy" was essential in the regime's strategy to also create an "official history" of Indonesia that will be consulted and used by scholars and historians at the time of the regime because of inaccessibility, or rather non-existence of alternative accounts until the regime's fall in 1998.

Such anti-PKI ideology was delivered institutionally. One of the most symbolic manifestations of this was the building of the Monumen Pancasila Sakti (Sacred Pancasila Monument) that marked the *Lubang Buaya* (Crocodile Pit) where the corpses of the seven army officers were thrown into. The monument is

composed of seven life-size statues of the murdered officers with the huge Garuda that has its wings spread widely. The site even symbolically serves for the regime's rituals. During the New Order, every year on September 30 Suharto and his top officials held a ceremony at the monument to mark their commitment to Pancasila (qtd. in Roosa 10). The bas-relief installed below the statues depicts an anti-Communist version of Indonesia's history including which is exactly what would the regime wanted to complement the official history. The image of male Communists murdering and dumping the bodies of the officers into the Lubang Buaya while female members of the PKI dancing naked was very disturbing yet so powerful that would remind the people of the “evilness” of the Communists.

Another one is the erection of the Museum Pengkhianatan PKI (Museum of PKI Treason) located next to the iconic monument. The dynamics inside this museum is so strategic for the younger generation to learn, or seemed to be brainwashed by the dioramas curated to be anti-Communist. Forty-two dioramas were installed in a level where schoolchildren on field trips can view a historically depiction of PKI's alleged brutality from 1945 to 1965 (Ibid). What a strategic way for indoctrinating children.

Looking closely, these kinds of propaganda belong to a cultural aspect of domination. It attacks the minds of the people, ideologically, to submit to the dominance and power of the State by strategically attacking its considered enemy. If Althusser's idea of state apparatuses - thus with respect to Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) and Repressive State Apparatus (RSA), would be of concern here, the propaganda of “demonization” of the communists would fall into the category of ISA. This is manifested in the building of such “icons,” like the museum and monument, which would be utilized for indoctrinating and embedding the contained ideology into the collective memory of Indonesian people. The roles of ISAs and RSAs, however, interact and overlap somehow when in need. Nonetheless, the State influences, if not having a total control of, the two.

Culture holds an important part in defining a nation, thus culture often used by the State for purposes concerning the people it governs. As mentioned creating a “national enemy” in the minds of the people yields to a convenient opportunity for someone who wants to turn people's behavior into his favor. With respect to Indonesia's case, culture was one essential aspect that the New Order regime would not be missing. Interesting in Indonesia, with having so much ethnic groups and over 400 languages, Indonesian nationalism still seems to be revolving in political sphere. Cribb argues;

More clearly than in most countries of the world, Indonesian nationalism is based on a political aspiration rather than on ethnic identity. For Indonesians, their nation has been above all an institution, which can deliver them modernity and prosperity. In this respect Indonesia resembles both the United States and the former Soviet Union, whose core national aspirations (respectively, “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” and the “dictatorship of the proletariat”) are or were similarly devoid of specific ethnic content. This rather materialist orientation does not mean that Indonesians think of their nation only in instrumentalist terms, as a sterile tool with no symbolic meaning; on the contrary, the patriotic affection of Indonesians for their country is as striking as that of Americans. It means, however, that the political, rather than the ethnic, character of Indonesia has been at the core of nationalist politics since the early twentieth century (222-223).

Indeed, this is an instance where culture and politics merge. Seems that part of the culture, in this case, is the politics, and the politics turns into a cultural factor. However in this statement, ethnicity is set separate from political aspiration rather than engaging it in the process of politics therefore disregarding it as well in defining Indonesian nationalism. This is not entirely accurate in Indonesia's case. One must remember the *Sumpa Pemuda*, which constitutes one of the most uniting nationalist factors in Indonesia, the Bahasa-Indonesia. Over 400 languages from different ethnic groups exist in Indonesia but still there was a consolidation through language. Even though there are still linguistic and ethnic conflicts, a *bahasa* that is an umbrella of Indonesian languages maintains its stability throughout the years. This indeed is the integration of political and cultural aspects in Indonesian nationalism while engaging ethnicity in the process.

Basically what needs to be stressed here is the integration of culture in politics. The anti-PKI propaganda of the New Order regime is a systematic political domination through culture and it is that framework that defines what Indonesian nationalism is. In the course of Suharto's years, most of cultural manifestations of being an Indonesian tend to be politically-dominated by the ideology of the State, which is anti-communist. Literature and other cultural products that challenge this ideology were repressed. Thereupon, these cultural products were repressed by political intensions. And these kinds of strategy lead to creating a “national identity” reinforced by the hatred to “national enemy.”

Aside from the mentioned above, films were used to efficiently produce this “national enemy” also called as the PKI. Film industry of Indonesia has a long history dated back since colonial period of early 1900s. Film industry also has a deep mark in Indonesian culture.

“The Treason of the September 30th Movement/PKI” of 1984 was a government-commissioned film that was required to be broadcast every September 30 in all television stations during the New Order. This film is about the kidnapping and murdering the seven army officers in Jakarta. As a mandatory annual

viewing for schoolchildren, it was a torture viewing this as well because of this four-hour long running time (Roosa 10).

Even after the Indonesia's independence until the fall of Suharto's regime, censorship in films was a prominent obstacle for filmmakers and producers, as well as theater owners. Issue of censorship will be briefly discussed later in this paper. After the fall of regime in 1998, freedom of the press was improved and writers took advantage to publish their accounts and challenge the official history of the events of 1965-1966 (Ibid 19). In line with this, films regarding the event also surfaced to contribute to the issue of correcting the version of the regime.

In 2012, a film by Denmark-based American filmmaker Joshua Oppenheimer was produced. It gathered awards and nominations that would make it recognized worldwide in film industry. The film in the spotlight is entitled "The Act of Killing (TAOK)." It is a documentary film that deals with the event of the mass killings of 1965-1966 in Indonesia. It is critically-acclaimed by some critics because of its bravely presentation of the event through an unusual perspective of storytelling. It exposed one of the most fragile issues of Indonesia's history, the mass killings of the PKI. And by using the perspective of the perpetrators, it is indeed a controversial film that would reveal the process of torture and practices of the perpetrators during the terrifying period of mass killings. The perpetrators presented in the film were basically members of Pemuda Pancasila and gangsters in Indonesia, also known as "preman." The perpetrators were actually vigilantes and local militias but through the course of this paper, it will be discussed how they were actually affiliated with the army, and thus in scope of the New Order.

On a parallel note, Philippines have been very complicated also regarding its history and politics. Ferdinand Marcos' "authoritarianism" suddenly replaced by Corazon Aquino's democracy. Dictatorship was overthrown but the conflict between revolutionaries and the government remained. One of its manifestations was the employing of the right-wing vigilantes to counter the New People's Army (NPA), the armed-wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

Similar to the theme of TAOK, a 1989 film by a Filipino was also in the spotlight of controversy because of the unmasking of the reality of political and social situation of the Philippines in 1980s. Orapronobis (also known as Fight for Us) is a political film that tackles the issue of the vigilantes in the urban areas of the Philippines during the Aquino administration in mid-1980s. It was banned by the Movie and Television Review and Classification Board (MTRCB) after its first released because of its theme which is likely associated of being anti-military or anti-administration.

Using these two films, this paper attempts to analyze the power-relations presented in the films. Specifically, the relation of the vigilantes with the army and consequently with the State, will be the focus of study. Arising from this will be the issue of employing state power (by the State through the army) to the vigilantes and preman, which will produce "conceived state power," as called in this paper. This paper also attempts to discuss what this conceived state power is and how it was produced. This kind of power affects the vigilantes and preman with respect to the films' representations of villain-characters. With this conceptual framework, the paper will discuss also the effect of this power-relation with the victims of the two cases. Contributing to the conceptualization of Carl Schmitt and Giorgio Agamben's *state of exception*, this study attempts to apply such idea to the cases of Indonesia and Philippines respectively.

The Films: An Act of Killing the Silence

A review of the film TAOK stated that, "The study of the 1965-1966 killings in Indonesia, and for that matter the study of the country's politics more generally, will never be the same again with the recent release of the documentary film The Act of Killing (Heryanto 16)." This is somehow true because of how Oppenheimer handled the narration. There seems to be a trend in the period after Suharto when narrating the event. Accounts are actually coming from the point of view of the victims or the eye-witnesses. In current films, 1965-1966 killings are viewed as tragic and terrifying because the experiences were rooted from the memory of the victims. Those narrations were also intensified because even after 1998, the people (the victims, the ones who knew about it, their children, etc.) prefer not to discuss the event either because of the trauma, the stigma, or they just want to erase it from their memory thus creating more tension when told. Thus these kinds of films are really effective in presenting the issues involved.

The approach of the TAOK is quietly different from the above. The protagonists are the antagonists in reality. Anwar Congo and the Pemuda Pancasila were the perpetrators in the killings of communists, and others affiliated to them, happened in an area in North Sumatra. This is also different from the state-produced film "The Treason of the September 30th Movement/PKI" which also focus on the "enemy" but pertaining to the communists and the PKI. In this film, Anwar undeniably tells how he and his group done the killings of the suspected communists. They also re-enact the process of killings which is shocking to the viewers because it detailed how, for instance, to kill in a bloodless or at least in a way that is not creating a mess on the floor and walls.

Orapronobis is also shocking in its own peculiar way. One reason is because of its timely release in 1989, three years after the dictatorship was overthrown. The story revolves around the small barrio of Santa Filomena where the Orapronobis was dominating the community. The protagonist is a former priest turned into a revolutionary named Jimmy Cordero. During the dictatorship, he was detained and by the time of the turn-over of government, they were released together with his fellow political prisoners.

Surprisingly for him, he would realize throughout the film that there hadn't been a change in the political system. As Rolan (in the film, he is the brother-in-law of Jimmy) said when they went to Santa Filomena for a fact-finding mission,

“Wala naman talagang nagbago, lalo na rito sa kanayunan. Ang nagbago lang ay ang pagmumukha at pangalan ng mga taong nang-aapi at nagsasamantala. (Nothing [changed] in the villages. Only the names and faces of the oppressors and exploiters changed.)”

But the most interesting in the film is the antagonist Orapronobis itself, headed by its leader named Commander Kontra. Orapronobis is a former fanatical cult turned into a vigilante group after the members were released from being detained. Later in the paper will the nature of this group be discussed with its historical-realistic origin. That should be emphasized in this study because this group will be the focus of the study along with the preman and Pemuda Pancasila.

Similarly, these two films have been very intrepid in containing their themes and topics. For being exposé films, they are very transgressive in their own way. Fortitude, guts, and emotional strength for challenging the dominant ideology and powerful State is necessary, and these films not just only unmasked the reality presented by the State but effectively killed the silence of the issues they tackled by making another sound of reality.

Hollywood: A Motivation for an Act of Killing

The city of Medan is located in the northern part of Sumatra, and the capital of that province. In 1965-1966, aside from Java and Bali, Sumatra was one of the most affected areas of the extermination of the communists and others affiliated to them. This is the setting of the film *The Act of Killing*. Killers of the 1965-1966 come from different sectors. One of these is Anwar Congo. Anwar and his friend Herman Koto were gangsters that sell movie theater tickets on the black market. When the government was overthrown in 1965, they were used by the military to kill the communists as part of the command of the New Order. They instantly became members of the death squad and paramilitary organization, the Pemuda Pancasila.

In the film, Anwar and Herman love movies. They were actually “movie theater gangsters” before they turned into executioners of the 1965-1966 killings. Specifically they were pertaining to Hollywood when they discuss movies. They actually wanted to make a film regarding their killings in 1965 starred by them as well.

Hollywood had a huge impact on Anwar. It was actually one of the reasons why he turned into a murderer. The banning of Hollywood films was a disappointment to him, to the extent that he would kill just to have a vengeance for what he felt.

Film industry was deep embedded in Indonesia's history. Originally, Western films were the first films to be scattered in Indonesia. Though the establishment of such industry came from Westerners, Chinese were also played an important role in molding it. Simultaneously, American films' existence was felt also in Indonesia. The Dutch colonial rulers were the ones really concerned about this, thus in 1926 the Dutch Indies Film Commission was established to censor every film entering Indonesia (Sen 13). When the Second World War erupted, Japanese were the ones who controlled the film industry of Indonesia after the Dutch surrender on the 8th of March, 1942. But after the Independence, Indonesians in the film industry took not only equipment from the Japanese but also learned something from that period of war;

This new understanding was to be acted upon in the days after the capitulation of Japan and the Declaration of Independence on 17 August 1945. Indonesian film workers took over the film equipment from the Japanese and started to make documentaries of the historic occurrences. Indonesian film workers had finally come to appreciate the meaning of cinema for political struggle (qtd in Sen 17).

Because of this understanding, a nationalist tendency integrated in the film industry. After the Dutch and the Chinese, *Pribumi* (ethnic or indigeneous Indonesian) stepped into the scene. Pribumi-owned film companies emerged. And this happened not just by coincidence but by the fact that nationalism by the time affected other sectors of the society;

Economic nationalism was the ‘aspiration for an economy which could be controlled by indigenous (asli) Indonesians. In cinema this meant not only efforts to set up Pribumi-owned film companies but an attempt too to rewrite history with these companies regarded as marking the ‘real’ beginning of Indonesian cinema (qtd in Sen 19).

It was the time of 1950s. By the time, there are other issues concerning nationalism and independence. First was the importing of American films, and the second was censorship (Ibid 19-20). This was a manifestation of the fact that nationalism started to crawl out into other sectors and influenced decision-making. For instance,

Between 30 and 40 American films were banned from circulation each year during 1950-1952 mainly for two reasons. First, some films were deemed to contravene Indonesian moral standards by their depiction of explicit behavior. Secondly, a number of jungle and adventure movies (including one set in Bali in 1951, *Black Magic of Bali*) were politically unacceptable because they depicted the black and brown peoples of Asia and Africa as primitive or backward. These moral and political criticisms of American films in the early 1950s foreshadowed the strong anti-US film movement led by the left and encouraged by the Sukarno government in the last years of Guided Democracy (Ibid 25).

It seems that the period of 1950s was the commencement of anti-US film movement under Sukarno government. By the year 1955, about 600 films from the US and another 100 from other countries were imported into Indonesia (Ibid 27). This fact was actually supported by the reason that the American Motion Pictures Association in Indonesia (AMPAL) had a great influence on the film industry of Indonesia. But also because of this, the movement of boycotting US films was concretized. Mortimer discussed this;

'The film boycott became the high point of struggle in the campaign against US "cultural penetration". US 'cultural imperialism' was an issue 'on which Sukarno and the PKI had long seen eye to eye... But, from being a mainly propaganda issue, the campaign against American culture was now transformed by the PKI into one of its major agitational platforms.' (qtd. in Sen 29)

This is one of the reasons why Anwar was so ballistic that he could kill not one but a thousand of people. This is also one of the focuses of this study. The motivational issue concerning the killers that could be a factor of that conceived state power mentioned above.

Orapronobis: Fanaticism into Counterinsurgency

In this paper, the group Orapronobis will be the focus in discussing Orapronobis itself instead of the protagonist Jimmy Cordero. The film revolves around the happenings in the small barrio of Santa Filomena where the Orapronobis operates its anti-communists activities. This group was characterized by the dialogue of Esper (Jimmy Cordero's former girlfriend and the one who was abducted by the vigilantes), "...ng panitikong sekta, ang Orapronobis... mga vigilantes na raw sila ngayon. Miyembro na raw sila ngayon ng Citizens' Self-defense Units. (...of the fanatic sect, the Orapronobis... they have now become vigilantes. They are now member of the Citizens' Self-defense Units.)"

In the 1986, the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines was ended. Replacing the seat was Corazon Aquino, the first female president of the Philippines. Philippines made a history because of this. Aquino brought not only a historical turn but also the replacement of another government, a democratic one. Along with this, counterinsurgency was renewed strategically. Counterinsurgency was not new in Aquino administration. Since the colonial period, counterinsurgency existed. Nevertheless, counterinsurgency in Aquino's presidential term was a unique one. And it was represented in the film by the dynamics of the operations of the group Orapronobis. The film unveiled the curtain of reality that exposed, as Santiago states,

"...the hidden realities of the supposedly more benevolent "people-oriented" Aquino administration, such as the continued militarization of rural areas resulting in the frequent violation of human rights. It also offers a critique of the parameters of the democratic space that the new government claimed to provide (Santiago 160)."

Offensive scenes also were the factors why the film was banned. These include the cannibalism in the French version and violent scene of the massacre of nine men in the American version (Ibid 158).¹ But the main factor why this film was so controversial is because of the representations of vigilantes that were tolerated, to the extent of being supported, by the military. This is also one of the reasons why the Aquino administration's counterinsurgency campaign is somehow aberrant in history. The emergence of right-wing vigilantes is clearly manifested in Aquino's administration.

Orapronobis was originally a fanatic sect but promoted into vigilantes when released after the dictatorship was overthrown. The group was headed by Commander Kontra. Fanaticism still remained in the personality of Commander Kontra as well with the group. The members of the group believe that their leader cannot be hit by bullet and cannot die because of the amulet he was wearing. But in the end of the film, the members themselves kill Commander Kontra because they saw that he wasn't immortal when he was shot and the bullet wounded him.

¹ There are two versions of this film. One for the French audience and the second was for the Americans. The title *Les Insoumis* is for the French and *Fight for Us* for the Americans. For more discussion about this, see Santiago 158-160.

The Perpetrators’ Practices

Anwar: Crueler than Communists

In the film TAOK, one of the lines of Anwar stated that, “We are crueler and more brutal than the Communists.” The most terrifying act Anwar told in the film is the scene when he is explaining how he used wire to strangle his victims to death without the disheveling marks of blood. This explains why the film was titled as such.

He said that because he wanted to showcase himself like the protagonist in a film. One must always remember that he really loves films, specifically Hollywood. That’s the reason why he wanted to make a film about them in the killings in 1965-1966, where they are the protagonists, they will write the script, they will create the scenes, and they will direct the film.

Anwar also took his inspiration for his style of killing from Hollywood. Just like what he saw in the American gangster films, he imitated their attitude, how they behave, and how they dress themselves. There is a scene while he was re-enacting how he and his group killed by putting the neck of their victim under one of the table’s legs, then they sit on the table and sing while in an American-gangster coat-and-tie type of outfit just like what they have seen in films.

Basically, TAOK is about how Anwar did his killings in 1965-1966. By the method of re-enactment, the film showed how they were affected by his past experiences prior to being a murderer. But it must also be noted that he had done it because of the support of the “unseen” army. This is a fact that was revealed in the film.

Another huge influence for him was being a member of the paramilitary organization, the Pemuda Pancasila. The group had the lead role of slaughtering suspected communists in Medan and Aceh, in North Sumatra. This group had also a big influence on the political structure as well. Some of its members held high positions in the government, especially in the provinces. In a community level, they boastfully show off on the streets, making sure their name was heard throughout the village to create terror for the people so they would be docile towards the group. One scene in the film testified this when it showed how one of its members extorted money from a Chinese trader in the Medan market.

These were some of the practices shown in the film. The fact that these were shown, the film already contributed new perspective in the issue of community-level narration of the 1965-1966 killings. The film revealed that such happenings existed in the local levels. But aside from that, what the film also exposed, and a reason why the film was petrifyingly unique, was the remarkable Anwar’s act of killing. It showed that killing is not just pulling the trigger and the victim will die instantly. Torture is a major factor in how a gangster-turned-into-a-executioner would kill his victims. Adding to this is the way how we would do it, by the wire method.

Commander Kontra: Legality of Lawlessness

Aside from its fanaticism, the group Orapronobis really conducted some policies in Santa Filomena, as part of the “job” of the group. One of these was the issuing of “ID” that was supposed to be carried by the villagers anywhere, anytime. The scene when they murder nine villagers that were suspected as communists because they didn’t have the “IDs” the group issued was this instance. Another one, they established checkpoints areas to monitor who were entering the village. This was the opening scene where a foreign priest stopped at their checkpoint because he was going to the village. They also staged anti-communists procession that would remind the village people that communism is a work of the “evil.”

With all of these, the army officer Colonel Mateo assigned in that area still tolerated the group, and even defending it saying that the group was established just for protecting the people of the village. Similarly, with the film TAOK, the support of the army was evident for the existence of such death squads. The reality presented in the film Orapronobis was actually representations of the present reality at the time. It is the reason why the film was very controversial. It presented the dynamics where local vigilantes were used by the military to achieve a goal of killing the communists without involving directly the name of the army. The role of the army in the film and consequently in reality is described best by Santiago saying that,

The military is depicted as encouraging the lawless behavior of the Orapronobis... Ultimately, the military is presented as an entity that hides the truth from the people in an attempt to whitewash its own mistake, by using rebels as a scapegoat for any human rights violation the military may have knowingly or unknowingly committed or allowed (Ibid 171).

From the statement, it can be extracted that legality of the activities of the Orapronobis, as vigilante group, was borrowed from the army. The lawlessness was disregarded since the military endorsed the vigilantes. And for this reason, the group can conduct their activities with the freedom they want because even after a murder happened, the military could just hide the truth from the people, so as saving the reputation of the army and of the vigilantes. An instance of this was the scene towards the end where Colonel Mateo was interviewed about the killings happened, involving Esper and Camilo (her son) who were

killed by Commander Kontra. Colonel Mateo told the interviewers that the incident was an encounter between rebels and the military and Orapronobis. It was a “throwback to the rhetoric of the Marcos regime, where the official story could be expected to be far different from the actual event (Ibid).” Similarly, these kinds of military duties were found also in the New Order regime. The fabrication of stories, the creation of the “official version” of the event, the disseminating of false facts through media, etc. could also be traced as State strategies in dealing with communists.

These kinds of practices conducted by the local militias, preman, vigilantes, and other groups were evident in the two films. With the support of the military, hence by the State, these death squads at the time were impossible to be disbanded since the lawlessness of them were legalized by the military. In short, the legality was borrowed from the military thus creating another legal authority which is different from the one employed by the military. This legality pertains to the lawlessness of the groups. This is also used for a specific purpose, for the vigilantes to perform the killings thus not involving the name of the army. That’s the reason why Commander Kontra had his own perception on the killing of the communists. He had a different idea, different from the military, why and how he would kill them. In this part, the two films intersect. There is a similarity on how the killers in the two films perceive the killings and why they perform it.

Comparative Analysis

In this part, similarities and differences in the films will be discussed. As mentioned above, there is a part where the two films intersect, and it is the part of comparing the perpetrators in the two films and connecting it to their relation with the army. Several issues would be of concern here. Technicality and content-wise comparisons are necessary to observe in this study. These two affect the film in many ways.

The systematic political strategy of oppression in the two films seems to be in one thread. It was actually on a same nature. It can be considered here that the two characters, Anwar and Commander Kontra, are on parallel lanes - different timeline, but similar in structure. Therefore to compare the systematic political strategy of oppression presented in the two films, aside from the films, the character of Anwar and Commander Kontra will be used as a platform to discuss comparative areas. In discussing issues, the window to the reality of those will be opened by putting these two characters in the front line.

Historical-context: Window to Reality

One of the differences of the two films is the timeline. TAOK was released just in 2012 while the Orapronobis was released in 1989. The difference is that TAOK tackles the 1965-1966 event in a period after the New Order regime while on the other hand, Orapronobis was released in a time that was still in Aquino’s administration. Such difference produces different concerns in the film. Even if for instance, two films about the 1965-1966 killings were produced but in different time of releases, the supposed similarity of confronting the issue will be varied because of the different concerns why they were produced. Interestingly, such different concerns also determine the technicality of the films. For instance, the TAOK approach to the event of 1965 is different with how the Orapronobis handled the issue of counterinsurgency of the Aquino administration. The TAOK is a retelling, remembering, and rereading of the event through the entities from the 1965-1966 killings. Though they have the similarity of Orapronobis of being exposé films, the purpose of revealing the past has different implications in the two. Orapronobis was produced in the height of the counterinsurgency period which is the topic of the film. It can be noticed here that Orapronobis has a different purpose of exposing the hidden realities existing in the same period of time of the film and its context. Nonetheless, the films represent a reality contained in the world that the films produced.

In TAOK, the preman Anwar is actually a real person. He represents himself in reality. This is an implication of the TAOK being a documentary film. It actually helped the film itself to effectively deliver its message and present the theme in a most faithful way. It let Anwar tell the story of the killings by using his own experiences. In film, Anwar represents a group in the time of the killings, the premans and the Pemuda Pancasila. What would his importance be? The dilemma of producing accounts on the event can lead to generating colossal data that wouldn’t be of any use when the collecting of data turned into confusion. Roosa argues about this saying, “Without any new information about the movement, one could only rehash the well-known meager set of facts and add to the already excessive amount of speculation. (17)” This would be the importance of TAOK and Anwar. An alternative perspective is a new contribution to the issue. The proud confessions of Anwar support the facts that there indeed exist mass killings at the time. The regime does not mention mass killings in their official history. It is part of the propaganda and strategy to create official version of history in favor of the regime;

The official accounts do not mention mass deaths. In his memoir Suharto writes that his strategy was to “pursue, purge and destroy.” He does not inform the reader that anyone died in the process. The state-sponsored film about the [30 September] movement does not portray the mass arrests and killings. The bas-relief on the monument, in its final panel, shows Lieutenant Colonel Untung on trial in military court, as if cool-headed legal proceedings were the military’s only form of response to the movement. No memorials

were erected at the Sacred Pancasila Monument for the hundreds of thousands of victims. On the very rare occasions when Suharto mentioned the violence, he explained it as something originating from conflicts within civil society. He provided a brief, one-sentence causal analysis of the killings in a 1971 speech: “Thousands fell victim in the provinces because the people acted on their own, and because of nasty prejudices between social groups that had been nurtured for years by very narrow political practices.” (qtd. in Ibid 23-24)

Such actions of the State are difficult to counter at the time. The national propaganda of crushing the communists means that all of the accounts regarding the event should be in favor of the State and against the PKI. At the very least, the narration and re-enactment of Anwar falsifies that quoted statement. Anwar also, by his actions, affirmed that local vigilantes were used by the military to help them in the regime’s order of crushing the communists.

Commander Kontra has a different context with respect to representation of characters of the film in reality. Due to its controversial status that led to the banning of it, Orapronobis uses fiction names of individuals, groups, and place. However, these names were only used just to mask those that are in real life. The film is based on true stories, life, and places in the period of mid-1980s when the counterinsurgency plan of Aquino administration was raging.

The vigilante group itself, the Orapronobis, represents the vigilante groups established in the 1980s, the “Alsa Masa” (Rising of the Masses) and “Tadtad” (Chop-chop) (Santiago 161). These groups were vigilantes that existed in the time of Aquino administration. They were instruments to the counterinsurgency campaign in 1987. Members were “handpicked, trained, and armed by the military” to assist in exterminating communists in their region (Ibid 155).

According to reports, Alsa Masa was founded in early 1984 and then surfaced after the collapse of the peace talk with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (Clark et. al. 63). This event caused the direct connection between the government and the vigilantes as Leonard David writes,

The collapse of the peace talks between the Aquino government and the NDF in February 1987 led to even further political instability. Aquino’s “declaration of war” intensified the counterinsurgency operations against the NPA... paving the way for the emergence of right wing anti-communist vigilante groups (qtd. in Santiago 155).

Alsa Masa was established in Davao City, Mindanao where violence is really prominent because of different conflicts. In addition to this is the NPA growth in that area in the time of 1980s. Many of its members were former criminals, most were NPA “surenderees” reported to be former “deep penetration agents” of the military (Clark et. al. 63). By the time, the issue of deep penetration agents (DPA) really stirred chaos inside the Communist Party of the Philippines especially the New People’s Army.² Such armed cultist groups like Tadtad were also members of Alsa Masa. They were armed to assist in the counterinsurgency campaign of the government.

Much of the scenes were actually from real accounts of encounters of counterinsurgency against the communists, and specifically the NPA, the armed-wing of the CPP. For instance, the sequence where the foreign priest was shot resembles the 1985 murder in Cotabato, Mindanao of an Italian missionary who was allegedly shot by paramilitary groups during the Marcos regime (Santiago 161). The Santa Filomena folk, meanwhile, represent the peasants from Leyte (also a province but in Visayas) who fled their home in 1987 to escape the terrorism of the vigilante group (Ibid). In the film, after Commander Kontra and his troop went to Esper’s house and turned amok, the Jimmy Cordero lead Esper and other people to evacuate the barrio because of the upcoming wrath of Commander Kontra which led to the burning of the village.

Resemblances to actual people and events help the audience to identify the elements in the film. Similarly to TAOK, even though this is not a documentary film, the “historical specificity plays a key role in reading the film... [which] give a journalistic and documentary quality to it (Ibid).”

With the elements presented in the films TAOK and Orapronobis, the historical context which they belong was effectively represented because of being “real” of such elements. Audience can easily identify because of the historical context, for instance, of Anwar and Commander Kontra though the two films have their own approach in representing reality. It served as a window where audience can look to the reality that is hidden or forced not to seek for by the government.

Systematic Political Strategy of Oppression

In the previous parts, connection between the vigilantes and the military is explained. Similar to both the films is this connection. Either direct support or indirect help from the military emerged to sustain the vigilante’s anti-communist activities.

The command to kill all communists in the 1965-1966 event came actually from the State. By that time of chaos, Sukarno authorized Suharto to “restore order” through the presidential order of October 3, 1965 (Roosa 12). Because of that Suharto established KOPKAMTIB (Komando Operasi Pemulihan Keamanan

² The Operasyon Kampanyang Ahas was implemented especially in Mindanao to clear the party from DPAs. See Abinales 154-179 in Patricio Abinales (ed.), *The Revolution Falters: The Left in Philippine Politics After 1986* (Ithaca, 1996) *

dan Ketertiban, Operations Command to Restore Order and Security) to identify, arrest, and investigate all those responsible for and involved in the 30 September Movement (van Langenberg 46). This is to testify that the killings done by the vigilantes like Anwar, is not just a vengeance from floating anger towards PKI though it is one. That legal action supported the killings without giving the army a bad reputation. Alongside this command was the propaganda against PKI. So it is a full swing combat against communist composing RSA and ISA elements. Michael van Langenberg writes,

The main institutional instrument for the exercise of state power on behalf of the new regime, the KOPKAMTIB, was in place... KOPKAMTIB, as an intelligence and security command network extending from Suharto, as commander, down to local military commanders at village level, was utilized for this purpose... On 6 December, a presidential decision expanded KOPKAMTIB activities to 'restore the authority of the Government by means of physical-military and mental operations... Special operations by KOPKAMTIB could, in addition, draw on the resources of all government departments, as required. Finally, all military units in the country, from the inter-regional and provincial commands down to the village level, were made operational units of KOPKAMTIB. (qtd. in Ibid 51.)

This states that a legal order acts as a guide how will this order itself be implemented on local levels. Coming from the State-level, the command then crawls out into local unit through military troops in regional area. Then here will be the connection between military and vigilantes steps in. Reports were telling that some of these vigilante groups were trained and armed by the military. But there are some that chose to act on their own way, just like Anwar. For example, Karnow described one massacre;

“At each building, an army captain read names from a list, advising them of their guilt ‘in the name of the law,’ though no trial was ever held. Eventually filled with 60 prisoners and piloted by a platoon of troops, the trucks drove six miles through a dark landscape of rice fields and rubber estates to a barren spot near the village of Djelok. The neighborhood peasants had been ordered by their headman to dig a large pit the day before. The prisoners, lined up at the edge of the pit, were shot down in a matter of minutes. Some may have been buried alive (qtd. in Roosa 25-26).”

Though Karnow, concluded that it was the army who conducted systematic and surreptitious massacre, this kind of massacre may not be impossible to be done by vigilantes. Anwar is a living example of that.

Similarly, in the Philippines, the counterinsurgency campaign of 1987 allows the local level vigilantes to act on their own but guided by the military. Orapronobis can conduct different anti-communist activities in the barrio without the presence of the military but still obeying its order.

Conclusion

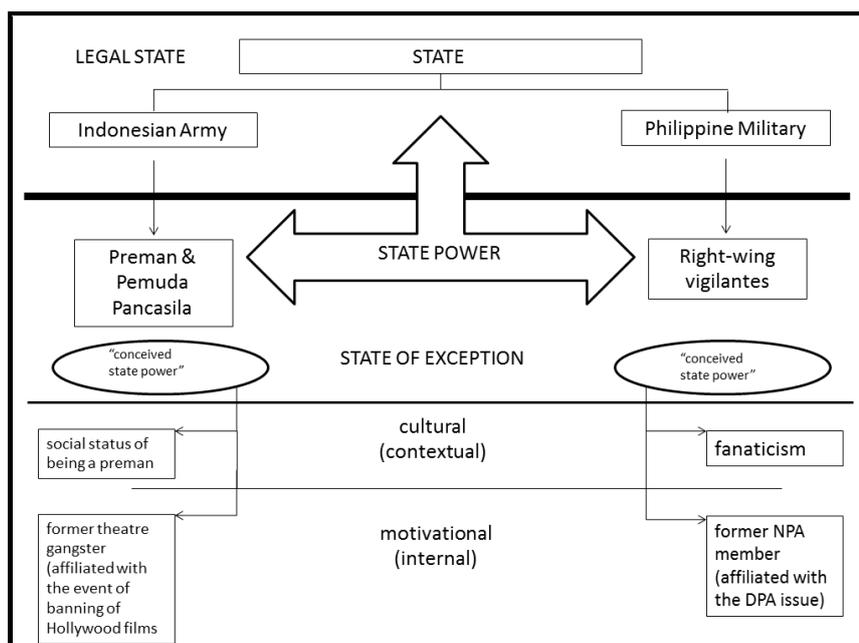


Figure 1. Structure of State Power and “Conceived State Power.”

The diagram above shows the structure of employing state power into local levels producing conceived state power. The two components constituted above are the vigilantes (for Philippines) and the preman (for Indonesia). Specifically, Commander Kontra and Anwar are the samples represented in this structure.

In this diagram, producing conceived state power will be discussed with respect to the previous parts of the study. Previous parts deal with the micro and macro level state power employment. The first parts deal with the context of the films thus situating them in the national history of Indonesia and Philippines. Second part, introduces the main characters in this study and how they were affected by the social and political situation at the time. Third would be the integration of the films into the political situation, especially focusing on the representations of the elements in the film. This last part should discuss how the State power sprawls into local levels through military and then stretching it to the vigilantes. This dynamics functions within this framework then produces a type of employed state power, or conceived state power, which is peculiar and adaptive to its subject.

There are two areas of division in the diagram, located in the upper half is the legal state, and on the lower half is the state of exception which is basically from Carl Schmitt and Giorgio Agamben's concept of state of exception. Two components constitute the legal state, the State itself and the army/military, while the state of exception includes the main characters - the preman & the vigilantes.

The structure of this diagram should be applied in the issue of killings by the vigilantes and preman. One can notice that on the top located is the State. It is the one who gives orders. For instance, the KOPKAMTIB was ordered by Suharto that acted as the State at the time. To be more faithful, Sukarno ordered Suharto to “restore order” by his presidential order on 3 October 1965. These two commands act as the legal order or the State power which is to be directed into the vigilantes and preman. But directly employing it to them will be against the law because these groups and individuals were actually working outside-the-law. The lawlessness of them is not compatible to meet and receive the legal order coming from the State. What's the solution? Employ it to the military. That move is a completely legal process because one of the military's roles is to protect and maintain order of the society. That's why military belongs to the legal state.

However, killings would put military in a bad reputation because it would be ironic if the forces that should protect the people are the ones who are killing them. The State needed to seek for a way that they could implement the order while at the same time, not involving itself in the process. What's the solution? Command the outside-of-the-law agents to perform the killings, hence the existence of right-wing vigilantes and the preman death squads. However, fulfilling the order to kill the communists will be different depending on who will execute the command. If the military would implement the command, it will be different on how Anwar and Commander Kontra did the killings. Why is that? It is because of the contained conceived state power in Anwar and Commander Kontra.

This conceived state power is actually an indirect command or State power employed to the vigilantes and preman. It is an indirect command because the order still passes through military but must be employed to the outlaws. But what constitutes this conceived state power?

It can be seen in the diagram that this power comes from the personal composition of the vigilantes and preman. The composition was also divided into two categories - the internal which is the motivational urge & the contextual which is cultural or social influence. For instance, in a scene in the film, Commander Kontra meets Jimmy Cordero. He told him that he was a former revolutionary just like Jimmy. It seems that one of the motivations of Commander Kontra to be one of the Orapronobis is because of the issue regarding the deep penetrating agents in 1980s. It is not really stated in the film, though just as explained in the previous parts of the paper, the film was based on the true story thus one can identify Commander Kontra as one who experienced the tragic chaos within the party. This speculation belongs to the motivational area that constitutes conceived state power. On the other hand, cultural influence would be his fanaticism that rooted from religion. It is manifested in Commander Kontra by his beliefs in amulets and other religious elements.

So what are the effects of this conceived state power? One would be his way of killing. In the French version, there is a scene of cannibalism which Commander Kontra is on the spotlight. This is after the scene where he shot the foreign priest, Jose Lacaba (the screenwriter of the film) writes,

showing Bembol Roco, as the vigilante leader [Commander Kontra], about to eat (not actually eating) a portion of human brain. This appears in the beginning, in one of the pre-title sequences (Santiago 159).

On other accounts on vigilantes, Sheila Coronel tells the fanatical practice of vigilante groups,

The vigilantes bore holes into tombs and steal the kneecaps of the dead to make amulets which, they believe, will shield them from bullets. They also string around their necks vials containing oil which they say, heats up when a communist approaches. The Tadtad, fanatic cultists that roam the hinterland villages of Mindanao got their name because they have been known to chop their victims. In Davao del Sur early this year, a group of Tadtad

cut off the head of a young farmer whom they suspected was a rebel and then paraded the decapitated and bloodied head around town (Ibid 156).

In TAOK, the wrath of Anwar came from what happened to Hollywood films in the 1960s. As movie theater gangster, banning of Hollywood films would have a significant impact on his life. That would be his motivational baggage on conceiving state power. The social aspect of it was his status in the community as preman. He enjoyed being preman, doing what he wants, extorting money from traders, spreading terror in the community etc. This affects how he conceives state power.

Conceived state power influenced its subject. This process of producing conceived state power unconsciously utilized by the state to first demonize the communists and then command to exterminate them all. The connection of the State and the outlaws is in a blurred zone. The State took advantage of this to have the situation in favor to it. The state of exception where the law is suspended creates a confusion of having a law of not having it. With this type of state or situation, the ones in the seats of power can turn the situation upside-down. They can dictate what a law should constitute. And by this, lawlessness can be in a state of being legal.

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Menanam Terjemahan Semangat Priyayi: Habitus and State Violence in *Para Priyayi*

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the representation of the priyayi class in Umar Kayam's novel *Para Priyayi* in light of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus. As set forth in *Distinction*, differences in habitus, defined as a "virtue made from necessity" which manifests as 'life-style', reflect a basic bipartite class division between those who live in material comfort and those who do not. In *Para Priyayi* this division is between priyayi and *wong cilik*. The priyayi characters in the novel live at a distance from material necessity which defines their self-identity as priyayi as well as their relations with both *wong cilik* and the broader national-historical context of the novel's setting. This distance is evident firstly in the regressive 'philanthropic' efforts of "priyayi maju" and secondly in the historical 'flatness' that characterizes Noegroho and enables his apparently untroubled participation in the killings of 1965-66. The text of the novel itself 'sides' with the priyayi via its portrayal of leftist and non-priyayi characters. Finally, conversations between Harimurti and Lantip are considered as a microcosm of the debate between Lekra and their 'universal humanist' opponents which in turn encompasses a broader ideological confrontation between radicalism and liberalism. Hari's 'loss' in this debate results not from the weakness of his argument but rather from his own traumatic encounter with state violence. His disavowal of leftism and repentant return to traditional 'priyayism' at the end of the novel reflect the death of the left, both spiritually and materially, which inaugurates the New Order era in Indonesian history.

Keywords: *Umar Kayam, Bourdieu, priyayi, aesthetics, violence, communism, 1965-66 Indonesian killings*

Introduction: defining the priyayi

"In your opinion, what is the meaning of that word, priyayi, Tip?"

"I've never really known, Pakde. That word isn't very important to me anymore." (PP. 307)¹

Its title promises an account of the priyayi, but the text of Umar Kayam's *Para Priyayi* proves evasive; at the close of the novel, Lantip, the most 'authentically' priyayi character, declines to give a definition or even acknowledge the term's significance for his self-identity. Can we establish any further certainty, a 'sense' of the priyayi, beyond Vladislav Zhukov's helpful translation of the novel's title as "Javanese gentry"?

Before turning to the text itself, three definitions of the priyayi, two by noted Indonesianists and one by a Javanese academic, will help to orient us. First is Clifford Geertz's canonical tripartite division of Javanese society into abangan, santri, and priyayi. These categories covered both religion and socioeconomic status: the abangan were generally farmers and, while often nominally Muslim, held mostly animistic beliefs that predated the arrival of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam or Christianity in Java; the santri were petit bourgeois who practiced a more orthodox Islam while not entirely forsaking 'local' beliefs and practices; and the aristocrat priyayi practiced a "Hinduistic" religion derived from the old Javanese courts (Geertz 6).

Geertz's totalizing conception has been critiqued by later writers. Priyayi is not, in fact, a religious orientation but a social class; there are abangan priyayi and santri priyayi. This distinction is also present within *Para Priyayi* when Gadis, impressed by Harimurti's ability to recite the *Al-Fatihah*, remarks on his family's santri status compared to the abangan tendencies of her own family (JG 336, PP. 278). Heather Sutherland confirms this criticism, and her account emphasizes the mediatory role of the priyayi in regional politics, "connecting centers and regions, elites and common people" (Sutherland 57).

¹ My reading is based on the Indonesian text novel *Para Priyayi* by Umar Kayam. For reasons of international accessibility I refer whenever possible to Vladislav Zhukov's 2013 English translation, *Javanese Gentry*. Only when I feel Zhukov's translation reconstructs the original text in a way unresponsive of my reading have I translated selected passages myself. If a quotation is cited as (JG..., PP...), it is from Zhukov's translation, with the number following JG referring to the pagination of that edition and the number following PP referring to *Para Priyayi*. If a quotation is cited only as (PP...), the translation is my own.

Totok Sarsito, in an article on Soeharto's appropriation of Javanese traditions to strengthen his rule, focuses on the priyayi as bearers of massive cultural and symbolic capital. For him, Javanese society is characterized by a bipartite division between priyayi and *wong cilik* (literally, 'small people'): the priyayi or upper class is responsible for the production of 'culture' in the form of art, philosophy, and spiritual guidance, while the *wong cilik* support the priyayi economically with the result of their harvest (Susito 449). Regardless of the social facts 'on the ground' in Java, Susito's is the division we see both represented in *Para Priyayi* and explicitly and recurrently discussed by its characters. This division also brings the novel structurally into line with Pierre Bourdieu's bipartite division of society between the bourgeoisie and the working class in *Distinction*. As this paper will show, this connection is far from arbitrary and has implications beyond a mere fortunate correspondence between a literary and 'theoretical' text.

Aesthetic Disposition and Habitus

The concepts of aesthetic disposition and habitus are both explored at length in Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, a sociological analysis of French culture based on surveys conducted in the 1960's. The setting of that research is indeed far from the world of *Para Priyayi*; in fact, all of its 'content' -- food; holiday location and activities; music, television, and films; and the way a home is decorated (or not) among the bourgeoisie vs. the working class in France -- is not at all relevant. Nevertheless, Bourdieu's basic insight of a bipartite structure of social difference and distinction is one we find reproduced in the novel, albeit in a different form.

Bourdieu sees our social class, that is, our economic relationship with our society and world, how we make our living and the amount of money we get for it, as fundamentally codeterminate with all 'superstructural' aspects of our identity, which are expressed through taste. Connected to taste is the concept of 'habitus', which he defines as "a virtue made of necessity" (Bourdieu 175). This relationship between virtue and necessity is most visible in the working class. They always live 'close' to necessity because of their low income; what they have and can afford only slightly exceeds what they need to survive. This economic fact influences their taste until they also desire only 'the basics', a kind of no-frills lifestyle, and a concomitant disdain for 'higher' pleasures and abstract forms of art. For the working class, "necessity imposes a taste for necessity which implies a form of adaptation to and consequently acceptance of the necessary, a resignation to the inevitable" (372), that is, the working class learns to accept and even enjoy what little they have. This taste for necessity manifests itself as habitus: "the habitus is necessity internalized and converted into a disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions" (170). In other words, taste in its connection with habitus is not to be understood as mere choice or preference. Habitus is with us on a bodily level, shaping the way we move, speak, and enjoy the world together with how we think and value it.

If the habitus of the working class is determined by its closeness to necessity, the bourgeois habitus is determined by its distance from it. We can in fact modify the definition of habitus in the case of the bourgeoisie to become 'virtue made of a lack of necessity'. This habitus is characterized by the 'aesthetic disposition', a way of looking at the world that derives from the aesthetic thought of Immanuel Kant. For Kant, aesthetic judgment as experience of beauty is disinterested, universal, and necessarily and non-conceptually pleasing (Schafer 373). The aesthetic disposition, then, is a view separated from its object and tends to view form rather than function (Bourdieu 3). Bourdieu further writes that the aesthetic disposition,

which tends to bracket off the nature and function of the object represented and to exclude any 'naive' reaction -- horror at the horrible, desire for the desirable, pious reverence for the sacred -- along with all purely ethical responses, in order to concentrate solely upon the mode of representation, the style, perceived and appreciated by comparison with other styles, is one dimension of a total relation to the world and others, a life-style. (54)

This bracketing, this ability to impartially gaze without considering the function or use of the object thus regarded, becomes the exclusive province of the bourgeoisie since they are the group with the necessary distance from material necessity that makes such a practice possible. The bourgeoisie don't only deploy the aesthetic disposition when viewing art but when confronted with any phenomena they encounter in the world. To the extent that this disposition is based on a purely formal principle, all content becomes irrelevant, and absolutely anything can be viewed 'aesthetically'. The only constant is that judgments that emerge from the aesthetic disposition always function to distinguish the bourgeoisie, that is, those who possess both financial and cultural capital in significant quantities, from the working class, which possesses almost no capital of any kind.

This basic material difference between the classes, their closeness to or distance from necessity, determines all differences in fashion and taste, but there is more at issue here than a choice between music genres or vacation spots serving as a class indicator. If we follow the logic of distinction to its conclusion, we find that aesthetic judgment, which since Kant has been regarded as a universal faculty of humankind, in fact depends upon one's socioeconomic position; a "misrecognized form of social difference" is eventually "read as a universal expression of the universality of art and aesthetic experience" (493). If the

ability to judge aesthetically is viewed as part of "a definition of the genuinely human" (491), but a person possesses this ability only insofar as her class allows, then some people are 'more human' than others. Specifically, the bourgeoisie are more human than the working class. For this reason Bourdieu writes that "what is at stake in aesthetic discourse ... is nothing less than the monopoly of humanity" (Ibid).

The bourgeoisie and the working class are not to be found in the world of *Para Priyayi*, mainly set in and around Wanagalih, East Java, from the beginning to the middle of the 20th century. In Western terms, that society is more feudal than industrial capitalist. Nevertheless, the basic structural distinction between those close to and far from necessity remains, and that distinction, in this case between priyayi and *wong cilik*, permeates the social world of the novel. For Bourdieu, the discovery of the bourgeois monopoly of humanity was a scandal, an affront to the popular French notion of equality. In the Javanese context, there is comparatively little attempt to mask the situation; as Sarsito frankly writes, "morally and mystically, men are not equal" (449). Nevertheless, Bourdieu's thinking allows us to see that such inequality is not the reflection of a cosmic order but the result of class division.

As will be discussed in greater detail below, the distance from necessity of the priyayi characters in the novel which in turn gives rise to aesthetic distance colors all of their views of and interactions with broader society. This distance also impacts their historical consciousness, particularly in the case of the soldier Noegroho. We can also see this dynamic functioning in the structure of the text itself, specifically in the representation of non-priyayi and leftist characters. Ultimately, Kayam's novel presents us with an understanding of the priyayi that cannot be separated from the political violence in Indonesia's history, especially the killings of 1965-66. The unfolding of the priyayi habitus in the social world leads at best to political liberalism resistant to systemic change, and at worst to nihilistic game-playing in the sandbox of history.

Regarding the wong cilik

Sastrodarsono is the central character, if not the protagonist, of *Para Priyayi*. He is a child of poor farmers who is adopted by Seten Kedungsimo, a local priyayi, and later becomes the patriarch of a priyayi family whose experiences are the focus of the novel. It ends with his death and burial. His marriage to Ngaisah is arranged by their families, and succeeds because Ngaisah has already mastered everything necessary to be a good priyayi wife: how to decorate the house, receive guests, speak properly, and support her husband both materially and socially. In Sastrodarsono's words, she "proved to be the wife of all my hopes" (JG 60, PP. 45). This compatibility exemplifies Bourdieu's statement that "taste is a matchmaker"; two people with the same habitus will 'fit' as if they were "made for each other" (Bourdieu 243), because in a sense they have been. As we will see further on, Ngaisah's skill in her role eventually saves Sastro's life.

We witness the depth of Sastrodarsono's internalization of the priyayi habitus when, already an established teacher, he travels to the village of Wanalawas with the goal of opening a school there. As the locals approach him, he describes feeling "as with a sharp pang the sensation of standing in a foreign place populated by a backward race arrested in common misery" (JG 130). Here, Zhukov's translation loses some of the metonymic force of the original, in which the villagers are described as "*segumpal dan setumpuk kemiskinan*", literally a lump or heap of poverty (PP. 102). Two things stand out here: first, Sastrodarsono feels himself to be in a foreign country, a much further distance than the tens of kilometers he bicycled to reach the village. Despite coming from a similar background, he no longer intuitively 'sees' them as fellow Javanese because of the class difference that has grown up between them. This feeling then expands until the villagers lose all individuality and humanity and become an undifferentiated mass defined only by their poverty.

Later, after Sastrodarsono is moved by their desire to improve their situation through education, the villagers receive a metaphoric promotion in his eyes, though not to the level of human. They become "beasts driven to market", which inspires a bit of self-reflection: "I asked myself why I should see them in that light now, while formerly, in Kedungsimo, I had been just such a one as they were" (JG 132). In the original he is more frank: "*Apakah karena waktu itu saya adalah ternak juga?*"; that is, "was I livestock then as well?" (PP. 104). We thus have two rhetorical 'moves' on Sastrodarsono's part, both dehumanizing. First, he metonymically reduces the villagers to their poverty; then, he views them metaphorically as *ternak*, livestock waiting to be led (they won't 'go to market' on their own), a metaphor which he also turns on his former self. This image will guide his philanthropic efforts for the rest of his life, as well as that of his descendants.

Sastro's mission is humanitarian. When his son, Hardojo, asks about his feelings of regret after the school at Wanalawas eventually fails, he answers, "I said to myself, I'll supply them with this knowledge, these provisions for life if you like, and we'll see" (JG 199, PP. 163). Sastro's desire to help (as well as that of other '*priyayi maju*' like Seten Kedungsimo, Martoatmodjo, Hardojo, Harimurti (by the end of the novel), and Lantip) is undercut by what we might call the colonial logic of his thinking, which has the following structure: 'you, the *wong cilik*, are less than human. If you wish to become human, you must become like us, the priyayi, or become one of us altogether. Becoming like us requires leaving behind your former self, your savagery, your barbarism'. One problem here is that the priyayi rely on their difference from the *wong cilik* as the basis for their self-identity; this is the meaning of 'distinction'. The priyayi also depend materially on the *wong cilik* for their existence. If 'progress' for the *wong cilik* means 'becoming priyayi', that progress will be limited to the small number of *wong cilik* lucky enough to finish school in an

unsupportive environment (assuming their village in fact has a school) or be adopted by a priyayi family, as with Sastro and Lantip. The priyayi/*wong cilik* structure will persist for as long as humanity is identified exclusively with the first term in that pair, and Sastro and others' efforts may help individuals, but they remain structurally ineffectual.

We see this prioritization of the priyayi not only in the thinking of the priyayi characters but also in the presentation of non-priyayi throughout the text. Non-priyayi are generally undifferentiated and only named when their interaction with a priyayi warrants it. Ngadiyem becomes important through her relationship with Soenandar, Sastro's nephew, which produces Lantip; Martokebo becomes important through his violent resistance to the class system; and Maridjan becomes important by impregnating Marie, Sastro's granddaughter, then allowing himself to be 'domesticated' by the Sastrodarsono family. The poor farmers that form the backbone of this society become a kind of background against which the priyayi characters, like *wayang* heroes, develop in order to fulfill their 'noble' dharma. As we see in the case of Noegroho, Sastro's first son, this level of abstraction in his distance from the poor leads as well to a distance from his society and from history as a whole that is perhaps better termed 'alienation'.

Regarding history

The character of Noegroho most embodies this alienation from history that is to a greater or lesser degree an implicit product of the priyayi habitus. Originally a teacher, he goes along without complaint for military training with the occupying Japanese during World War II, in contrast to his father, who resists them. After training, he simply "returned to work like normal at the Perfect Masses School in Jetis" (PP. 177). Noegroho brings this same flat matter-of-factness to all of the historical events he witnesses, as if he were describing a day at the office. The most remarkable thing for him about Indonesia's independence is the number of years each of his children end up studying Dutch (JG 245, PP. 200).

We find a possible explanation for this flatness in the family's discussion of the *Tripama*, a Javanese version of parts of the *Mahabharata*. According to Sastro this poem contains a vital lesson for all of his children on the subject of duty, but especially for Noegroho, now a soldier in the Indonesian army. Three characters in the *Tripama* -- Sumantri, Karna, and Kumbakarna -- are possible models of loyalty for Sastro's children, but none of them is unambiguously worthy of emulation. Sumantri is ambitious, sacrificing his younger sibling in order to become a knight, but ultimately proves his nobility when he dies defending Arjuna; Karna serves the evil *Korawa* out of loyalty to those who raised him; and Kumbakarna is a *Korawa* who disagrees with his brother Rahwana's plan for war but still dies defending their homeland. Sastro does not offer any more definitive advice (aside from his comment that duty (*kewajiban*) here is duty to the newly independent Indonesian nation, not the Japanese or the Dutch), and "as for Sumantri or Karna or Kumbakarna: the paths of duty are many and I leave it to you to choose which one to take" (JG 229, PP. 188).

On the one hand, we can read Sastro positively here by saying that he leaves the concept of duty to "king and country" or to one's race or nation (*bangsa*) as a formal principle empty of specific content and awaiting fulfillment in a concretizing interpretative act. By refusing to prescribe a course of action he allows his children their own ethical agency. Furthermore, the stories of Sumantri, Karna, and Kumbakarna each imply some level of ethical tension in which the characters must choose between personal desire and an external code that transcends and conflicts with that desire. Even as each of them ultimately chooses and dies for duty, this choice is not predetermined beforehand but is the result of an inner conflict. The point of their stories is this struggle to choose; without it they are merely automata, agents of duty.

On the other hand, the freedom Sastro grants his children via his lack of a concrete interpretation includes the possibility of self-abdication. This is what we find in Noegroho's contention that "the question of agreeing or disagreeing is irrelevant ... one does one's duty" (JG 227, PP. 187). The decision to delegate all ethical thought to one's superiors, to do only what one is told, cannot be placed on the same level as the duty of the *wayang* characters above. In the world of myth, they can, in fact, commit to duty in the abstract. In historical reality, however, an analogous surrender to authority will always be a surrender to particular interests. In that light Noegroho's commitment is not an ethical decision but a continual failure to make one, indeed a failure to *be* ethically at all. We witness the consequences of this conception of duty when the characters of *Para Priyayi* encounter the mass killings of 1965-66. Although Noegroho's role in those killings is never directly addressed, his rank in the army suggests at the very least some knowledge of what is happening. He never displays any conflict or discomfort whatsoever.

The concept of neutral duty transforms politics from an engagement with the questions of how humans live together into an empty game, and it is precisely in these terms that Noegroho scolds Hari for his leftist involvements: "Heh-heh-heh, Hari lad, you certainly put your foot in at every turn, hey? Plays politics, he picks the PKI; chooses a wife, and she's a Gerwani² spitfire" (JG 360, PP. 297). If we go back to the concept of the aesthetic disposition enabled by privilege, Noegroho is its exemplar, with contemporary political life as the object of his alienated gaze. All that is important is his own ability to distinguish himself through mastering the rules and playing well. He shows no 'horror at the horrible'. It is especially disturbing that he can laugh at Gadis' Gerwani status when we remember that members of Gerwani were often specifically targeted for torture and rape (*Torture* 923).

2 an abbreviation for Gerakan Wanita Indonesia, the Indonesian Women's Movement, affiliated with the PKI

Regarding the Left

Leftist thought is portrayed dogmatically and stereotypically in the novel, and those involved in leftist politics are represented unsympathetically. First there is Martokebo, a livestock trader from the village area behind Sastrodarsono's house. At the outbreak of the Madiun Affair he reveals himself as a member of the PKI³. He threatens Sastro and some of his priyayi friends, holding them hostage in the house, and rants about priyayi sucking the livelihood from farmers (JG 237, PP. 194). He is calmed by the unflinching politeness of Sastro's wife, unable to resist the ingrained power of *bahasa halus*. This action by Ngaisah saves Sastrodarsono's life, while his friends are brought away and shot.

Afterwards, when the family discusses the incident, they appear genuinely confused as to what could have motivated Martokebo. The most credible explanation for them is that Martokebo was jealous; he had many debts and was never successful, and neither were any of his sons. He would have learned Marxist concepts, or at least jargon, from his son-in-law, a member of the communist faction of the army, and he then used that language to cover and justify his own resentment. The most shocking thing for the family is his change in tone, his failure to be polite: "I can understand being influenced politically; but ... to change his character like that was awful" (JG 243 PP. 198). Nothing at all is made of the political content of Martokebo's remarks. He may be jealous, and he certainly speaks impolitely, but his analysis of the structure of Javanese society is essentially correct: the priyayi do live off the labor of the *wong cilik* in their village. This economic support gives them their freedom to pursue their various humanitarian 'callings', to fulfill their dharma. At the end of this conversation, they laugh together.

Later in the novel, when the college-age Hari becomes involved with Lekra⁴, we see other, more educated leftist partisans. The most significant is Gadis, Hari's girlfriend and later fiancée, who doesn't use her given name of Retno Dumilah so as to hide her priyayi background and appear more 'of the people'. Gadis is egotistical and spiteful. She takes obvious glee in Soekarno's banning of the Manikebu⁵; her eyes shine with "bright bitterness" (JG 319, PP. 263). Later, when Lantip visits her in prison, she is similarly negative: "Bung Hari's sitting comfortably at home now, while I rot here on my own ... How reasonable is that, Kang? He should be here [suffering] with me!" (JG 357, PP. 295). Her uncharacteristic outspokenness, always critical, stands in contrast to the wives of the Sastrodarsono family who know how to suffer in silence. And, for all her sloganizing, Gadis' level of political insight is shallow at best; she considers her family 'downtrodden' because they don't belong to the highest ranks of priyayi. Hari promptly corrects her (JG 331, PP. 274).

Of the novel's committed leftists, Bung Naryo gets the most sympathetic treatment. Even so, his aesthetic thinking is disappointingly doctrinaire, as seen when he critiques Hari's production of *Ki Ageng Mangir* for placing too much emphasis (or any at all) on romantic elements:

...you've led us into a mere drama of a couple's love, and not one about power, about ruthless, arbitrary power wielded by feudal overlords ... People's theater is a political instrument promoting the interests of the masses, don't forget its purpose. So I have these suggestions: that Senapati's character, his huaghtiness and hunger for power, should be enlarged on; and so too the character of Mangir, not as lover but as tragic hero struggling to further a people's democracy. (JG 326-7, PP. 270)

When Hari argues that the sense of social injustice might actually be heightened for the audience through their emotional attachment to the doomed lovers, Naryo tells him that his thought is still tainted by "the liberal theories of universal humanism which we've just recently seen liquidated in this country" (JG 328, PP. 271), referring to the recently banned Manikebu. In Naryo's mind, the paradigm of class struggle has displaced all other modes of thought; he is the stereotypical unfeeling radical.

Hari, as we shall see, is a liminal figure, standing between the traditional priyayi of his family and the leftists he meets at university. Always described as compassionate and caring, he is the only '*priyayi maju*' who seeks a structural, rather than philanthropic, solution to the problem of the destitution of the *wong cilik*. His aesthetic and political thought develops mainly through dialogues with his adopted brother, Lantip.

Regarding radicalism and liberalism

The first dialogue between Hari and Lantip takes place soon after Hari has begun interacting with artists and thinkers from Lekra. He has always been a talented performer, especially gamelan and traditional dance, but Lekra opens his eyes to a new way to think about the arts: "I always thought of them as just that, art, that they hadn't any function really, not as we understand function. As far as I was concerned they were something of beauty, simply to enjoy ... Now I see to what extent they've been instruments of class ascendancy. What we understood until now as simply "the arts", have been devices serving a feudal and then a bourgeois class" (JG 314, PP. 258-9). While crude, the important thing here is

3 Partai Komunis Indonesia, the Indonesian Communist Party

4 an abbreviation of *Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat*, the Institute for the People's Culture, associated with the PKI, which advocated Soviet-style socialist realism

5 the *Manifes Kebudayaan* or Cultural Manifesto advocated 'universal humanism' and earned the scorn of Lekra artists and activists

Hari's newfound awareness about art, a shift in emphasis from the aesthetic elements internal to the work to its function in the social world of which it is a part. If we view Hari's growth as an individual, we see a bridge forming between two hitherto separate parts of his personality: his talent for performance and his concern for others.

Lantip responds with a more traditional view:

artistic experiences are given us just to be enjoyed. Whether it's a villager tapping a gong or chanting a *macapat* to himself out in the fields, or his wife humming something while plaiting a mat at home, there's nothing more in it than happy enjoyment. Of course your *priyayi* sitting in a grand hall attending some performance has his own level of enjoyment, but it's not a difference to fashion a sinister divisiveness out of. (Ibid.)

Hari's dismissal of Lantip's position as "liberal bourgeois nonsense", while again crude, is substantially correct. Lantip here adopts the hegemonic position of the dominant class: art is for sensual enjoyment and the aesthetic difference between the classes exists but is not worthy of attention or criticism. As we have seen, such thinking either covers or justifies the economically enforced inferiority of the *wong cilik*. Once again we see the depth of internalization of this distinction when Lantip turns this critique upon himself, blaming his "Wanalawas roots, so backward, provincial and crude" that he never had the opportunity to develop the proper *roso* to create Javanese fine art (PP. 256). As for Hari's opposition, we should remember that he is not so dogmatic as to banish all non-explicitly 'social' elements from his art, as urged by Bung Naryo. Hari shares Lekra's concern for social justice but disagrees as to the best means to achieve it through art.

Hari and Lantip's second dialogue comes later, after Hari has already been imprisoned for his leftist connections and released because of his uncle Noegroho's military connections. The admonishment Hari receives from Noegroho at that point is also worth noting:

You've been, forgive me, a little confused lately. Those commie dogmas do that to people. You took the wrong road there, Lé. Now you stay here in this house and begin rereading and studying the Pancasila ... God, humanity, unity, democracy, justice ... without the Pancasila all your other ideologies, movements, parties, your *komunisme*, even if they succeeded in taking power it would be like a thief breaking into an empty house. (JG 346, PP. 285)

Much different from Hari and Lantip's conversation, which has the structure of a true dialogue, that is, an attempt to reach an understanding about something not immediately clear beforehand, Noegroho wields abstract concepts as predetermined and prejudged wholes with which to assert his rightness and dominance. Pancasila is good; communism is bad. This type of reductive thinking can of be found on all sides of a debate, but the hegemonic status of Noegroho's position as well as its moral culpability warrant our critique. On a practical level he gives good advice, since at that very moment the government and right-wing sympathizers are systematically murdering the Indonesian left. Intellectually, it is not the last time we see this destruction circularly justify itself: communism must be destroyed because it is un-Indonesian; communism is un-Indonesian and thus must be destroyed, each "Why?" only eliciting the alternating response.

This logic affects the traumatized Hari, who reflects that "I was under house arrest because I had been wrong, had gambled in my choice of beliefs" (PP. 288). Note again the language of gaming. The issue of an ideology's approved or forbidden status in the eyes of the government trumps its content as thought; politics becomes an issue of what is safe or allowed and what is not. Hari knows he was wrong but he cannot articulate why. His guilt will prevent him from speaking at Sastrodarsono's funeral, instead passing that task to Sastro's most 'worthy' successor, Lantip.

Hari and Lantip's second dialogue explicitly concerns politics. Hari has changed from their earlier conversation, when he was full of youthful enthusiasm. Now he is doubtful and hesitant. Their talk turns around a question of Hari's: "How," after the 'failure' of communism in Indonesia, "can we lift up the *wong cilik*?" (PP. 290). Earlier, Lantip has already dismissed "system[s] that could give rise to a potentate like Stalin ... Hitler, or Mussolini ... such systems always contain the seeds of later ruthlessness that claims countless helpless victims (JG 351-352, PP. 290). Here Lantip encloses a false equivalence between communism or leftism in Indonesia and the left- and right-wing dictators of mid-century Europe within the anodyne statement that such absolutist governments tend to cause the loss of "thousands" (millions?) of lives. This transposition is indeed insidious because the mass murder occurring in Indonesia at the time brutally targets the very leftists whose system Lantip implicitly dismisses as dangerous. Having cleared the field of totalizing political systems, Lantip can offer his own:

believe, accept, that other people are like themselves; instead of going around dividing and separating everyone into contrasting classes or blocs or whatever. Believe that we all have opinions and wants and needs and choices and dreams and rights. Basically, that we are all equal in those. Once we have that foundation, we develop a clear and open system on it capable of giving everyone an opportunity to speak out, declare each person's opinions and aspirations. And because we've decided to grant that everyone is capable of

thinking and can formulate opinions, then it follows that we must listen to others with sympathy, unburdened by all those theoretical preconceptions, those weighty ideas which imply to our own great satisfaction that we are cleverer than they, than the masses, who can't think, that we know the nature of their needs and wants better than they do ... and suddenly there's your system. One that does away with the notion that to improve people's lives you have to murder untold numbers of them. I'm tired of seeing where that leads: Madiun, this business now, and who knows how many more still to come. No, we should turn more humbly to simple discussion and dialogue. (JG 352-3, PP. 291)

Lantip's political vision is liberal in that it emphasizes the freedom and equality of each human individual as its primary concerns (Losardo 1). This paper will not rehash the many critiques and counter-critiques of political liberalism. Of interest here is the extent to which the ideals Lantip espouses, which few would deny on their face, serve to cover up the 'real' situation⁶.

The legitimate grievances of the farmers, the poor, and the intellectuals are in his view fueled only by false "theoretical preconceptions". What is needed, apparently, is an approach to the matter at hand without any preconceptions -- in other words, the dream of the Enlightenment. The view of 'prejudice' here is entirely negative: 'extremists' are blinded from the need for dialogue by their theoretical prejudice, while only moderates like Lantip can see the truth. Even Hari's tentative leftism was too much. Madiun is invoked, as it still is to this day⁷, to prove the communists' cruelty and inhumanity and the necessity of their elimination. Once again we must reiterate that the largest mass murder in Indonesia's history was perpetrated against communists, suspected communists, leftists, and untold others, with then-general Soeharto's approval as well as overt and covert American support⁸. Because this murder and the subsequently imposed narrative of the PKI's betrayal of the nation were the foundational symbolic moment of Soeharto's presidency, and because post-Soeharto Indonesian politics is still dominated by figures from the New Order, there has never been a historical reckoning. As one might expect, Lantip's attempt to come at the matter without prejudice only ensures that his deepest and most unconscious prejudices determine what appears for him.

On the level of Javanese society, acknowledging the 'political' equality of the *wong cilik* without anything approaching economic equality is tantamount to pretending that the difference between *priyayi* and *wong cilik* doesn't exist. Why do they need revolution, or redress as a group, one can ask, when each of them is equal before the law, when each has the right to speak and be heard in the public sphere? The idea of 'listening to the *wong cilik*' at all presupposes once again that in whatever new system Lantip wishes to erect, there will still be *wong cilik* or their equivalent, that is, there will still be a society based on that distinction. Lantip's liberal imagination reaches its limit at a kind of benevolent reformism that may make the system kinder but will never overcome it. Thus one both the national and regional level, Lantip's 'egalitarian' dreaming turns out to support a repressive regime.

Of those characters who might oppose Lantip's position now, only Hari remains: Martokebo has been executed, Naryo has been killed by a mob of villagers, and 7-months-pregnant Gadis has mysteriously died in prison days before her release. Hari has no more will to fight. Instead he follows the example of his family, opening a library for primary school children, but only with the promise that there will be nothing 'subversive' about the project (JG 364, PP. 301). He loses this debate not because his opponent makes a stronger argument but because his opponent's argument is backed by raw state violence. He is wrong because he lost, and for that reason he gives to Lantip, "more of a *priyayi* than all the rest of us", (p. 304) the right to speak at Sastrodarsono's funeral at the same time as his victorious ideology leads Indonesia into its new era.

In light of these events, Lantip's comment, quoted at the beginning of this paper, about the meaning of '*priyayi*' takes on a new relevance. Zhukov's interpretation, in fact a translator's interpolation not in the original text, that the word "has been losing its meaning and its importance in these times", and that Lantip's uncertainty of its meaning announces "the prospect of extinction for the class of *priyayi*" (JG 372), injects an unwarranted note of nostalgia. Enlisting Bourdieu, we can claim instead that the reason the *word priyayi* and its verbalizable *meaning* are no longer important to him is because, having proved himself again and again to be authentically *priyayi*, its meaning is already 'with' or 'in' him; he embodies the meaning of *priyayi* as *habitus*, which entails, among other things, an ingrained opposition to radical social change.

The closing image of the novel is relevant here. After the funeral, Hari, Lantip, and Lantip's wife, Halimah, are walking towards Wanalawas, Lantip's birthplace. Lantip begins singing old Javanese poetry, and Hari joins him, in a reversal of his previous opposition to 'feudal' artforms. When they finish, Halimah immediately begins to sing a Minang folksong from her home in West Sumatra. When Hari asks her if her hometown is different from Wanagalih, she answers, "It's different, but also not different, Dik Hari. Is that really important?" (p. 308). They walk on, in a fantasy of sameness marked by the repression of the different, as dusk falls.

6 We can also read Lantip's statements as a veiled criticism of the 1965-66 killings, but even in that case his politics belies his avowed concern.

7 See, Taufiq Ismail's recent "Presiden Mau Minta Maaf kepada PKI?" as well as Arif Saifudin Yudistira's response, "Membuka Tabir Gelap Sejarah Kita"

8 See Roosa, esp. Ch. 6, "Suharto, the Indonesian Army, and the United States". For the difficulties in estimating the number of dead, see Cribbs.

Conclusion: 'planting the seeds of a translation of the priyayi'

The relationship between art and politics (assuming the two can be separated at all) is by no means simple. The aim of this paper has been to explore some of the issues surrounding that relationship as they emerge in dialogue with Umar Kayam's novel. In that regard, Kayam's own politics or the 'politics' that might be revealed operating 'behind' the text are less important than how the text continues to speak to us 25 years after it was first published. *Para Priyayi's* claim to 'truth' is not exhausted in an ideological critique of its text or author. Beyond the conclusions already drawn concerning the function of the priyayi habitus in perpetuating the marginalization of the *wong cilik* and enabling state violence, we also find in *Para Priyayi* an argument for what might be called 'aesthetic moderation' between the two represented extremes of Lekra's dogmatic socialist realism and Lantip's (and the Manikebuists') naive liberalism.

Hari is the figure of this moderation. He concedes both the need for social change and for art to be relevant to that change while rejecting the idea that socialist realism is the only possible medium for such art. At the same time, he concedes the aesthetic value of traditional Javanese forms while rejecting the limiting of art's role to mere beauty or decoration. This approach earns him criticism from both sides, but it is the political right that proves the more vicious enemy, imprisoning him and causing the death of his fiancée. The inseparability of art from the political in the context of 1960's Indonesia is the condition of his repression. His fate is that of Indonesian aesthetic and political consciousness in general: Hari, the victim, also bears the guilt of having been repressed, while the killers remain in power, untroubled by conscience.

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Environmental Damage in the Indonesian 1965 Coup Literature

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Abstract

Violence, atrocity and human rights abuse in Indonesia have become part of the narratives of the 1965 Coup Literature. Not only has such body of writing enriched Indonesian literature, but it has also contributed to the history of Indonesia in a way inconceivable by the country's official history.

What has been scarcely documented, however, is the fact that environmental problems were also added to the dark past of the coup. Pollution, poverty, economic exploitation, land seizure are among the ecological injustice often surface in some Indonesian literary works using the 1965 coup as backdrops.

This paper, therefore, is to examine Indonesian contemporary fiction in the light of Ecocriticism. It will discuss the ways in which ecological issues in several literary works need to be politically and ideologically contested.

Keywords: *ecocriticism, water pollution, economic injustice*

Introduction

Every act of violence has its own history, and when this harrowing experience lives in literary works, remembering the past is not to revive hostility, but instead to learn from the past. The Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe believes that literature is to help make right what went wrong in official history.¹ Literature, as any other cultural production, has captured the sheer scale of violence of Indonesia's 1965 tragedy with which fingers had been pointed at the suspected communists and their family members whilst people were trampled underfoot by Suharto and his cronies. Given the censorship and repression of the government, the most consistent motif in literary works published right after the coup is of pain and remorse when war turns brother against brother. As Aveling claims in the introduction to his own translation of the Gestapu short stories, human sympathy is present in the works preoccupied mostly by death written by then young writers like Kipandjikusmin, Satyagraha Hoerip, Mohammad Sjoekoer, Martin Aleida, Gerson Poyk in between 1965 - 1970.² Then, the fall of Suharto's New Order saw the profusion of scholastic writing³ alongside literary works revisiting the event by the new emerging writers such as Leila S. Chudori's *Pulang* (2009), Laksmi Pamuntjak's *Amba* (2012) and G.M. Sudarta's short stories. The contemporary writers' representations of the coup resist the imposed amnesia and scared silence of the PKI-alleged coup. Thus, the publication of the varied literary representations of the coup to date has given evidence of the continuing national awareness of unlearning the history of the Indonesian past atrocities. This is indeed a good sign.

However, dearth of ecological concern is conspicuous in these texts be they written before and after the end of Suharto's military regime. As with any mass killing, it has always incriminated territorial claim and confiscation, as victory seals that separate the slaughterers and the slaughtered; and in this eventuality, environment, social and physical alike, was severely damaged. The concern of this paper is to look at the repercussion of violence associated with the 1965 tragedy towards environment.

Environmental Injustice

Why environment matters? Aside human misery, environment vulnerability is no more evident than it is in the time of war. The oil spillage that killed flora and fauna during the Gulf War in the 1990s, for example, has convinced the international law to place sanction against the warring nations to minimize people's suffering and the earth on which we live.⁴ In today's context, the then added "eco-war" to this "war on terror" in the Persian Gulf sounds even more apt. It is not an exaggeration anymore to assume that our planet will soon render deteriorated before it will become uninhabitable.

¹ Chinua Achebe, "The Novelist as Teacher" in *Morning Yet on Creation Day: Essays* (London: Heinemann Educational, 1975), pp. 52-5.

² See Harry Aveling. Trans. Ed. "GESTAPU: Indonesian Short Stories on the Abortive Communist Coup of 30th September 1965" *Southeast Asian Studies Working Paper No.6*, Southeast Asian Studies Program University of Hawai'i, 1975.

³ See for example the works of Heryanto (1999), Wieringa (2000), Zuburchen (2002) among many others.

⁴ Hans-Peter Gasser, "For Better Protection of the Natural Environment in Armed Conflict: A Proposal for Action" *The American Journal of International Law* 89. 3 (July 1995):637-644 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2204184>. Accessed: 30-09-2015 06:10 UTC

It must be mentioned in the outset that unlike the latter nuclear-age wars, the historical violence in Indonesia in 1965 is not an eco-war in the modern sense. But all kinds of cruelty, scapegoating, excommunication and other human-rights violations afflicted to the victims of the 1965 have, in fact, environmental dimensions, be they psychological, physical, and socio-economic. At the psychological and political level, the victims are ostracized. The New Order's notorious “*bersih diri, bersih lingkungan*” [clean self/identity, clean environment] is among the anti-communist campaigns directed to anyone that the authority disliked regardless the person had any communist links in the past or otherwise. Next, at the physical level, the savagery of 1965 tragedy left behind such hard evidence as mass graves and corpses dumped into the seas and rivers.⁵ Finally, at the socio-economic level, the aftermath of the mass murder is destruction of homes and farms. Especially in Java, the Indonesian Communist Party was often associated with the syncretic or nominal Muslim rural farmers vis-à-vis the *Santri* or Muslim-educated populations. With the 1965 pogrom which mostly involved labours and peasant communities, property and land grabs were inevitable. To compare, when talking about mass killing and heinous crimes carried out by the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, for example, Leckie points out the importance of addressing cases of land seizure and violations of economic rights.⁶ In all conflicts, the destruction of property, housing, fields and many more always entail ownership and occupancy disputes.

Given that violence is inextricably linked to environment, this paper attempts to show that violence that plagued human beings also tortures nature with which people are further injured. As such, it will discuss one Indonesian 1965 fiction to see how the text juxtaposes environmental inequalities and political violence.

Reading Green in ‘Red’ Indonesian Literature

Deep reflections on the impact of environmental pollution and natural disasters barely surface in contemporary Indonesian fiction, because, in general, authors often focus more on socio-political (and economic) problems. For example, it is revealed that out of the 25 short-stories with ecology themes published in the national newspapers *Kompas* in between 2010 - 2015, environmental issues are used mostly as setting of place or time; And only a few are engaged in some kind of political commitments for environmental protection.⁷ While the presence of ecological awareness is yet to be seen in contemporary Indonesian literature, it is even harder to see how ecology features in the 1965 coup literature. Most scholarships on the 1965 coup focus on the detailed analysis on the ways the New Order government has silenced the victims by means of oppressions and violence as shown by, to name but two important ones, Hoadley's *Indonesian Literature vs. New Order Orthodoxy: The Aftermath of 1965 -1966* and the more recent work by Taum Sastra dan Politik: *Representasi Tragedi 1965 dalam Negara Orde Baru* [Literature and Politics: Representations of the 1965 Tragedy in the New Order].⁸

Among the scarcity of environmental themes in Indonesian post-coup literature is *Amba* (2012) written by Laksmi Pamuncak. The novel tells about the exploitation done by the New Order government of life in the penal Buru Island. Wiyatmi's study shows that the novel has political, economic and capitalistic dimensions in that the regime has made the natural wealth of the island such as oil fields, eucalyptus trees and others a paradise for foreign investors.⁹ It is argued here that sinister portrayal of the penal colony was deliberately constructed by the authorities to hide the economic exploitation therein. Although Wiyatmi concludes by underlining that the novel's portrayal of nature is to provide setting for what she calls “historical fiction”, her study is a good start to explore other contemporary writing with deeper sense of concern about exploitation of nature which is thus far hard to find.

Contrary to anthropocentric reading of literary works portraying people's defeat because of the harshness of place, ecocritics today reflects concern about the destructive impacts of globalization and modernization toward culture and environment. For this, writers combine literature and activism, hence highlighting the interdisciplinary nature of ecocriticism as proven by Allen when drawing parallels between two female writers Arundhati Roy and Ishimure Michiko.¹⁰ Despite the different starts of their environmental engagements, both writers believe in the transforming power of stories as to make a difference in dispelling self-centeredness and building environmentally conscious community. While Roy began with her literary career and has later involved in environmental activism, Michiko first drew public

⁵ See, for example, Nathaniel Mehr's ‘*Constructive Bloodbath*’ in *Indonesia: The United States, Britain and the Mass Killing of 1965 - 1966* (Nottingham: Spokesman Books, 2009).

⁶ Scott Leckie. “United Nations Peace Operations and Housing, Land, and Property Rights in Post-Conflict Settings” in *Housing, Land, and Property Rights in Post-Conflict United Nations and Other Peace Operations: A Comparative Survey and Proposal for Reform*. Ed. S. Leckie (Singapore: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 3 - 18.

⁷ Novita Dewi, *Sastra Hijau sebagai Gerakan Sosial: Kajian Karya, Penulis dan Komunitasnya*, Unpublished Research Report, Sanata Dharma University, Yogyakarta, 2015.

⁸ See Anna-Greta Nilsson Hoadley's *Indonesian Literature vs. New Order Orthodoxy: The Aftermath of 1965 -1966* (Sweden: Department of East Asian Languages Lund University, 2002) and Yoseph Yapi Taum's *Sastra dan Politik: Representasi Tragedi 1965 dalam Negara Orde Baru* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2015).

⁹ Wiyatmi. “Berziarah ke Pulau Buru melalui Novel *Amba* Karya Laksmi Pamuncak” in *Prosiding Seminar Bahasa dan Sastra dalam Perspektif Ekologi dan Multikulturalisme*. Yogyakarta: Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia, FBS, UNY, 2014, pp. 301 - 310.

¹⁰ Bruce Allen, “Facing the True Cost of Living: Arundhati Roy and Ishimure Michiko on Dams and Writing” in *Coming into Contact: Explorations in Ecocritical Theory and Practice*. (Eds.) A. M. Ingram et al. (London: The University of Georgia Press, 2007), pp. 154 - 167.

attention with her study on the Minamata industrial poisoning incident. The latter is often likened to Rachel Carson in that her widely acclaimed *Paradise in the Sea of Sorrow* (1969) helps raise Japanese people's consciousness of the danger of ecologically unsound projects. Both Asian woman writer-activists have continued campaigning against the destructive power of modernization through their literary pieces. It is critical scrutiny of relationship between literature and ecology and the implications thereof that will be used in reading the work discussed in this paper.

Such interconnectivity between people, place and costs of living is in line with the recently released Papal document on the environment by the Vatican on 18 June 2015. Crisis in ecology, consumerism, global inequality, poverty are central to *Laudato si'* ("Praise be to you, my Lord"). Subtitled "On care for our common home", Pope Francis' encyclical is offered in 8 languages (i.e. Italian, German, English, Spanish, French, Polish, Portuguese and Arabic) and soon translated into world languages not only for Catholics but also everyone on earth interconnected by grave problem of climate change. The Head of the world's largest faith asserts that people who do not love Nature do not love God the Creator of Nature and thus cannot possibly love others. In short, the Holy See claims that environmental crisis results from human activities that ignore the grace of creation. The Pope's encyclical addresses global imbalance whereby the rich (multinational companies) continue to indulge their appetite to exploit nature at the expense of the poor who are the most grieved because they are deprived of the otherwise bounty of nature. What follows is discussion on Aleida's novel in the light of Ecocriticism and Papal encyclical.

The Crying Coup Novel

Written by Martin Aleida, *Jamangilak Tak Pernah Menangis* [Jamangilak Never Cries] (2004) addresses environmental deterioration when telling us about the characters who happen to be suspected Communist partisans in the 1965 tragedy.¹¹ Forced similarity can be drawn between Aleida and the writer-activists aforementioned in terms of their resolute efforts to send message through poetic expressions. A bit of biographical note about the writer is necessary here. Born in in Tanjung Balai, Sumatra in 1943, the devout Muslim Martin Aleida set the novel studied in the Asahan River, the pride and prized nature of his hometown that had turned ugly by the time the novel was written. Arriving in Jakarta in the early 1970s, Aleida formerly took up varied profession and once became a reporter for the newsweekly *Tempo* whilst publishing his short stories in Medan-based newspaper *Indonesia Baru* and *Harian Rakyat* (Jakarta). Since then Aleida has prolifically written short stories and novels to date. Owing to consistency in his writing and artistry, Aleida earned several writing prizes such as the literary award from the Department of National Education in 2004. It is worth mentioning first that *Jamangilak Tak Pernah Menangis* (henceforth *JTPM*) is chosen to discuss given the obvious ecological theme, instead of Aleida's earlier 1965 novels such as *Layang-Layang Itu Tak Lagi Mengepak Tinggi-Tinggi* [The Kites No Longer Fly High] published earlier (1999).

Inspired by the pollution of the Asahan River caused by the waste from a multinational rayon factory in Sumatra, *JTPM* tells of a female character named Molek who complaints the local authorities so as to suspend the company's business permit. The river from where the residents catch fish, take a bath and procure water has become contaminated. Day by day, floods of increasingly high sand accumulate, and the river gradually recedes. The local government turns a blind eye to this toxic wasted river. Molek braves herself to meet the Regent claiming for taxes paid by the people to at least remove the mound of sand in the river. But Molek's efforts thwart. Her concern for environment and people who live in it are fruitless. Instead, not only are her protests unheeded, she too is abused by the authorities once they know that her son is a runaway political detainee.

JTPM is a rich novel in that the novelist puts together the narratives of double violence, i.e. military aggression and ecological damage with which ordinary people suffer. Thanks to Vandana Shiva that the wealth of literature on eco-feminism has grown rapidly focusing as it does on gender vulnerability. Indeed, women and nature share a common oppression by patriarchal industrialized society; and the novel is just about that. *JTPM*'s apocalyptic tone suggests that the marginalized people are doubly victimized by their denial of rightful space to live. Through the voice of Molek, ecological catastrophe is revealed.

Comparing the novel with Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *Gadis Pantai* [Girl of the Coast], Bandel argues that Molek's struggle is that of environmental activism, unlike the struggle of Pramoedya's unnamed heroin.¹² It can be argued here, however, that Molek is as just as strong-willed as the female characters of Pramoedya.¹³ Molek's capacity to change in order to survive makes her appear stronger than, for example, her son Hurlang whose direct impacts of communist stigmatization help ruin him. Right from the beginning, the author introduces Molek to come across as a strong, tough woman. She is a wife and mother who is "luar biasa untuk ukuran perempuan" [extraordinary by measure of average woman], thus appearing pluckier than her husband (*JTPM*, 39). Molek is the one to challenge the army men who sometime come to their house asking for money by force. When the roof tile broke, we are told that she, too, is the one who

¹¹ Martin Aleida, *Jamangilak tak Pernah Menangis* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2004).

¹² See "Perempuan Pesisir dalam Novel *Gadis Pantai* dan *Jamangilak Tak Pernah Menangis*", *boemipoetra* (November-December 2008): 3 - 4.

¹³ I argue elsewhere that the female characters in Pramoedya's are determined and often outshine their male counterparts, hence the similarity with Molek's characterization. See "Women of Will for Nation Building in Pramoedya's Three Early Novels" *Kritika Kultura* 20 (February 2013): 1-20. <http://kritikakultura.ateneo.net/issue/no-20/novita-dewi-women-of-will>

fixes it. As it is, it becomes clear that her effort to mobilize public protest about the poisoned river appeals more to women than men. It is her persistence that infuriates the authorities that are mostly male.

Inserted in the novel, for example, is the interrogation scene when Molek bravely retorts the interrogators for torturing and accusing her of being an ex-Gerwani, to say nothing of the offensive and impolite words thrown at her. Here, Aleida masterfully rewrites official history by dismantling the gossipy, filthy accounts of the bizarre dancing and genital mutilation of the top-ranked generals performed by the members of the PKI-linked women organization. Saying that the Gerwani, like she herself, struggled to further women's rights and causes, Molek refuses to believe the story:

Ah, don't you chew such a carcass-smelled hoax. Within a few days after the incident, the results of the medical investigation showed that the generals' private organs had remained intact, perfect. So detailed was the examination that there was one that's not circumcised because the victim was Christian. Did you know that the reality had been distorted to inflame the public's anger so that people killed the communists and their allies, as is the case here. In fact, they were good people. I was a witness, like it or not, they converted the thugs in this town to be human again.¹⁴ [My translation here and elsewhere]

Molek goes on to tirade about the obligatory broadcast and school children's viewing of the G30 S/PKI movie every year, corrupt and lying officials, unwarranted arrest of her son and a lot more embarrassing facts about the authority. She does not easily give up and consistently defends herself against the indictment of hiding political motifs behind the riot-turned mass gathering she helped arrange in Padang Bandar. She unswervingly says that what she cares is saving the river.

Using story telling technique, Aleida again makes use of Molek to recount the aftermath of the coup, i.e. land seizure as an act of revenge by the anti-communist people with the help of Muslim clerics supported by the army. She speaks of the fate of the peasants and share-crop farmers who used to be mobilized by the PKI to claim their rights in a series of "aksi sepihak" [unilateral declarations] but later became the main target of killing where "hukum dan undang-undang kehilangan makna di hadapan balas dendam" [law and constitutions have no meaning in the face of revenge] (JTPM, 65). Recalling the horror of the 1965 war, Molek details that in the eastern and central part of Java large properties belonging to the Islamic boarding schools were reclaimed as the table was now turned.

As the story unfolds, we see that the brutality continues in post-conflict times where economic and political interests collide. The pollution of the Asahan water is an evidence of the avarice of the power of the day as to ignore the ordinary people's sufferings. Big multinational company has succeeded in buying off the officials to misuse their power for private gains at the expense of environmental deterioration. Here the Papal encyclical rings true: Environmental damage is inseparable from human and ethical degradation. It is a big lie that the earth's supply is infinite. As Mahatma Gandhi says, Nature is accessible for people's need but not for people's greed.

This novel thus unveils the fact that the maltreatment of nature is a debt that must at some time be terribly repaid by the next generation. A biting paragraph ends the novel thus:

For two years, an ill-treated river has to wait for the change of fate that has been handed to a woman who vowed to do something to save her. During that time, thousands of people who live on both sides of the river have to await for the return of the people who has encouraged and convinced them that the city about to sink will be salvaged by the strong will to fight together that appears from the minds and hearts of the entire population. Otherwise, the river will remain as a mere stopover, where people earn money, accumulate wealth, as promised by every port city. [...] Then, the river must polish herself, wash the dirt and rust cast by passers-by: to the Asahan River.¹⁵

¹⁴ Ah, jangan kau kunyah-kunyah cerita bohong yang sudah berbau bangkai it. Hanya beberapa hari setelah kejadian, hasil pemeriksaan dokter menyebutkan kemaluan para jenderal semuanya utuh, sempurna. Begitu rinci hasil pemeriksaan itu, sehingga disebutkan ada satu yang tidak disunat karena korban beragama Kristen. Tahukah kau bahwa kenyataan telah diputarbalikkan untuk memanas-manasi masyarakat supaya orang membunuh orang-orang komunis dan konco-konconya, seperti yang terjadi di sini. Padahal, mereka orang-orang baik. Aku menjadi saksi, suka atau tidak, kenyataannya, mereka membalikkan preman di kota ini menjadi manusia. (JTPM, 107)

¹⁵ Selama dua tahun, sebatang sungai yang teraniaya harus menunda perubahan nasib yang telah diserahkan kepada seorang perempuan yang bersumpah akan berbuat sesuatu untuk menyelamatkannya. Selama itu pula, ribuan orang yang bermukim di kedua tepi sungai itu harus menanti pulangnya orang yang telah menggerakkan dan meyakinkan mereka bahwa kota yang terancam tenggelam itu akan bisa ditolong dengan kehendak memperjuangkannya dengan niat yang padu, yang muncul di dalam pikiran dan hati seluruh penduduk. Kalau tidak, dia akan tetap tinggal sebagai persinggahan semata, tempat orang mengadu nasib, mengumpulkan kekayaan, sebagaimana dijanjikan setiap kota. pelabuhan.[...] Maka, sungai harus mengasah dirinya sendiri, membasuh daki dan karat yang dicampakkan orang yang lalu ke situ: ke Sungai Asahan. (JTPM, 238 - 239)

Concluding Remarks

Ecological reflections can hardly be seen in Indonesian literary works using the drawback of the 1965 coup. The ways in which contemporary literature depicts violence, trauma, and all sorts of atrocity have not been sufficiently sensitive to ecological issues found in the literary texts. It would seem that change about the understanding of human nature is somewhat slow from anthropocentric to ecologically aware as shown in the 1965 literary representations throughout the span of 50 years. Be that as it may, no smaller change will do, and Martin Aleida's novel, to say the least, sparks a light of hope. If we believe that enthralling stories have transformative power to make us imagine, understand and sympathize with the wretched lives of others, more ecologically-inclined literature is needed. Finally, Pope Francis's call for ecological conversion is to tread the same road with efforts to reconcile with the agony of the 1965 history believing that the common enemy now lurking ahead is but the gradual loss of our common home and the catastrophic implications thereof.

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Indonesian *Bildungsroman* in Pramoedya A. Toer's Buru Quartet

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Abstract

In *The Mute Soliloquy*, Pramoedya A. Toer (1925-2006) wrote that the aim of Buru Quartet is to “help correct the accepted colonial version of the history of Indonesian nationalism” (1999: 314). This suggests that Indonesian nationalism as being imagined and dreamt by its ideologues and founding fathers had, according to Pram, been betrayed by postcolonial regimes, particularly by Soeharto’s New Order. In Indonesia New Order, nationalism was represented as something finished and stable. As such, nationalism fixes its gazes in the past, which was invented and maintained by the regime. Pram, on the other hands, believed that Indonesian nationalism is something that is dynamic, in the process of making, and act of imagining. This paper explores how Indonesian nationalism was invented and is developed through the observation to the main character of Pram’s Buru Quartet, how his characterization could become a metonymy to Indonesian *bildungsroman*, and how, seen this way, Indonesian nationalism is more a result of an act of imagining than a solid reality.

Keywords: Nationalism, representation, dynamic nationalism, metonymy.

Introduction

Pramoedya Ananta Toer was born in Blora, Central Java, Indonesia in 1925 and died in Jakarta in 2006. During his lifetime, he wrote many books, fiction and non-fiction, about the history of modern Indonesia and other humanity issues. The Buru Quartet, which comprises of *This Earth of Mankind*, *Child of All Nations*, *Footsteps*, and *House of Glass*, is his highly acclaimed work. Written during his fourteen years of forced-exile without trial in Buru Island in eastern part of Indonesia from 1967 to 1979 by Soeharto’s New Order regime, the quartet aims to “help correct the accepted colonial version of the history of the rise of Indonesian nationalism” (Toer, 1999:314). Because of his important contribution to the world of literature, Pramoedya was, at many occasions, mentioned as the leading Asian candidate for the Nobel Prize in Literature.

Buru Quartet is the story of Minke, a native educated coming from a Javanese royal family. It fits the category of *Bildungsroman*, the “novel of growth” that could broadly be defined as fiction detailing personal development and educational maturity (Childs and Fowler, 2006:18-19). The first three books, *This Earth of Mankind*, *Child of All Nations*, and *Footsteps* tell the story of how the character of Minke develops from a naïve young man who admires everything that comes through his European teachers to a mature man who is critical of colonial power as well as of the traditional Javanese values, a man who dares to desire and dream of a new society where everyone “becomes a free human being, not given orders, not giving orders” (Toer, 1990a: 128). In the course of his character development, Minke is influenced and shaped by the presence of other powerful characters such as Nyai Ontosoroh (a self-educated and self-liberated concubine sold by her own parents to a Dutch official, who turns out to be a successful business woman, and who later also becomes Minke’s mother-in-law), Jean Marais (a bitter ex-colonial soldier and a one-legged artist who becomes Minke’s best friend), Kammer (a mixed-blood journalist who challenges Minke to write in Malay instead of Dutch and to know his own people), Teer Haar (a journalist that opens Minke’s eyes to the capitalistic reality behind the colonial endeavors), and Khouw Ah Soe (a young Chinese activist coming to Java to awaken the national spirit among the Chinese diaspora in the Indies who inspires Minke to ask the same question about his people). The fourth book, *House of Glass*, is a discontinuity in terms of narrator, because the task is now taken away from the mouth of Minke, who is sent to exile in Moluccas, and done by a high police official, Pangemanann, who masterminds the efforts of surveillance of all nationalistic movements within the East Indies colony—a metaphor to what the New Order regime did to many humanist and democratic activists in the postcolonial state. Yet, the narration remains: the narrative story of Indonesian national awakening.

The awakening of Indonesian nationalism itself, as any other artifact, cannot be separated from and must be understood in its historical and social contexts, both internally and externally (Anderson, 1991:3, 4, 12). Yet at the same time, it is also a break from the past, because of its realization that what it desires and dreams does not lay in that past, but in the future—in their imagination.

Many critics, especially those of subaltern studies, see nationalism as having neither deep philosophy nor great thinkers (Anderson, 1991) as well as a threat to human life (Cheah, 2003:1) because of its fixed gaze on the frozen past (either as existence or imagination) and its contemporary incompetence

and failure to give enough resistance to the neo-colonialistic trends of the capitalistic world. Pramoedya, nevertheless, still has belief in Indonesian nationalism. He sees it as something unique because its conception and development is not quite the same as those of nationalism in other South Asian countries—where nationalism is seen as the desire to come back to the state prior to colonialism and/or is based on primordial entities such as religion or ethnic groups—that undeniably has become the material of studies of many of those subaltern critics. On the significance of Indonesian revolution, Pramoedya writes in *Mute's Soliloquy*, “had an impact on the international world. Without the Indonesian revolution, it might have been much longer before India, Burma, and the Philippines found their freedom. ... It was Indonesia's destiny to be in the vanguard of the decolonization process” (1999:256) For Pramoedya, Indonesian nationalism is a way of looking forward to the future, a project of imagination, rather than a continuation of a distant past that was disconnected by the coming and the reigning of European colonialism or the continuation of the era of colonialism. Yet, as also suggested above, while for him Indonesian nationalism is a modern invention, Pramoedya also believes that it is a result of human beings' creativity as well as a necessity of history. Indonesian nationalism for Pramoedya, therefore, depends not solely on history nor a creative project, but a combination of the two.

Minke's character development in the quartet acts as the metonymy of Indonesian national awakening *bildungsroman*. By metonymy here I refer to both Lacanian sense that sees metonymy as a mode of displacement of the imaginary order through the using of language that functions as a symbolic order (Tyson, 2006:29-33) and literary sense that defines it as synecdoche (Baldick, 1990:136). This is implicitly endorsed by Pramoedya himself as he asserts in his book, *The Mute Soliloquy* (1999), that an individual's personal and sensory perceptions [and stories] ... form one part of that person's nation's history and of humankind in general (x) and expresses in his other essay entitled “My Apologies, in the Name of Experience” (1996) that the truth of fiction is also the truth of history, which is very Lacanian. Both are organisms striving to maximize their capacity for life. Their struggles against the colonial and neocolonial states are life's struggles against all that negates and obstructs their dynamism and causes their negation (Cheah, 2003:252).

In this paper, I will explore how Indonesian nationalism is invented and developed through the observation of the main character of *Buru Quartet*, how Minke comes to the realization of the need to invent Indonesian nationalism, what aspects both historical and social that prompt him to create and desire that nationalism, how he imagines the Indonesianess and how he metonymies Indonesian nationalism.

Minke's *Bildungsroman*: Metonymy of Indonesian Nationalism

In the beginning of the first book, *This Earth of Mankind*, Minke is telling us how proud he is to be an educated person in the turn of the nineteenth century: “I was still very young, just the age of a corn plant, yet I had already experienced modern learning and science: They bestowed upon me a blessing whose beauty was beyond description” (Toer, 1990a: 16). As a native, his access to colonial education is the result of a series of events that had happened beforehand, particularly the institutionalization of Ethical Policy by the Netherlands government in 1901. The Ethical Policy had as its roots both in humanitarian concern and economic advantage (Ricklefs, 2001:193). Briefly, it is a policy to pay the debt to the Indies through the provision of education, irrigation, and transmigration. As generous as it may sound, however, this policy, like all other colonial policies, aims at the enhancement of the colonizer's own interest. The access to education for natives, for instance, had as its goal to provide the colonial government with skilled, cheap labor for its bureaucracy. Minke, too, is expected to be a “bupati,” a regent which will make him “nuts, screws, and bolts” in the machine of colonialism (Toer, 1990a:17). The Dutch colonizer and the educated native, are this way, is envisioned to work together in running the colonial government, but with the first as the (top) decision makers and the latter as the operator of the decisions and the pacifier for the majority natives.

Because of his education, Minke is uprooted from his Javanese tradition and values, as could be seen in his statement that he sees himself “rather different from the general run of my countrymen ... [that] had been satisfied with the accumulation of its own footsteps in the lanes of its villages” (1990a: 16-17). He despises the Javanese tradition that forces him “to cringe ... slide along like a snail, and worship some little king who is probably illiterate to boot” (1990a:121). And yet, on the other hand, the fact that he disregards many Javanese values does not make him non-Javanese either. When hearing the voice of *gamelan* music, he feels nostalgic with a certain distant past, a feeling quite intense that he cannot really formulate. It is the same feeling that he feels every time he talks with his mother, who calls him by his very intimate name and who caresses his cheek like he is still a baby even though he is already in his late teens. For a split second, he regresses into his childhood. An overwhelming feeling rushes into his heart (1990a:127). Javanese identity is for him, therefore, something he already left long time ago but still haunts him unconsciously. It resembles a phase in Lacanian theory before the mirror stage, i.e. the Imaginary Order, a world of perceptions where everything is one and united, where there is a feeling of fulfillment and content that he is one with his “mother,” that he is alone what his “mother” needs and that his “mother” is what he only needs. The later development and realization that his “mother” belongs to somebody else, that is to his father, is what prompts him to find another Imaginary Order, which, I would argue, lays in his participation and early full trust in his European education.

At the same time, Minke's desire to fully participate in the modern/European knowledge does not make him truly European. One thing that clearly hampers this dream is his body, which is brown. He might be able to learn and immerse in European knowledge, but his body remains a Javanese body. His body becomes a place of performativity and arena of contestation, because in his day-to-day activity Minke chooses to wear European clothes—feeling offended when being asked to put off his shoes (121)—that makes him more European in native eyes, distancing him from his family and fellow natives, and yet at the same time could not fully cover his native body, as exclaimed by the drunk Mr. Herman Mellema, Nyai's master: “[B]ecause you wear European clothes, mix with Europeans, and can speak a little Dutch, you then become European? You're still a monkey” (47). Minke's identity, seen this way, cannot neatly fit into the categorization of European or Javanese. It oscillates between the two, a nervous condition not untypical in colonial setting, as Albert Memmi also experienced and suggests in his book *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (1965).

This oscillation of identity, the feeling of in-between the old Javanese tradition from which he had departed to learn European knowledge and wisdom and the new, exciting modern world which he is eager to enter but soon, as he finds out, does not accommodate a hybrid person like himself embodies the feeling of unbelongness or the space of lost, if you want to put it in Lacanian terms (Tyson, 2006:29-33). It can also be the space fertile for creativity, if you follow Salman Rushdie's suggestion in his book entitled *Imaginary Homeland* (1991), both of which I will use in this analysis. His agony from the experience of lost which summits in the loss of his wife, Annelies, to the cruel and discriminative colonial law that is best expressed in his angry, yet powerful and liberating remarks toward the end of the first book: “Europe, you, my teacher, is this the manner of your deeds?” (1990a:358) shows how he feels betrayed by the one he previously had perceived or imagined to be his new European cultural “mother” which he is “obliged to trust” (1990a:16). The efforts to recuperate from this feeling of loss of the perceived “unification” with the “mother” set the tone of the second book, *Child of All Nations*. Here, Minke struggles to hang on and creatively devise his feeling of loss to understand his standing in the colonial world: “All this reading taught me a great deal about myself, about my place in my environment, in the world at large, and in the unrelenting march of time” (Toer, 1990b:47).

If Minke's departing from his Javanese cultural identity, which is a one-way and irreversible process, though, again, undeniably many of its remnants and dream-like reality still unconsciously and constantly haunt him to date, could be understood as a “voluntarily departure”—since his going to European schools was at any rate his own choice—and yet unavoidably act of leaving behind his first inhabitable Lacanian Imaginary Order, his enthusiasm and full, naïve trust in the European values and knowledge he learns at school, I would argue, signifies his newly found Imaginary Order. But as the old Imaginary Order is only a perception of union and did not last, so is his stay in the new Imaginary Order, which proves to be non-permanent. If in the previous Imaginary Order, he spoke Javanese, the language that puts him in the inferior position in relation to others especially in front of the figure of the father, which makes him feels uneasy and unhappy, but at the same time gives him the feeling of intimacy with his mother, in the new found Imaginary Order, Minke speaks the Dutch language, the language of the master and teacher while imagining that he will be united in and with it. Both, however, turns out to be elusive and illusionary.

Child of All Nations narrates the story of another of Minke's efforts after the betrayal and failure of his Dutch endeavors. Here, Minke's process of bildungsroman is facilitated by his new informal teachers, particularly Kammer—a historical, mixed-blood journalist pioneering the writing and publishing in Malay—who challenges and encourages him to understand his own people and write their stories in that people's language, instead of the Dutch, as expected from an educated person like him, or Javanese, as always dreamed and wanted by his mother, and then publish them in Malay newspapers to be read widely by his own people. The thing that also helps him shape his understanding of his colonial situation is his encounter with Surati and Trunodongso, two natives who in their own ways show him how wicked the colonial system is.

While Pheng Cheah (2003) argues that the process of Indonesian nationhood starts with the finding and using of the name of “Indonesia” in 1917, I believe that it actually started earlier, i.e. when Malay was becoming the accepted lingua franca among native and mixed-blood educated around the first decade of the twentieth century. Minke's decision to start writing and publishing in Malay—to follow Rushdie's suggestion of the using of the feeling of lost or betrayal to creatively create new space—signifies a *conscious* departure from his (mis)perception of union with the European “mother”. He leaves the illusion of ontological reality that is carried out by the using of the Dutch language. He wants to “know his own people.” This is, I will stress, a conscious process and that is why Indonesian nationhood awakening must not at the first place be seen as a desire to look back to the lost union with the “mother cultures” but more as a departure from it to dream something non-existent beforehand—something to be created in the future.

Minke's efforts gain new momentum with his second marriage to Mei—the fiancée of his late Chinese friend, Khouw Ah Soe—who, as being told in the third book, *Footsteps*, encourages him to organize and to start publishing his own newspaper (1990c:80-117). And it is through this Malay newspaper that Minke tries to help his people, not only in their daily struggles against the oppressive and unjust colonial ruler and its law, but also to build a particular solidarity among them. In this capacity, language, as pointed by Ben Anderson, particularly language that is used as the medium in printed-media, invents Indonesian nationalism (1991: 134)—that new creative space where solidarity is not based on ethnicity (not on old Javacentric values or other ethnic groups that make up modern Indonesia) or religion (not on Islam, as

might be dreamt by some and suspected by others), or class (not by bourgeoisie’s interests nor proletariats only) but on some imagined values to create a more just society for all.

The choosing of Malay, which is later developed into formal Indonesian language, is certainly far from unproblematic. Why not Javanese—the family language, a term introduced by Tony Day to refer to “the ability of that language to translate the writer’s [in our case, Minke’s] most intimate and secret intention, so that he can mirror the life of the sold as it really is” (in Foulcher and Day [Eds.], 2002:217) and the language that was spoken by majority of the future Indonesian? Why not the Dutch, as it is the language of the master? There are many examples of new nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America that appropriate the languages of their former colonizers as their national, or at least their second, language. And there is no fewer of other examples where they simply take the language spoken by the majority or the biggest ethnic group. Indonesia is a curious and unique case.

About this, in the light of the understanding that Indonesia is more a project than a reality, Henk Maier, the Professor of Literature of Southeast Asia and Indonesia at University of California, Riverside, writes: “Malay ... was an open language with, its users felt, an as yet unfulfilled potential. It was the language of dreams and desire [of the future]. It was the language that was to be concretized in the future” (in Foulcher and Day [Eds.], 2002:75). As the Symbolic Order, Minke’s Malay—and later, Indonesian language—does not really refer back or try to recapture or pretend to do so to the Imaginary Orders, either to the old Javanese Imaginary Order or to the Dutch/European one. Yet, its choice is not unhistorical or anachronistic.

Conclusion

Minke’s character development—from a young boy nurtured in a royal Javanese setting to his schooling and introduction to European knowledge and modernity to his departure from both of them to create a new space for himself and his fellow native suffering under the oppression of the Dutch colonialism—is a metonymy of Indonesian national awakening. This is particularly true when we see the metonymy in its sense of synecdoche, where the story of a part of the nation, i.e. Minke, could be seen as a part of the making of that Indonesianness. This way, we see that Indonesia, both the nationhood and the language, is something organic—something in the making, something imagined, or dreamed or desired in the future, the same way Minke dreams about a society where there is no oppression. But the Indonesian national awakening itself can also be understood as a metonymy for something else, something lost or lack that needs to be recuperated somehow. By metonymy here, I mean Lacanian metonymy where there is a process of unconscious displacement, as Indonesian nationalism is at some points an effort to recuperate the loss of perceived union with the “European mother” even though the first will never be able do it completely. Understood this way, Indonesian nationalism is not immune to corruption of neo-colonialism as suffered by many other nations created in the dusk of the World War Two. The emergence of New Order regime (1966-1998), which is oppressive and has been described as “perpetuating much of the symbolic trappings and organizational character of the East Indies state at the height of Dutch colonial power” (Foulcher and Day [Eds.], 2002:1) can be seen as, from one perspective, the negation or maybe betrayal to the spirit of Indonesian national awakening in favor of the Dutch Imaginary Order, and, from the other perspective, a latent or potential danger inherent in that nationalism spirit that is capable of killing its patron from within.

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Laksmi Pamuntjak's *Amba* and Re-membering Fractured Identities in Indonesia

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Abstract

The events of 30 September 1965 and its aftermath are a catastrophic chapter in the history of post-colonial Indonesia. Metaphors of loss, rupture, and, to borrow Max Lane's term, "an unfinished nation" have since been used in writings about the systematic destruction of the left in Indonesia in 1965-66. These metaphors can also be extended to the identity construction of Indonesians, as portrayed in the novel *Amba* (2012) by Laksmi Pamuntjak. The novel's protagonists represent Indonesians whose identities are fractured by the violence, trauma and alienation brought about by the purge of the PKI— both those who were directly affected by the events (*Amba* and *Bhisma*) and those who came after (*Samuel* and *Srikandi*). Their fractured identities need to be pieced back together through acts of re-membering and the search for truth and closure, however fragmented and incomplete these processes may be. Using theoretical approaches from trauma and memory studies, this paper examines the said characters and the journeys they undertake to recover a sense of selfhood that was broken or lost in or because of the events of 1965-66.

Keywords: *Indonesian fiction, identity and memory, identity and trauma*

Introduction

Fifty years after the catastrophic events that took place in Indonesia between late 1965 and early 1966, the desire to re(-)member, to make sense of, and to seek answers about the many lives destroyed and silenced by the organised destruction of the left remains alive. In the past three years alone, there have been noticeable efforts to address this dark chapter in twentieth-century Indonesian history: the declaration by Indonesia's Commission of Human Rights (KOMNAS HAM) in 2012 that the various atrocities and abuses committed in 1965-66 are violations of human rights; two documentary films by Joshua Oppenheimer, *Jagal/The Act of Killing* (2012) and *Senyap/The Look of Silence* (2014) bringing the atrocities committed in 1965-66 to global audiences; Joko Widodo alias Jokowi's election campaign pledge to issue a formal apology and provide assistance to survivors of the 1965 event (Hari Tri Wasono, 23 September 2015).¹ Recent literary fiction in Indonesia too, have featured stories revolving around or set against key moments related to 1965-66 (Goenawan, 2012 & Allen, 2013).

In this paper, I examine the portrayal of characters whose identities are fractured or interrupted by the violence of 1965-66 in Laksmi Pamuntjak's novel, *Amba* (2012). The novel portrays the experiences and memories of two generations of Indonesians: those who experienced the terror of 1965-66 directly and those who know of and experience it indirectly as children born or growing up after the purge of the PKI and its affiliated organisations had officially ended. It also links the 1965 event with the inter-ethnic violence that swept the Maluku islands forty years later. The novel explores the impact of past violence on Indonesia's present and the need to reconstruct identities free from the long shadow of the past, particularly for the current generation.

The transmission of memory from one generation to another is part of that process of identity reconstruction depicted in *Amba*. As stated by Kwok & Waterson, transmission of social memory

...requires the basic recognition that all of us are the carriers of memories that are not part of our direct personal experience, but which have been transmitted to use by others. These "vicarious memories", as Climo (1995) calls them, as much as purely personal ones, have the potential to contribute to our sense of personal identity or to provide motivations for future action. (2012, pp. 19-20)

The transmission of memories of the 1965-66 event to later generations constitute one of the ways that fractured identities can be re-membered. To re-member here refers to various acts beyond the meaning of the word 'remember', i.e. to recall past memories; it refers to acts such as physical journeys, narrating the past, re-interpreting official discourse on 1965-66, and even dreaming, undertaken to gather, integrate, and reassemble a more coherent sense of self. The novel itself is both made up of and is "vicarious

¹ A pledge that Jokowi has since backtracked on only recently (Hari Tri Wasono, "Jokowi tak minta Maaf, Korban Peristiwa 1965 Kecewa", *Tempo.co*, 23 September 2015)

memor[y]”, written as it is by a person who was born after the catastrophe. To some extent, it struggles with the conundrum of literary works by second-generation survivors of traumatic events, that “can only ‘recover the past by inventing it’” (King, 2000, p. 143). However, what sets *Amba* apart is not a preoccupation with loss and absence, but its hopeful vision of a new generation that can live without bitterness and fear of the past.

To reconstruct identities free from fear is certainly not an easy undertaking in a situation where survivors have to live side-by-side with perpetrators of the mass killings of 1965-66, some of whom are known to them. There are no monuments to the 1965-66 dead (Santikarma, 2005, p. 314) because they have been condemned as traitors. On the other hand, a monument to commemorate the official version of events in Lubang Buaya exists (Santikarma, 2005 & Schreiner, 2005). Sometimes, perpetrators threaten survivors or their family members who demand justice or the truth for missing relatives or friends, as portrayed in Joshua Oppenheimer’s 2014 documentary, *Senyap*. Budiawan (2012) and Pohlman (2013) who work with survivors of the 1965-66 violence observe that a climate of fear and anxiety still pervades the survivors’ consciousness and lives. During interviews, former political prisoners seemed to be “waiting for something to happen” (Pohlman, 2013, p. 6) or express the conviction that history could repeat itself (Budiawan, 2012, p. 275). Intimidation and stigmatisation of survivors persist despite the end of the New Order in 1998.

Fractured Identities in *Amba*

The destruction of the PKI and its affiliated organisations in the months between 1965 and early 1966 is reported to have claimed between 500,000 and 1 million lives. Added to this are the hundreds of thousands detained in prisons and prison camps without trial, as well as family members who have to bear the trauma of separation and hardship, the disappearance of their loved ones, and stigmatisation by society. Writing about the experiences of wives of former political detainees, Budiawan, citing Eric Santner, says that people who experienced violence and trauma have had their sense of self breached, because “the experience of traumatic violence forces the individual to relinquish his/her own autonomy. For healing to take place, that autonomy must somehow be reclaimed” (2012, p. 285). This loss of an autonomous self appears in *Amba* in metaphors of loss, exile, and rupture: fatherless children, orphaned citizens, estranged siblings, and a fragmented nation.

Two generations of survivors are portrayed in the novel: those who experienced the trauma of 1965-66 directly, and a younger generation whose identities bear the residual effects of the event. Tropes of loss mark the narratives of *Amba* and *Bhisma* after violence on a night in October 1965 tear them apart forever. Having witnessed and experienced violence themselves, both of them had to abandon their pre-1965 identities and take on new ones marked by silence and self-exile. The lingering impact of what happened in 1965-66 is shown in the character Samuel, who was still a child when the Buru prison camp began operating, and whose narrative is marked by alienation from family, country, and history. Although he experienced the trauma indirectly, the fracturing of Samuel’s identity represents the after-effects of 1965-66 that continue to ripple through time and the fabric of Indonesian society.

An Irretrievable Loss: Amba and Bhisma

The narrative of *Amba* follows the journey of its titular character as she embarks on a ‘pilgrimage’ to Buru Island in search of her former lover, who was detained there for fourteen years on accusations (never proven) of involvement in communist activities, and who then seemed to have vanished from the face of the earth. It is as much a temporal journey as it is a spatial one, since *Amba*’s past and Indonesia’s past continue to break into the present. The narrative shuttles from the present to the past and back again, as if to show this haunting of the present by the disappeared, matters unresolved, silenced, or forcibly consigned to the margins of individual and collective memory by the “general state of fear and acquiescence” (Heryanto, 2006, p. 23) that pervaded New Order Indonesia. It is also a past that haunts the next generation of Indonesians who were either too young or had not yet been born in 1965-66.

In *Amba*, the characters’ sense of self suffers fracture as a result of the violent irruption of 1965-66 into their lives. *Amba*’s life came to a halt when *Bhisma* disappeared after the attack on a memorial service they both attended a few weeks after 30 September 1965: “my life came to a halt the minute that the man I loved was no longer by my side²” (Pamuntjak, 2012, p. 395; author’s emphasis). Prior to this, she had been constructing an identity as a new type of Javanese woman - independent, opinionated, free of the trappings of patriarchal traditions. She refuses to become like her mother, who chose to endure marriage and a husband, and, though engaged to *Salwa*, doubts whether she would be happy if she were to marry him. In a politically-charged atmosphere, she refuses to take sides, choosing instead to articulate her sense of self through the study and translation of literature. Her affair with *Bhisma* marks a departure from accepted notions of Javanese femininity as with him, she explores her intellectual capacity as well as her sexuality.

However, the events of 1965-66 irrupt into *Amba*’s life precisely at the point at which her identity was being consolidated. *Bhisma*’s disappearance and the violence she witnessed throw her off-balance. In

² All English translations of excerpts from the novel are mine.

the subsequent years, she leads a half-life, haunted by her loss and by uncertainty about what really happened that night. Did he abandon her, like the mythological Bhisma in the *Mahabharata*? Was he dead, or was he still alive? Amba represents those Indonesians whose sense of self imploded under the violence, arrests and massacres that swept the country, and who lived in the shadow of possible persecution and stigmatisation in the years after. Memories of this past had to be relegated to silence due to the continued persecution and extermination of suspected communists, the overwhelming power of the state's "master-narrative" on 1965-66 (Heryanto, 2006, p. 15), and the lack of public recognition of victims of the massacres. Denied the means and conditions for articulating what she experienced in 1965, Amba's identity construction remained unfinished for many years. Her fractured self also manifests itself as her troubled relationship with her daughter, Srikandi, who because of her ignorance of her biological father's identity and what had happened to her parents forty years ago, is alienated from her own history.

For the tens of thousands of men and women who were detained without trial from 1965-66 to the late 1970s, ruptured lives and relationships are part of their reality. Torn out of their former lives and thrown into prison to be 'rehabilitated', they lost out on time and youth; upon release, their marginalisation is further underscored by measures such as the initials ET (*eks tapol*, i.e. ex-political detainee) stamped on their identity cards, *bersih diri* (clean self), *bersih lingkungan* (clean environment) and *litsus* (*penelitian khusus*, i.e. special screening) denying them and their families access to positions in government and government-linked companies (Heryanto, 2006, pp. 36). The effect of these measures, to quote Ki Tristuti Rachmadi, a *dalang* (shadow-puppet master) who was one of those detained in 1965, is to render these women and men "like someone suffering from leprosy, a communicable disease for which there is no treatment, and from which all distance themselves" (2005, p. 43). The detainees' exile from family, community, and country is also an exile from identity. Many times, this is expressed in tropes of loss.

After fourteen years of exile in Buru, Bhisma looks on his pre-1965 self as irretrievable. The incident that had separated him from Amba has become a boundary-marker of the moment of loss. In response to the tribal leader Manalisa's question whether he did not wish to recover what he had lost, Bhisma smiles and replies, "No... I do not wish to reclaim anything. What was lost was never mine" (Pamuntjak, 2012, p. 64). He acknowledges his loss and instead constructs another identity as a healer. Bhisma mentions other lives and relationships fractured by the events of 1965-66 and its aftermath: abandonment by spouses and relatives, former detainees' inability to return to home for fear of their lives or the stigma of being labeled 'PKI' by the community. Thus, Bhisma explains to Manalisa, it is easier to 'disappear' and to have his loved ones believe that he has died is a better closure than return. In an environment where untruths and half-truths about 1965-66 have become accepted as truth - "It's all lies [*fitnah*]... but the lies have become facts because no one has ever challenged them" (Pamuntjak, 2012, p. 64) - the detainees' return to their former identities is impossible.

For the prisoners in Buru, death and violence are everyday realities; the trauma of witnessing or experiencing them left its imprint on their consciousness. Death appears in the prison camp or in the environment of Buru in the form of murders, executions, beatings, drownings, and disease. Instances of violence are often used to remind the prisoners of their 'sin' as communists, to reiterate their identity as 'traitors' to the nation, and to reinforce a sense of subjugation to the might of the state. In one of his letters to Amba, Bhisma recounts the summary execution of detainees from a unit whose members had earlier murdered one of the prison camp officers. Like the character from the *Mahabharata*, Bhisma in Pamuntjak's novel has the gift of immunity to pain. However, this does not mean that he is unaffected by the violence inflicted upon him or those that he witnesses in Buru. The execution of random members of the unit underscores the fact of violence in Buru:

Violence: that's what brought us here - to fleeting smiles, diplomacy, panic, outbursts of anger for no apparent reason, submission, returning to our places with extinguished emotions. Violence: whether we like it or not, that's the world where we are always forced to return to in the end. (Pamuntjak, 2012, p. 439)

Despite this, Bhisma sublimates the trauma and horror of his experiences into a zeal for healing. As if to counter his traumatic past and ruptured identity, he re-makes himself into 'Resi of Waeapo', part-doctor, part-shaman, tending to islanders struck by disease or by inter-ethnic conflict. He also sublimates violence into stories and poems hidden in the ground, his 'letters' to Amba. The significance of these letters will be elaborated in relation to re-remembering identities broken by the violence of 1965-66.

Identity at the Margins: Samuel

In his review of *Amba* in the weekly magazine *Tempo*, Goenawan Mohamad observes that the current generation of Indonesians are engaging in the struggle to liberate themselves from three decades of "regimentation of memory" (2012, p. 162) about the 1965 incident. This is evident from the emergence of new Indonesian fiction depicting the events of 1965-66 in recent years. Pamela Allen has also observed the same, stating that "there is a... broadening of the discourse on 1965" (2013) in new Indonesian fiction that is distinctive from earlier works about the event. Among the novels by this new generation of writers mentioned by Goenawan and Allen is Laksmi Pamuntjak's *Amba*. *Amba* presents the views and experiences

of this current generation in Samuel, an Ambonese who acts as Amba’s guide during her search for Bhisma in Buru; Samuel grew up in the late 1960s and 1970s, when the state had wiped out the PKI, its affiliated organisations, supporters and sympathisers and demonised them in collective memory.

Samuel experiences alienation on several levels: geographically, as an Ambonese, he is from the margins of the nation; historically, his family were ostracised and exiled from Indonesia for their loyalty to the Dutch; ‘returned’ at the age of eight to a country that rejected his family and his people, he struggles to find a sense of belonging. He wryly observes that in Indonesia, historical amnesia reigns to the extent that Indonesians themselves are alienated from the history of their marginalised fellow citizens: “In this country, we have never been familiar with the histories of our own brethren [*saudara-saudara kita*]” (Pamuntjak, 2012, p. 311).

Ironically, despite his marginalisation from the Java-centric narrative of Indonesia, Samuel is a witness to those erased from the country’s history. From an early age, he occupies an interstitial position, simultaneously outside and inside Indonesia:

Why they decided to send Samuel back and not the other children was not clear; perhaps it was because he was the youngest, and it is easier for children to move about without attracting attention. Perhaps it was because both the East and the West were present in him - something that made him ‘safer’ wherever he went, whatever ‘safe’ means. He was ‘safe’ because he was different; this freed him from the usual norms, rules and regulations set by society. (Pamuntjak, 2012, pp. 25-26)

This position allows him to observe while being unobserved himself, the arrival of the first wave of political detainees on Buru at a time when many Indonesians his age were made to imbibe the state’s narrative in school. As an adult, this interstitiality gives him entry into the state’s institution of power when he becomes a police informant. This, and his own role as perpetrator of violence - he admits to Amba to having killed people, and in a drunken episode caused the death of his nephew - makes Samuel an interesting case study in how historical trauma leaves its imprint on later generations.

What must be taken into account is the long shadow of the purge of 1965-66 on subsequent generations and its manifestation as various outbreaks of violence in Indonesia during and even after the demise of the New Order (Heryanto, 2006, p. 23). Samuel’s history of witnessing and committing acts of violence can trace its ancestry to this moment, which Ariel Heryanto argues “has been responsible for the long silence, understatement and convivial euphemism in reference to great violence and terror” and possibly also is “a contributing force to what have appeared to be an uncontrollable series of inter-religious and inter-ethnic killings during much of the late 1990s and early 2000s” (2006, p. 23). It is not only trauma and memories of violence that travel across generations; violence can also be transgenerational. Because the 1965-66 violence was never addressed or recognised for what it is in public and official discourse, and in fact incorporated as a state apparatus, it continues to disrupt processes of identity construction for subsequent generations of Indonesians. In Samuel’s case, it is manifested in his general state of rootlessness, alienation, and inability to form meaningful relationships with other people.

Discussing literary fiction by second-generation survivors of the Battle of Okinawa, Kyle Ikeda notes several characteristics, i.e. “an anxiety over representation, a focus on hidden and suppressed war memories, and a concern for transgenerational war memory” (2013, p. 2). This last characteristic is intrinsic to Pamuntjak’s novel too. Samuel is not just Amba’s guide - as a receptacle of Amba’s oral and written testimonies of her past and witness to her efforts to find Bhisma, he participates in the transmission of memories of 1965-66. As part of a generation whose nebulous, half-formed, or even non-existent memories of those years are vulnerable to official memory of the event, and whose sense of self is also interrupted, knowing Amba and Bhisma’s story offers him a thread of continuity to the past and how its residues remain in the present. Knowledge of survivors’ past also sets him on the path to later re-member his own fragmented identity and construct a more coherent one.

Re-membering Fractured Identities

I chose the term ‘re-membering’ to refer to the various acts of narrating, visiting and re-visiting places and memories linked to 1965-66, recovery of suppressed memories and re-interpreting them that can be found in *Amba*. To ‘re-member’ implies not just recalling the past but also gathering and re-assembling what has been broken or dismembered (memory, narrative, history, identity) in order to arrive at a sense of wholeness and coherence. For the main characters in this novel, their experiences of violence, loss, and alienation in 1965-66 and after have ruptured their identity construction. On the whole, the novel poses the possibility of reconstructing identities free from the shadow of fear and terror through acts of re-membering.

Re-membering fractured identities in *Amba* involves the following processes: (1) a physical journey to find a disappeared person, Bhisma, in order to provide closure to years of doubt and uncertainty (2) the same journey undertaken to unite the broken life-stories of people directly affected by the 1965-66 violence (3) recording and transmitting personal memories of 1965-66 to contemporaries, members of the later generation and those on the margins of Indonesia, and (4) re-interpreting suppressed memories and history of 1965-66 through alternative means in order to make sense of history and redefine identity.

Re-membering through Place and Narrative

The journey to Buru Island undertaken by Amba represents the on-going effort of survivors of the events of 1965-66 to seek answers as to what actually happened on the fateful dates, 30 September-1 October 1965, and the months and years after³. Her journey to the former penal colony acts as a form of pilgrimage to a site inscribed by repression, violence, and trauma; at the same time it provides her the space in which she can articulate her pain and anguish, suppressed for four long decades. Buru Island, with its history of housing tens of thousands of political detainees in extreme conditions, contains the “psychic toxicity” of sites of trauma (Ikeda, 2013, p.132). This refers to “the psychic pain that can be generated by the landscape and immersion in sites of the violent past” (Ikeda, 2013, p.132), such as sites marked by war, conflict, and atrocities. However, Ikeda adds, the act of visiting such sites may also bring about opportunities to “trigger, recall, and reconstruct buried and vague memories...for the purpose of understanding, clarity, and confirmation” (2013, p.133).

Buru’s psychic toxicity is depicted in the harsh slogan, “Ganyang PKI!” (“Crush the PKI!”) in red paint Samuel saw on a wall in the prison camp as a child, the random beatings and senseless deaths of prisoners recounted by Bhisma in his letters, and the island’s harsh weather conditions and terrain. It should be pointed out, however, that this is not a permanent condition - in his letters to Amba, and in his ‘second life’ as healer, Buru appears as a site capable of transformation and healing, and where Bhisma finds a community that accepts him as one of their own. Amba’s discovery of Bhisma’s grave, of his buried letters for her, and of his second life as Resi of Waeapo, brings comfort to her:

“... We might have to wait a while longer. But this is the best place for us to wait. This is the house of that man, the *mauweng* of this village.”

“What do you mean?” Amba asked.

“He is the imam, headman, and shaman here, just like in other villages. The people will return here after the ceremony at Resi’s tomb in Waeapo.”

Amba’s face was tranquil. One thing set her heart at peace: the villagers here seemed to hold Bhisma in high regard, or at least the memory of him. (Pamuntjak, 2012, p. 38)

The pilgrimage to Buru, a site of trauma and memory, enables Amba to reconstruct what happened to Bhisma after their separation, and to experience catharsis through the purgation of grief, fear and doubt. Alone and alienated from her past and her family, she is welcomed in Buru as Bhisma’s widow, despite the fact that in the past, she had never been a part of his family (Pamuntjak, 2012, p. 41). The journey enables Amba to re-member her fractured identity by giving her acknowledgment as one half of a ‘married’ couple, and by default, a member of Bhisma’s adopted family.

The novel also explores various acts of re-membering involving a new generation of Indonesians, who had very limited knowledge of or experience of the trauma of 1965-66. Too young to comprehend the magnitude of the events, like Samuel, or growing up many years after, like Srikandi, this generation lived fragmented lives, ruptured from the memories and the nation’s history due to the New Order’s deliberate rewriting of Indonesia’s historical narrative. It is a difficult task for them to re(-)member 1965-66 differently, if at all, in the face of concrete manifestations of the state’s version of history, such as the monument at Lubang Buaya and the annual screening of the film *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI*, along with other official rituals to remind the people of the army’s role as saviour of the nation (van Klinken, 2005, p. 238).

Despite this, and acts of censorship and prosecution, Ariel Heryanto points out that the publication and dissemination of fictional and non-fictional narratives by Indonesians in the late 1980s and early 1990s challenging the New Order’s version of what transpired between September 1965 and the following months prove that there are limits to the state’s ability to silence alternative accounts about the alleged ‘abortive coup’ (2006, p. 57). These narratives - including Pramoedya Ananta Toer’s Buru quartet - were eagerly awaited and circulated among Indonesians whose knowledge of the events of 1965-66 had for so long been mediated by the state’s control of historical narrative. In *Amba*, acts of narrating and transmitting personal memories of that period to both first- and second-generation survivors of 1965-66 provide the characters with the means to alleviate the impact of violence, trauma, and terror, and fill in the gaps and silences in the subsequent generation’s knowledge about themselves as well as of the period.

Klaus Schreiner states that besides monuments and sites to commemorate the victims of 1965-66, “[t]he speaking, the telling, the narrating, the acting out, and also the creation of sites and symbols and assigning meaning to them, is a way to re-integrate the suppressed memory into the identity of a person and then consequently put it to rest...” (2005, p. 272). Both Amba and Bhisma transmit their memories of their selves before the rupture in October 1965 to those who represent the second generation and/or those who are located at the margins of Indonesia. Bhisma transmits his past self and memories of Amba to Manalisa, a respected community leader and shaman of Waeapo: “Do you want to hear a story about the woman?” Bhisma asked. “Tell me the story,” Manalisa replied, “because it seems to me you need to tell a story about fate” (Pamuntjak, 2012, pp. 65-66). Manalisa recognises in Bhisma the need to narrate his past as a means of re-membering; the act of narrating the past serves to help Bhisma reconstruct his fractured sense of self.

³ As part of her research, Laksmi Pamuntjak had also undertaken a journey to Buru Island in 2006 (Pamuntjak, 2012, p. 487).

Some of the most poignant parts of Pamuntjak’s novel are Bhisma’s letters to Amba. These were written during his incarceration in Buru, on found or smuggled pieces of paper, hidden in hollow bamboo containers and buried to prevent confiscation. These letters, fragments, and poems are the only physical connection Amba has with him and of those years he went ‘missing’ from 1965 onwards. As written records of Bhisma’s thoughts, observations, and dreams, these narratives give Amba the answers and certainty she had been seeking, and to an extent, allow her to come to terms with the past. The letters also link her (and perhaps, eventually, her daughter) with an alternative history of Indonesia, one that was written in the far-flung corners of the archipelago by an individual whose suffering the New Order wished to erase from its version of history:

And the letters: ah, those letters. Buried for years and years, mingled with blood, earth, and water. My motherland, where I shed my life-blood [*Tanah airku, tumpah darahku*]. How does it feel to read letters written for you so many years ago, when he was not who he used to be, and you were not who you are, when he was still alive, and you were another you?” (Pamuntjak, 2012, p. 75)

Bhisma’s buried letters literally becomes part of *tanah air*, or ‘motherland’ as the phrase is used in the Malay Archipelago. At first glance, they represent the suppressed histories and memories of political detainees; yet, their power to re-narrate Indonesia’s past and to re-member Indonesia differently is evident in these evocative sentences.

Significantly, the belated delivery of Bhisma’s letters triggers Amba’s need to narrate her past to Samuel, when she was a different Amba than the one who emerged post-1965. The distinction she makes between her ‘past self’ and her ‘present self’ is symptomatic of the fragmentation of identity affecting individuals who experience traumatic or catastrophic events. In their narratives, “the confusion of persons and tenses reflects the problems of narrating in the present events which seem unfinished but which also seem to have happened to someone else” (King, 2000, p. 3). Amba refers to her past self in idyllic terms, as an infant-like self who did not know language, hunger, thirst, or fear (Pamuntjak, 2012, p. 75). There is a temporal and psychic distance between that self and the self that she is in 2006, expressed as “when you were another you.” Narrating her pre-1965 past to Samuel enables Amba to reconstruct her identity, using elements from the past and the contents of Bhisma’s letters to fill in the four decades of silence and uncertainty intervening between the past and the present.

Transgenerational Re-membering and Identities

At the heart of Pamuntjak’s novel is not only the urge to know and to re-member the events of 1965-66, but also to establish a continuity between the generation who experienced it and subsequent generations of Indonesians. In her study of intergenerational memory in Singapore, Adeline Low observes the prominent role of the state in transmitting its version of the 1964 riots to new generations of Singaporeans, resulting in “both national and popular memory compet[ing] for a place in the historical memory of the young” (2012, p. 220) and making the younger generation more susceptible to official history (Low, 2012, p. 226). A similar situation has affected Indonesians, albeit with its own characteristics: the suppression of memories because of paranoia, threats of retribution and continuing stigma towards suspected communists; and a historical discourse, taught in schools during the New Order, skewed towards Suharto’s role as national hero (van Klinken, 2005, p. 240). Such was the power of fear, paranoia and state discourse about the ‘coup’ and the PKI that even after the New Order came to an end, surveys by *Tempo* and the daily *Kompas* in the early 2000s found that a substantial percentage of Indonesians still believed that communism remains a threat (Heryanto, 2006, pp. 50-52). However, *Amba* challenges national memories of 1965-66 and the culture of silence about it, highlighting instead the need to create transgenerational links in memory and history among older and younger Indonesians. This is done mainly through the character Srikandi.

Born in 1966 after Amba and Bhisma were separated, Srikandi’s lack of knowledge about her birth father’s identity symbolises the rupture in personal histories caused by the violence. Her appearance in the novel is limited, mainly in Amba’s narrations to Samuel and finally meeting Samuel in the last chapter during an exhibition of her work. Amba makes it clear however, that Srikandi does not suffer from a fractured sense of self as much as she does. Srikandi is a headstrong, independent individual whose personality is clear even as an infant, just like Srikandi of the *wayang* stories. Most significantly, she is, according to Amba, “a union of what was severed and unfinished in her parents” (Pamuntjak, 2012, p. 395). She represents the re-membering of Amba and Bhisma’s broken narratives, and indirectly points to the possibility of a new generation free from the fear of the past.

This lack of fear shows in the subject-matter of Srikandi’s art exhibition: the colour red. Her work, she informs a friend, intentionally brings out into a public space what society considers taboo, asking viewers to reconsider their accepted notions of red as a symbol of evil:

...I was raised with the colour red. In the past, it was regarded as the colour of communists. Then, I realised that the stigma made us afraid of it. We even try not to dream in red, even though we can see the colour anytime, anywhere: in the spurting

blood of a chicken that's being slaughtered, in the menstrual blood - pardon me - left behind in public restrooms, in the blood of an accident victim or of a person beaten to death just as he's about to leave for work. But none of that disturbs me. At home, I was raised with various shades of red - the red of pomegranates, of liver, blood-red, carmine, magenta, maroon. I grew up with those colours without knowing their names. For that, I am grateful to my mother. She was the one who introduced me to everything that need not be feared, be it colour or anything else. (Pamuntjak, 2012, p. 484)

For her, red is not a colour to be feared; rather, there are other shades of red, and by extension, other sides to official discourse on the catastrophe of 1965-66. The colour also links her and her mother in a reconciliatory gesture. Srikandi's artwork illustrates a younger generation's search for a new Indonesia that is not afraid to view 1965-66 from different perspectives, and to construct a sense of self free from the shadow of the past. As Amba explains in her note to Samuel, her search for Bhisma is not only for herself, but also for her daughter, "*so that she will find another world, where love is no longer clear-cut but is willing to transcend everything. And in that way, she will be able to write her own story, a story without bitterness*" (Pamuntjak, 2012, p. 397; author's emphasis).

The novel also presents dreams and foreknowledge as conduits for the transmission of transgenerational memory. Mystical and spiritual knowledge and experiences also mark points where the characters are able to transcend restrictions and prohibitions against personal freedom. Foreknowledge of his daughter's existence enables Bhisma to retain a connection, however tenuous, with a family while in exile in Buru (Pamuntjak, 2012, p. 424). Dreams are means by which two generations overcome the barrier of silence, time and space to communicate with each other. In a dream, Srikandi appears to Bhisma as a child sent to kill him, a dream in which the present (Bhisma's present, in 1976) and the future converge as Srikandi speaks to him about the life she and Amba are leading and would lead in the years to come. In turn, Srikandi dreams of Bhisma's death six years after it took place, despite never having met him. It can be said that dreams, in this novel, are memory.

The link between the past and the present represented by Bhisma and Srikandi's dreams and foreknowledge suggest the continuity of memory over and above time, space, and the state's efforts to rewrite history. They also imply the need, in real life, for a space or channels in which the trauma of 1965-66 can be brought out and re-examined by Indonesians who were directly and indirectly impacted. The new generation's interest in the event and their interpretations of it, as evident in Srikandi's re-interpretation of the colour red, signal the persistence of the need to re-member a sense of self by recovering and uncovering memories of 1965-66.

Conclusion

Pamuntjak's novel recognises the need to revisit and re-interpret the past in order to restore a sense of self to those whose lives were directly and indirectly impacted by the 1965-66 event. Place, memory, and history are all imbricated in the various characters' struggles to reconstruct or re-define their identities. The recurrence of dreams and mystical experiences connecting members of different generations imply that the desire to re-member even transcends earthly bounds and restrictions set in place by society and the state. As most of the 1965-66 survivors are in their old age or have passed on, *Amba* conveys the urgency for the present generation to continue narrating their own memories - albeit fragmented and 'vicarious' ones - to counter the impulse to forget. As Goenawan Mohamad puts it, the disappearance of the 1965 incident from collective memory is a real possibility; it needs to be re(-)membered because "[w]e do not want to descend into barbarity again" (2012, p. 162).

The inclusion of characters at the edges of Indonesian society, i.e. Samuel and Manalisa, in *Amba* and Bhisma's re-remembering suggests that the discourses of nation and history also need to be revisited and re-narrated. The transmission of memories of 1965-66 to Samuel and Manalisa by two characters from the centre, Java, establishes connections with the margins (and marginalised). It brings those whose histories are unknown and unfamiliar to those occupying the centre into the Indonesian narrative.

As the discourse over the 1965-66 event remains contested until today, it will be useful to continue watching for emerging Indonesian writers and/or new Indonesian literary works that take this catastrophe as their subject-matter. For instance, how the post-Reformasi generation of Indonesians re-memembers the catastrophe and whether the trauma and memory of it percolates down to them should be observed. Regional literature also might provide future research with unique interpretations of trauma, memory, and identity in relation to the 1965-66 incident. As it is, the centre-margin dialogue on the incident depicted by Pamuntjak in *Amba* offers the reader a view into the wealth of perspectives on 1965-66 that is available in other parts of Indonesia.

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Performing Present: Temporal Shock in *The Act of Killing*

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Abstract

This paper examines the current debate surrounding the documentary film, *The Act of Killing* (Oppenheimer, 2012). One interpretation in particular, that of Cribb (2014), suggests that the film presents a reconfirmation of the Orientalist notion that Indonesians do not value human life, as evidenced by the killers' ability to slaughter each other with casual self-indulgence. Cribb states this is caused by an absence of the army in the film. He continues that the presentation of the killers affirms their claims presenting the killings *without critique*. According to this interpretation, this is owed to the manipulation of the staging by the lack of any historical precision and an unclear film structure. Taking this starting point, I will address this analysis by recourse to Butler's (2011) theory of performativity to unveil the hidden construction of the 'heroic past'. Within the performative process, I will position *Gestus* as an aesthetic strategy that allows the spectators to deconstruct the temporal quality of the performance.

Keywords: *documentary, representation, performativity, gestus, temporality, deconstruction*

Introduction

In *The Act of Killing*, Joshua Oppenheimer documents a re-enactment of the killing process committed by death squad leaders towards Indonesian communist members in 1965. What is unique from this documentary is that the re-enactment is expressed, allegedly from the killers' perspective.¹ The main content of the re-enactment contains a series of re-enacted killings based on the killer's fantasies which seem to be inspired by Hollywood gangster movies and Broadway shows. The killers appear in the film voluntarily, showing the process of killing in a reflexive manner with Hollywood-like *mise en scene*. Not only do they show the killing, the killers also confess how their ideological perspective towards the killing was part of an anti-communism campaign in the 1960s. This sensitive content follows the term of performative documentary that uses performance within a non-fiction context to draw attention to the impossibilities of authentic documentary representation (Bruzzi, 185)

The controversial content of the movie is not exempt from criticism and debate. In 2014, a scholar journal *Critical Asian Studies* invited thirteen scholars to discuss the film in a roundtable discussion. Apart from other scholars' perspectives around moral and ethics issues, in particular, I found that Cribb's argument suggests two important points; first, it appears to be one of the earliest criticisms since the film release;² second, it questions a fundamental element of documentary, that of representation.

Cribb's perspective is of a misleading representation of the killers. It is mainly caused by the suspected manipulation depicted through their acting. He argues that the figure of the killers rather shows criminal psychopaths as opposed to an extermination campaign urged by Indonesian Army and social forces to counter PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) attempt to gain power. Considering that Cribb is an Indonesian expert, this view indicates a question at least towards his study of 1965-1966 killing. In one of his writings, he observes that in most cases the killings were motivated by the arrival of RPKAD (military regiment troop) or when the local armed forces made it clear that they were sanctioned to murder the communists (*Genocide* 233). He also adds that the manipulation becomes stronger as it exploits non-conventional documentary representation such as no voice-over and blurred film structures. In my opinion, his question indicates a preferred tendency of factual account of history rather than analytic view of history. In this case, his question suggests no distinction between presentation and representation.

It seems to me that Cribb's interpretation, if not ignoring, pays less attention to the central role of staging performance. To situate it in the conference context, I suspect that *The Act of Killing* significantly positions performance as one of the critical modes of representation towards the 1965 mass killing after the collapse of Suharto.

To be precise, the discussion on performance quality of the killers will not only answer its modal function. Yet it will also contribute an alternative view towards the historical conception of Indonesian 1965 mass killing represented in the film. This paper therefore aims to answer two questions; first, how

¹ See other documentary works with survivors' perspective tendency: *40 Years of Silence, Mass Grave, Tjidurian 19*.

² Cribb's writing in *Critical Asian Studies* is reprinted from his article on *Inside Indonesia* website in 2013. See *Review: An act of manipulation?*. See another criticism by Djakababa, *Why the documentary "The Act of Killing" or "Jagal" is equally impressive and troubling*.

does performativity produce temporal dimension of the ‘present’? Second, how does the Gestus construct the performative self-citation in order to create temporal shock?

Performing present

In particular scenes including the filmmaking plan, the riot scene, the commentary and the rooftop scene, the staging performance follows what J.L Austin calls a ‘performative act’. Austin defines a ‘performative’ act as one that: ‘indicates that issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action-it is not normally thought of as just saying something’ (5). Austin provides the example of a performative speech act as ‘I do’: I am not only describing the marriage but ‘I am performing the marriage’. A performative utterance of ‘I do’ expresses the *doing* of the unison of a couple, rather than simply *reporting* an action namely a marriage.

By witnessing, commenting and performing the killing, this expression is not simply reporting their plan ‘to show’ the experience of killing Communist members in the past.³ It is performative because it is rationalised by their action of making the film within the filmic ‘reality’ of *The Act of Killing*. In other words, comparing to Austin’s example ‘I do’, ‘to show’ the history of the heroic killers in the past, the killers ‘perform it’ through series of theatrical manipulation including switching his role as a killer who strangles his victim with wire and vice versa, and then responding the killing through verbal comments.



Figure 1. Snapshot of filmmaking plan scene. Duration 07.01-07.53 (*The Act of Killing*, Dir. Joshua Oppenheimer, Perf. Adi Anwar Congo, 2012; DVD; 28 September 2015).

³ See figure 1, figure 2, and figure 3.



Figure 2. Snapshot of riot scene. Duration 01.52.01-01.56.32 (*The Act of Killing*, Dir. Joshua Oppenheimer, Perf. Adi Anwar Congo, 2012; DVD; 28 September 2015).



Figure 3. Snapshot of commentary scene. Duration 07.01-07.53 (*The Act of Killing*, Dir. Joshua Oppenheimer, Perf. Adi Anwar Congo, 2012; DVD; 28 September 2015).

Yet, is it *historical precision of the past* that Congo and friends perform? In *Bodies that Matter*, Butler argues that the sexuality is constructed rather than pre-determined by language. Rooted in Derridean strategy, this form of *constructivism* involves citation of language. It allows the body to construct the norm by citing it within a performative dimension. The norm may be constructed if it has such a dimension embodying the linguistic utterance and execution of action by the body. To expand, the construction not only requires *performativity* but also *reiteration* of the norms of linguistic convention. In contrast to *essentialism*, Butler considers juridical law as an example of the citation process. The judge does not establish the law, rather he 'cites' the law. He seeks authority that precedes him by reiterating it through citing and reciting the law. Once the utterance of law is 'performed' in the action of ordinance or sanction, the authority of law becomes legally operative. The construction of authority is therefore an

endlessly repeated invocation of performative legal utterance. There is no original subject of authority but it is rather constructed through unlimited *deferral* of authority to its preceding construction.

To make a specific point, the performativity involves a self-citation process. The key of this process is self-reflexivity of the subject. The subject is being made aware of his action, which is in fact created and performed by himself. Since the mode of the performative act is acting, the convention of acting itself such as staging or the fabrication process becomes the law of the performative act. There is no ‘history’ of the self other than the action that the acting shows, because it sustains the performativity and by which it interpellates a subject’s identity.⁴ Without acting there would be no subject. This law of the self therefore has dual functions: as the vehicle of citation and as the point of citation. With this dual function, the citation cannot be directed outside of the law of acting. Hence, the method of citation is the internal referencing of subject to the self and its idealisation.

The aim of citation is the idealisation of the performative act. Although related, one should differentiate it from the *action* of acting which is *the mode* of the performative act. The citation does not target the action of acting because it is only the product of the subject’s interpellation. It is only the mere form of interpellation. It cannot provide the information of how the subject produces his interpellation. Since this information is only provided by the subject’s process of idealizing its product, the citation must target ‘the making’ of the product rather than the product itself. The making of the product is actually the *staging* of the acting. It is only the staging that controls the stability between the subject and his own product of interpellation. It is the very source that stabilises a mutual connection between the subject and its identification through the action of acting. In other words, the subject cites the *relation* between his existence and acting, rather than his existence that cites his acting.

The question now is where to locate it and how idealisation works in the film. The idealisation refers to the invocation process in which the subject approximates the self to the fictionalised self. It is such a mechanism that invokes the subject’s awareness toward his reflection. In particular, the idealisation involves historical invocation in which the subject’s awareness of the ‘past’ is invoked by the ‘present’. This process is primarily produced by what Bertolt Brecht calls *Gestus*.

***Gestus* as an aesthetic strategy**

Brecht creates *Gestus*, or specifically social *Gestus* as an aesthetic point of view that puts the spectator in a position where he can make comparisons about everything that influences the way in which human beings behave (86). In this sense, Brecht uses it to refer to the exposition of subject’s total attitude towards his own social behaviour. To highlight this term, one may refer to the role of acting as the mode of the killer’s behaviour, the re-enactment in the riot scene and the commentary of the gangster’s scene. These are precisely the varied aesthetic instruments that invoke the whole series of the subject’s idealisation towards his ‘heroic past’ in terms of the murder of thousands of PKI members as part of the national anti-communism campaign in 1965. As the *Gestus* is articulated in the scene, the ‘heroic past’ is idealised as the dramatization of the ‘past’. Not only in the sense of simple fictionalisation but also in its complex relation to the ‘present’.

Within the invocation of the ‘heroic past’, *the Gestus at least* has two functions. First, it mediates the reiteration of subject’s identity as a heroic murderer. The reiteration is mainly delivered through repeated verification of whether the subject can identify his fictional self. In the riot scene, the *Gestus* appears as the interruption from Asmara the gang leader who feels insecure because of his members’ spontaneous brutality to kill, chop or drink the PKI members’ blood (because he’s afraid that the brutality might harm his reputation as government officer or that of the Pancasila Youth as a national organisation). As contradictory as it may appear, Asmara then suggests to the filmmaker that although it might distort his and organisation’s image, ‘You know what we just filmed. Don’t erase it! Use it to show how ferocious we can be! In fact we can even be worse!’ ‘To show’ a version of his self that is somehow even worse than that of being a brutal murderer highlights the anticipation of disassociation with the fictional self. This reiteration is also in fact a repeated action as it is delivered after the gestic sound of ‘cut! cut! cut!’ The mark of the reflexive subject by ‘cut!’ evidently suggests that although the ‘enactment’ of the fiction has finished, the subject keeps reinforcing his ideal fiction. The role of the *Gestus* therefore supports the function of reiteration of body in which ‘materialisation is never quite complete’ (Butler xii).

The ultimate function of *the Gestus* is to de-familiarise the audience through a critical distinction between dramatization *Gestus* and filmic *Gestus*. It distances the spectators through clarification of the characteristic of the *Gestus* produced by the dramatization and the *Gestus* which is produced by social reality behind the dramatization. The filmic *Gestus* refers to the motivation of the subject to make such dramatization. This motivation is defined by the nature of documentary as a non-fiction work of art that contains fictionalisation. To refer to Farocki’s conversation with Steyerl, he argues that the documentary is a magical imitation of reality (16). This point suggests that the documentary is inseparable from the imitation or fictionalisation of reality.

In this sense, the filmic *Gestus* is defined by the unavoidability of documentary paradox. On one hand, the documentary must contain a fictional structure represented by the enactment. But on the other hand, the filmic *Gestus* is such a magical space that it associates and disassociates the character of fiction

⁴ It refers to Althusser’s interpellation concept.

with its reference to reality. The filmic *Gestus* therefore has two definitive referents: it becomes *Gestus* because it is materialised as fiction but at the same time, it is also identified as *Gestus* because of its relationship with reality and fiction. Furthermore, Farocki adds that documentary is an *objet trouve*, an object that is found rather than made. The documentary is illustrated as millions of pebbles lying on the beach and one of them looks like face. The filmic *Gestus* is similar to this example. It is a critical point of identification between the pebble and the face, but it can only be done by recognising the face. The filmic *Gestus* identifies a found 'reality' that contains fictional quality. The filmic *Gestus* therefore positions *The Act of Killing* as a found 'heroic past' miming the imitation of reality that precedes it. In other words, the filmic *Gestus* is the 'heroic past' preceded by the immediate social reality of imitated 'present'.

It is the imitation of the 'present' that mediates its mimesis: the 'heroic past'. The imitation of the 'present' does not refer to what *appears* to be characters, events or actions. It does not refer to a performative act which has been created by the acting, re-enactment or the commentary of the re-enactment. It does refer to *the very subordination of a performative act of the 'past'*. As if it is a layering of the 'earth', if you like, this is the inner core of a performative act that subordinates the appearance of the outer core of performative acts. This is the very central act that is succeeded by the action of approximation of Anwar's self with his fictional self, including its gradual elaboration such as the 'present' characterisation (Herman, Asmara, or gang members), the action of killing, or even its Hollywood dramaturgy standardisation that embodies the act. In other words, subordination of the 'past' act is performative when it is performed by the making of fiction of the 'past'.

The citation process is to be found in the correspondence between its 'heroic past' subject and its subordination within the imitation process. The construction of subject is created when the subject 'cites' his subordination of the past. Anwar constructs himself as a heroic killer by referring to himself through his ability to subordinate the re-enactment or commentary scene in which he idealises his fictional self. The fiction of the 'heroic killer' is being built when Anwar is able to frame his fictional self into a performative dimension. When Anwar and his gang members are able to perform how they were required to murder their communist victims on the camera, that is the moment when the subject frames his construction as 'heroic killer' into a performative dimension. The formation of 'I' acquires its position as it is forced by the invocation which identifies the inconsistency of the subject.

It is similar to Butler's example of the law which is reiterated through the instability of authority through ordinance or sanction. The position of ordinance or sanction is at the same position as the re-enactment or commentary scene. The construction of 'I' as 'heroic killer' would fail without the endlessly interrupted consistency of the fiction through the use of the in and out mechanism. Similarly, Asmara's anticipates the loss of the subject formation as he says that the image of the anti-communist anger could be worse.⁵ In the commentary scene, Anwar's fictional self is interrupted by the question of whether, in fact, he knows it is just a film and that the victims know that they are going to be murdered. His reply is to say that he could feel what the victims felt. Contradictorily, it supports regulatory practice of his fictional self as 'heroic killer'. By 'feeling' the position of the victim as his object, Anwar regulates his approximation to his fictional subject as 'heroic killer'. The citation works when the subject could address himself to the point in which the subject *precedes* his inconsistent fulfilment of the fictional self.

Yet, the citation process is not simply a repeated framing of norms into performativity. The citation requires the constraint of the construction. The constraint is a pre-requisite as 'it is not only that there are constraints to performativity: rather, constraint calls to be rethought as the very condition of performativity' (Butler 59). To be precise, Butler characterises the constraint as a prohibition of what makes it *unimaginable* and *unthinkable* to make such construction.

This constraint of history perpetually occurs in the text. There are at least two scenes representing the constraint: first, Adi's fear that the movie might change the national image that the PKI is not as cruel as it has been propagated, but it was them who actually killed the PKI members as part of the anti-communism campaign.⁶

⁵ See figure 3

⁶ See figure 4



Figure 4. Snapshot of commentary scene. Duration 01.04.28-01.06.18 (*The Act of Killing*, Dir. Joshua Oppenheimer, Perf. Adi Anwar Congo, 2012; DVD; 28 September 2015).

Second, the return of Anwar to the roof where he murders his victim: in this scene Anwar confesses that his murder is a secretive representation of official history. These scenes clearly suggest the constraint of citation as it suggests the impossibility of the fictional ‘heroic killer’ through the performance of the mass killing. Comparing it to another work, it is similar to Terre’ Blanche figure, a white supremacist leader in Bloomfield’s work.⁷ The constraint exists when Terre’ Blanche rejects Bloomfield’s sudden appearance in taking the shot of him in an enactment of his temperamental subject construction.

The constraint produces a temporal construction of the subject. As the constraint contradicts the fiction of the self, the subject acquires the power formation. It shifts the temporal dimension of the ‘heroic past’ as fiction into the subject which inhabits the space of the imitation process. Through citing the subordination of fiction of the ‘past’, the subject transposes himself into the ‘present’ subject which is conditioned by the performative dimension of his ‘heroic past’. That is to say that the fiction of the subject in the ‘past’ is therefore made hollow by the contradiction between subordination of the fictional ‘past’ and the inability to imagine or recall the history. This slippage forces the fiction of the self of the past into a resurrected ‘original’ present as it is performed from the immediate point of imitated present created by the camera. As a result, the performance of the fiction therefore constructs the ‘heroic past’ subject as an immediate imitation of the present.

In the rooftop return scene,⁸ the contradiction is intensely structured through Anwar’s confession of the killing. Not only evoked by unawareness of the costume similarity between picnic suit and gangster-like suit, this scene ends his misrecognition of his violent act. This scene is a return to the beginning of the scene where he ‘happily’ shows his violent act. The scene shows him vomiting a few times after he confesses that he realizes that although murder is intolerable he had to do it. Then he sits, resuming his speech by saying ‘my conscience told me they had to be killed’. This scene is probably the most powerful scene in which the slippage between the past and the present emerges. On one hand, during citation the subject shows that he could subordinate the past through his violent act. Yet, on the other hand the subject shows remorse about the killing. The Brechtian alienation effect hence fully functions in this scene as the spectators become estranged. They are confronted by the shocking discomfort of stabilising the different meanings between the past and the present. The spectators cannot longer hold the fixity between what is past and what is present.

⁷ See *The Leader, His Driver and The Driver’s Wife*.

⁸ See figure 5

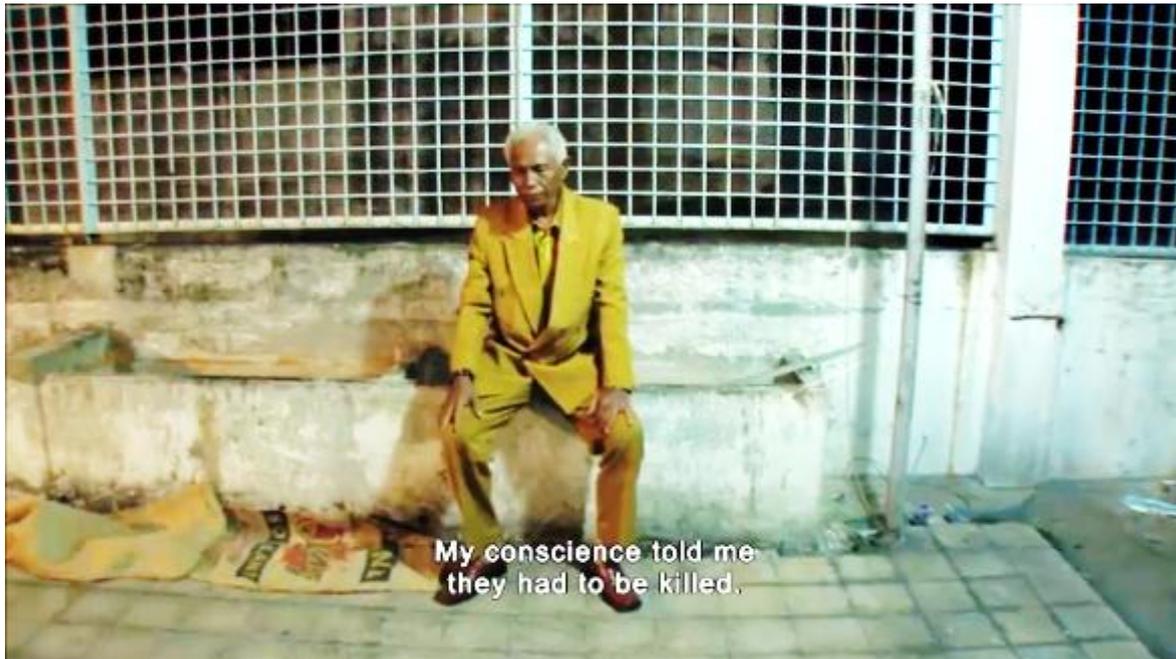


Figure 5. Snapshot of rooftop return scene. Duration 02.30.01-02.36.17 (*The Act of Killing*, Dir. Joshua Oppenheimer, Perf. Adi Anwar Congo, 2012; DVD; 28 September 2015).

Since the acting is framed in performativity which allows realisation of language and action, the temporal representation of the violent act in the riot, commentary and rooftop scenes contradict the coherence of subordination of the past. It deconstructs the citation construction that the subject masters in his own construction. As a result, the subject self-contradicts his own construction of a 'heroic killer'. In other words, in order to fully grasp the present, the subject needs to be given a representation of himself in the past by acting as the perpetrators of the killing of PKI members. The important point of the fictional act is to embody temporal representation to make what Eagleton calls 'verisimilitude' of the present (167). What remains is a recollection of the estrangement between the past and the present into its precedence: the present.

Through this deconstruction, I therefore argue that gestic experience appears to provide a critical space to consider the conjunctive degree between past and the present. The spectators are allowed to consider the Indonesian mass killing in 1965-1966, not in the factual sense, but in its causal relationship with the historical context of contemporary Indonesia. One may raise a critical question: what is the contemporary condition that causes Congo and friends to reinforce such brutal 'heroic killers' representation.

This paper is addressed not to answer the question above, rather to locate a critical turning point that stimulates further analysis. Nevertheless, to grasp it from class analysis, I quite suspect that Congo and friends' performance offers clues of a temporal adjustment of *lumpenproletariat* towards a new neoliberal agenda. One may refer at least to three indicators: first, neoliberal regime is succeeded by the event of mass killing in 1965-1966. Second, the role of Hollywood filmic fantasy seems to be the only capital owned by this class. The Hollywood fantasy implies the cultural production of New Order development and global economic proximity. Third, Congo's reflection on Herman's failure because his lack of financial power to participate in bribery in the local election. I believe it is important to note that the decentralisation of power through local election suggests the epochal shift to 'democratic transition'. It is significantly idealised by IMF as a neoliberal agency in post-Suharto era. The latter two indicators seem to be essential indicators as they appear through Congo and friends' performance.

Conclusion

To respond to Cribbs's perspective, it is not irrelevant to question factuality if the army is absent in the movie. Nevertheless, it is questionable to remark that *The Act of Killing* suggests Orientalist notion that the killers are able to kill each other with casual self-indulgence. As the performative 'heroic killers' are revealed, the suggestion that the killing is performed in a spontaneous manner seems to be an imprudent criticism. Instead, the film's lack of historical precision and unclear structure in fact allows for the self-critique of the killers' confessions. The critical point of the film is self-citation. The film internally 'cites' *historicity* of subject. The performative dimension allows the subject to frame *not* the *historicality* of the past into the present but rather the conjunctive degree between then and now. To be precise, the temporal shock mediated by *gestic* experience pursues the very temporal *connection* rather than temporal *approximation*. The slippage between the subordination of the past by the present shows the ability to

perform such killings is rather *fabricated*. This is where the political imagination within *The Act of Killing* exists; this temporal shock allows the spectators to re-situate themselves in relation to Indonesia today. I quite see the film positively. The film is simply a picture of the past, yet it forces us to confront ourselves with the shared temporal condition in the present.

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Depicting Political and Social Hegemony in Umar Kayam's Short Stories

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Abstract

The short story titled *Bawuk* by Umar Kayam, one of Indonesia's famous writers, underlines a number of subject matters about Indonesia's historical politics and sociocultures. Both, in the short story, are presented by the frame of hegemony that is rendered repressively. It depicts the idea of how the Indonesia's historical politics and social existed in the tragedy of 1965, in which terrorism tragically occurred and was identically described with repression. This is problematized further by the fact that it is translated into an English version. The translation method often removes the political and social value that the source text conveys. It is evidenced by the fact that the role of translation impacts to the depiction of political and social hegemony that is represented neutrally in the target text rather than repressively. It causes shift of the hegemony in which repression is more vaguely pictured and affects the type and the function of the hegemony in the target text.

Keywords: *hegemony, shift, short story, the tragedy of 1965, translation, Umar Kayam*

Introduction: Umar Kayam in Social and Political Literature

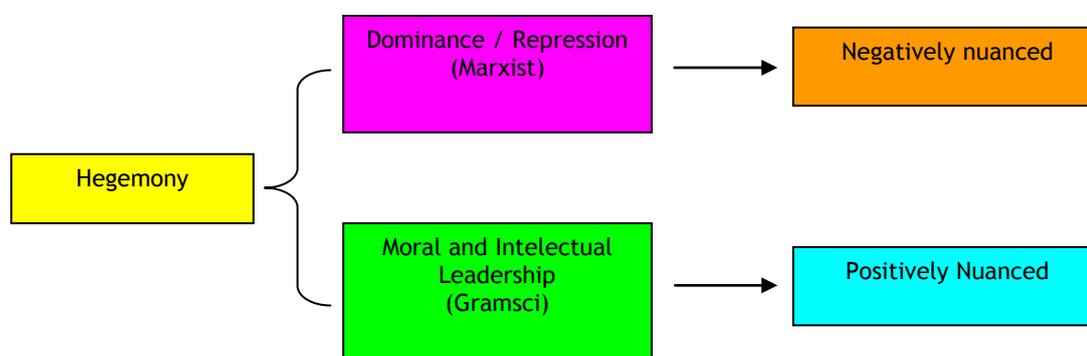
The short story titled *Bawuk* was written by Umar Kayam, a sociologist, novelist, humanist and also one of Indonesia's prominent men of letters and political figures during the New Order regime who spent his bachelor study in Universitas Gadjah Mada. His adolescence, which was filled by a wide variety of cultural activities, brought him to be the director of radio, television, and film in the Ministry of Public Enlightenment of the Republic of Indonesia (1966-1969), the head of the Jakarta Arts Council (1969-1972), the member of people's consultative assembly of the Republic of Indonesia, the head of the National Film Board (1978-1979), the advisory member of *Horison* Magazine, the head of the institute of Jakarta Art Education (1981) and many more of his recognitions accomplished during his lifetime. When he was still a collegian, he was also active in promoting a number of various cultural activities, doing research, developing literary and sociological studies as well as enlivening the Indonesian film through his cultural and literary background. After accomplishing his bachelor study in Universitas Gadjah Mada Indonesia, he completed his master degree in University of New York (1963), and his doctoral degree in Cornell University America (1965), respectively. He was known as a 1966-1970s litterateur generation. In that era, those men of letters were known for their surrealist, archetype, and absurd literatures and Pustaka Jaya publisher took part a lot in publishing those kinds of literatures. Additionally, the publishing of *Horison* literary magazine led by Mochtar Lubis became the starting point of this generation coloured by the spirit of prominent avant-garde. Umar Kayam's works, however, also hit the smell of 1950s generation, some of which are identical with the collection of short stories and the history of communist movement incorporated with *Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat* (LEKRA) which was emerged by the concept of realist-socialist literature, the beginning of practical politics, and G30SPKI. Umar Kayam was also known for his huge works talking about the tragedy of 1965 and depicting his own perception regarding such tragic tragedy in the New Order regime. The theme, which was narrowly considered as a taboo, was not nearly touched by the literary world for the truth was closely controlled by the powerful militaristic regime of the New Order. He is considered as one of the most productive men of letters in working on such huge tragedy. The theme was embodied in one of his short stories, which was also called a novelette titled *Bawuk and Sri Sumarah*, all of which took a Javanese background with the setting in Ngawi, East Java carrying the smell of communist movement and LEKRA (The League of People's Culture) therein. The short story titled *Bawuk* was firstly published in *Horison* Magazine vol.1 5th edition on January 1970, which was then compiled in one collection of short stories titled *Sri Sumarah* and was released by *Pustaka Jaya* in 1975. Those two short stories were then republished in one compelling novel titled *Seribu Kunang-Kunang di Manhattan* along with the collection of other short stories such as *Madame Schlitz dan Sang Raksasa*, *Sybil*, *Secangkir Kopi dan Sepotong Donat*, *Chief Sitting Bull*, *There Goes Tatum*, *Musim Gugur Kembali di Connecticut*, and *Kimono Biru Buat Istri*. In addition to his personal interest in Javanese nuances, Umar Kayam also put his remarkable writing on several Javanese-smelled works such as a novel titled *Para Priyayi* which upheld the depiction and position of *priyayi* (an Indonesian upper class member) in the past, *Mangan Ora Mangan Kumpul* describing the family life, and also *Jalan Menikung*, the second edition of *Para Priyayi*, which tells about the cross-cultural differences between western and eastern culture, Javanese particularly.

For *Bawuk* is such a part of short story, Kayam did not really put his concern on the plot other than pointing out the setting and the main characterization in the story instead. The setting took place in Karangrandu, one of Javanese districts in which *priyayi* members were still identically described by their powerful authority towards the lower class member as well as the setting of PKI (Indonesian Communist Movement) and Indonesian Government with their strong sovereignty whose practice was framed along with repression, violence, and oppression. The short story is part of Kayam’s experience when he was still alive in the communist era. In that era, a number of literary works containing the critics towards the government failed to be officially published for their controversial truth against the New Order regime. There were a number of litterateurs arrested for they dared to distribute those criticisms on literary writing. This is arguably considered that the government, the New Order regime, successfully managed to likely implement hegemony towards the cultural production, literary works particularly. In the era of 1965, Kayam, in his *Bawuk*’s story, clearly presented the depiction of the reign in detail in two different settings with a flashback plot. Kayam brings refined protests to the government for their unhumane deeds towards communists. The protest was presented in a number of his literary works, including *Bawuk*, politely. The way Kayam refinedly expresses his protests in his *Bawuk* story, according to Yoseph Taum in his cultural scientific journal *SINTESIS* (2014), is defined as a humanistic resistance.

The two settings described in the short story include the depiction of *Bawuk*’s childhood with her family who had a *priyayi* background and then followed by *Bawuk*’s adolescence when she married Hassan, a pro-communist member. The two different settings carrying the *Bawuk*’s story raise hegemony in different practices, respectively. The hegemony framing the story was pictured along with repression, physical oppression, and violence in the practice. How they practiced a rebellion, how they defended themselves, how the oppression and harshness happened, and also the implementation of *priyayi*’s sovereignty which became the main topic of the problematization in the story were conscientiously described. Eventually, the *Bawuk* story was translated into an English version by John. McGlynn and was published in 2012. The translation, here, takes an important role in picturing the concept of hegemony in the story itself. The translation strategies and methods that oftentimes erase the social and political values that the source text conveys cause shift in the representation of hegemony in the story as well as leading to several differences in the depiction of the practices of hegemony. In addition, the role of translation also leads to a shift in the power and dominance of the *priyayi* over the natives in the target text that it was rigorously described by Kayam and caused a contradiction over the social and political issues in Indonesia, in the era of 1965s particularly.

Colouring Hegemony in *Bawuk*, the 1965s Indonesian Socialist-Realist Literature

Hegemony, basically, is defined as a domination of a social class over another through moral and intellectual leadership along with the practice of repression and violence. There are two different concepts stating the definition of hegemony, by Antonio Gramsci, an Italian Marxist theoretician and politician, and also Orthodox Marxism. The hegemony was a term previously used by Marxists emphasizing the repression in the practice of hegemony towards the state and social classes. The definition was later argued by Gramsci stating that the hegemony emphasizes the moral consciousness in the practice; somebody is firstly made aware before they recognize the concept of hegemony itself. They, therefore, will no longer feel hegemonied other than consciously doing such things voluntarily. According to basic concept of Gramsci’s theory, there are three selective concepts used in understanding the analysis of 1965 tragedy such as hegemony, ideology, and intellectual role (Yoseph: 2014). Hegemony, arguably interpreted as a power or ascendancy of a group of people over another, causes several social classes in society. Based on the two different concepts of the definition of hegemony by several theoreticians above, it can be concluded that hegemony’s theory by Orthodox Marxist is negatively nuanced while Gramsci’s hegemony’s theory is a lot more positively nuanced. It is possibly illustrated through the graph below:



Picture 1. The graph of the illustration of Gramsci’s and Marxist’s hegemony theory

The idea of Gramsci’s hegemony contains basic issues in cultural studies such as pluralism, multiculturalism, and marginal culture by establishing a social change both radically and revolutionarily.

Therefore, this concept is arguably contradictory with Marxists'. Faruk, in his book titled *Pengantar Sosiologi Sastra* (1994), explained that there should be a number of briefings of thought concept by a consensus so as people will no longer feel hegemonied. The consensus can be implemented through social institution as well as inculcating an ideology. According to Gramsci, ideology is spreaded through the center of certain social institutions rather than automatically spreading out all over society.

Roger Simon, in his book titled *Gagasan-Gagasan Politik Gramsci* (2000) states that the concept of Gramsci's hegemony is implemented in civil society by persuading subordinate classes to accept values and ideas that have been taken over by the dominant classes, and also establishing cooperation based on the values. The dominant classes, fundamentally, tend to be viewed in a powerful authority and to be honored and respected in community. They are a group of majorities setting up a number of regulations that have to be obeyed by minorities. In this case, Kayam depicts the idea of the concept of hegemony through his literary works which are likely to discuss the social class between *proletar* and *pribumi* (*priyayi* and indigenous members) in which *priyayi* has a lot more domination over the other at the time. Based on his realist-socialist literary background, he pictures the idea of the discrimination towards "*wong cilik*" / lower class members in his several works including his story *Bawuk* and it causes the idea of hegemony between them.

Such depiction, however, does not appear in the translation version of *Bawuk* story that has been translated and released in 2012. The following are a few pieces of short stories together with a version of its translation by John. McGlynn.

	Source Text	Target Text
1.	"Mereka adalah anak-anak teladan di antara anak-anak pangrehpraja, serta kampiun sekolahnya." (Kayam, 2003:102)	"They were school champions, model children." (Kayam [Tr. McGlynn], 2012:67)
2.	"Suatu sore bapak dan ibunya mendapat undangan dari kanjeng bupati buat pesta ulang tahun bupati di kediaman kanjengan. Pesta itu boleh dikatakan besar-besaran juga. Semua onder dan wedana di daerah kabupaten itu mendapat undangan." (Kayam, 2003:104)	"One day the Suryos received an invitation to a birthday party for the regent, a grand celebration to be held at his residence. ----- Not only had the other district and subdistrict heads in the regency been invited, but the Dutch controleur and the executives of both...." (Kayam [Tr. McGlynn], 2012:69)
3.	"Kesukan baginya adalah lebih merupakan 'bagian dari upacara' yang mesti dia penuhi dalam fungsinya sebagai seorang onder dan priyayi yang terpandang." (Kayam, 2003:105)	"For Mr.Suryo this was just one more 'part of the ceremony', something he as a subdistrict head and upper-class member of society must engage in." (Kayam [Tr. McGlynn], 2012:69)
4.	"Seorang onder yang belum tua, cukup intelek karena tamatan Mosvia, suka kesukan dan cerutu regal adalah unsur-unsur persyaratan yang paling positif untuk calon wedana." (Kayam, 2003:105)	"Being not too advanced in age, having a reasonably sharp intellect (Suryo himself was a graduate of Mosvia, the prestigious secondary school), and sporting a taste for gambling and smoking cigars were definitely positive traits in a subdistrict head who hoped to be promoted to the rank of district head." (Kayam [Tr. McGlynn], 2012:69)
5.	"Onder, itu lho, Prenjak sudah mulai melirikmu! Ah, bukan sama saya, tapi sama kanjeng. Masa ondernya dulu." (Kayam, 2003:107)	"Hey, Suryo! The regent chortled. 'Prenjak's got her eye on you! Oh, she wouldn't be looking at a subdistrict head first. It must be you she's got her eye on!'" (Kayam [Tr. McGlynn], 2012:71)
6.	"Baiklah, nanti kalau sudah mulai menayub, sampur dari saya akan saya lempar kepada wedana dan kepada kau, Onder! Awas kalau kau tidak berani terus menyelesaikan. Ini perintah van de kanjeng en van de, er het, er de..., jarige, lho. Heh, heh, heh, heh," (Kayam, 2003:107)	"All right, you win," he said, "I'll go out there! But after I'm done I'm going to give the sash to my good friend the district head. And then he's going to pass it to you. It's my birthday, so you have to get out there. And that's an order straight from the birthday boy." (Kayam [Tr. McGlynn], 2012:71)
7.	"Pappie masih di kanjengan, kesukan sama Oom Wedana?" (Kayam, 2003:109)	"Where's Poppy? Is he still playing cards?" (Kayam [Tr. McGlynn], 2012:73)

In a few pieces of the story above, source text tends to depict *priyayi*'s life / upper-class members, through their power against the lower classes. The power which then becomes the trigger point of social and political hegemony is conceived by Kayam through the life of *priyayi* which is likely to be prestigious and reputable in the society. In the first data, Kayam, in the source text, pictures the life of *priyayi*'s children including Bawuk as a person with an advanced education by referring to “*teladan*” and “*kampion*” / model and champion. Therefore, they are viewed as the most outstanding and smartest students among others by referring to the phrase “*di antara anak-anak pangrehpraja..*” / among local sovereign's children. There's such a statement using the preposition “*di antara*” / among, which refers to a prepositional superlative; the form of an adverb or adjective that is used to signify the greatest degree of a given descriptor in both Indonesian and English grammar. This conceives how the *priyayi*'s children, in the story, including Bawuk, are very respectable in society by their intelligence among other children. However, this phrase is erased in the target text. Furthermore, the sentence in the second data that reads “*pesta itu boleh dikatakan besar-besaran juga..*” / the party is arguably such a very big one, describes the characteristic of *priyayi*'s life that is likely to be prestigious so as it is identic with scrumptious feast in every big event. In the third data, there is a piece of sentence that reads “*..sebagai seorang onder dan priyayi yang terpanchang*” / as a reputable upper-class member, which is such the description of the famous and respectable *priyayi* is erased in the target text. Kayam, then, also mentions several typical words such as “*onder*”, “*cerutu regal*”, “*kanjengan*”, and also “*kanjeng van der*” which mean the prestigious terms of *priyayi* members symbolizing their powerful hegemony—a certain group's reign over the other. “*Onder*”, which means the head of subdistrict (“*onder*” itself was often used in *priyayi* era), “*cerutu regal*” which is an old regal-branded cigarette—the cigarette brand made in England and is considered as a distinguished thing in colonization era that all the *priyayi* members had to engage with, and the name of “*kanjeng van der*” which refers to upper-class members as a form of respect become the typical description of *priyayi*'s life full of honor, and authority. All both the words and phrases are erased in the target text. Moreover, “*cerutu regal*” which is translated into “smoking cigars” which refers to an activity of smoking without the characteristic of *priyayi* which lies upon the *regal* brand, and also “*kanjeng van der*” which is translated into a more common word “birthday boy” as a form of hyponymy without the typical power which indicates the certain authority in the word “*kanjeng*”, define a *priyayi* more vaguely. This translation process causes the translation procedures called reduction and functional equivalent. Peter Newmark, in his book titled *A Textbook of Translation* (1988), argues that the reduction strategy in translation often erases several elements building the story in the source text so as a number of values and meanings that the source text conveys are removed. Additionally, functional equivalent, one of the translation procedures, also takes part in this translation process. Vinay's and Darbelnet's theory of equivalence procedure in their book titled *Comparative Stylistics of French and English: A Methodology for Translation*, same as Newmark's, stresses that the procedure happens when one and the same situation can be rendered by two texts using completely different stylistic and structural methods (1995:38) while Newmark (1988:83) emphasizes that this common procedure, which he considers as being applied to cultural words, requires the use of a culture-free word. This procedure occupies the middle, sometimes the universal, area between source language or culture and target language or culture. According to two definitions regarding equivalence procedure, it can be concluded that this procedure has something to do with the culture between source text and target text. To this extent, the example is such as the word “*cerutu regal*” in source text equivalent with “smoking cigars” in the target text, “*onder*” which refers to “subdistrict head”, “*kanjeng*” which refers to “boy”, “*wedana*” and “*kanjengan*” which are reduced in the target text, and so on. Those words, in the source text, are actually the certain words belonged to the culture of the source language and are equalled to the equivalent words belonged in the target language.

Faruk HT (2005), in his book titled *Umar Kayam: Luar Dalam*, reveals the *priyayi*, according to Kayam in his first novel *Para Priyayi*, is actually defined as the social grouping resulted by the contiguity between traditional culture and modern culture. The *priyayi* of his concern is a lot more about bureaucratic *priyayi* or new *priyayi*, not *para yayi*—the monarch's relative whose status is based on heredity and it, hence, is entirely traditional. Therefore, the depiction of the *priyayi*, in Bawuk story here, carries a lot about bureaucratic *priyayi* whose reign is elected by society. The reign brings the *priyayi*'s image important in public. In other words, they have to bring a good image in society to be honored and reputable when they want to be elected. By the *priyayi*'s reign elected by society, the hegemony indirectly appears.

Hegemony depicted in the source text, particularly in the description of Bawuk's childhood as a daughter of a member of *priyayi* / upper-class member, is interpreted with the definition of Gramsci's hegemony theory. The hegemony defined by him, as a form of arguing Marxist's theory, is a lot more about intellectual and moral ideology. As the implementation of Gramsci's theory, the type of hegemony here is pictured by the social class between society and the *priyayi* member. They are reigned by the concept of taking control towards the ideology of society without coercion in its practice.

The story about *Bawuk* continues in the adolescence of her in which she married Hasan, a pro-communist member in the era of 1965s. In the story, she chose to marry Hasan and left her family, a *priyayi* / an upper-class member in society, to accompany her husband to hide in one place to another fighting against the government led by the New Order regime. In the situation described, Bawuk, Hasan, and their friends face the violent fight against the government and militaristic army of New Order Regime and it is pictured with the practice of repression, abduction, and even assassination therein. The government's reign over communist members is described by the physical violence and offensive of the militaristic army towards the communists. Kayam tries to depict the story in detail as a form of his protests against the

political policy of the New Order regime towards the communists; how the repression violently happens, how the immense attack between the militaristic army of the government and the communist blows up, how they defense against the rebellion, and all. This violence brings out the description of the story to the idea of Marxist’s hegemony theory revealing that the hegemony happening in the social economic and civil society is brought with the offensive and repressive practice. People are forced to obey the rules that the upper-class member regulated. Muhadi Sugiono (1999), in his book titled *Kritik Antonio Gramsci terhadap Pembangunan Dunia Ketiga* stated that the Marxist’s hegemony theory is called “*scientisme kasar*” (crude scientism). This denotes the hegemony of Marxist emphasizing in the physical force towards society. Yet, the depiction of the protest of repressive offensive as a form of humanistic resistance towards the government by Kayam does not appear in the translation version of the story. Here are several pieces of how the story is described together with its translation.

	Source text	Target text
8.	<p>“Kadang-kadang muka-muka baru muncul dalam diskusi itu, memberikan penjelasan atau laporan tentang perkembangan keadaan.</p> <p>Mereka mendengar tentang keadaan S, tentang siapa-siapa yang tertangkap di S. Mereka mendengar tentang Aidit yang berada di Solo, dan mereka mendengar tentang sikap Sukarno terhadap Gestapu yang disebutnya Gestok.” (Kayam, 2003:118)</p>	<p>“At night Hassan and his friends met to assess the situation as it developed. Frequently new faces appeared to clarify some aspect or other, or to report on more recent events.</p> <p>-----</p> <p>They learned of Aidit’s presence in Solo, and Sukarno’s stance on GESTAPU, the Thirtieth of September Movement—or GESTOK a she chose to call it, as the putsch did not begin until the early hours of October 1.” (Kayam [Tr. McGlynn], 2012:79)</p>
9.	<p>“Kemudian masuklah info yang mengatakan bahwa tentara reaksi mulai mengadakan pembersihan di S dan sekitarnya.</p> <p>Cara mereka membersihkan tidak kepalang tanggung.” (Kayam, 2003:120)</p>	<p>“One day the news came that the reactionary Army forces had begun their offensive and were, in fact, already making their way to S. for the purpose of cleansing the area clean of Party influence.” (Kayam [Tr. McGlynn], 2012:81)</p> <p>-----</p>
10.	<p>“Kepada para kadet di kecamatan itu ditekankan arti situasi revolusioner seperti yang mereka hadapi pada waktu itu, yakni suatu situasi di mana pengertian teori tentang perjuangan bersenjata kaum tani datang saatnya dicoba. Kepada para petani yang bukan kader didengungkan bahwa perjuangan bersenjata yang akan mereka lakukan adalah perjuangan hidup dan mati, perjuangan tentang hak tanah, tentang hari depan tanah-tanah pertanian mereka, tentang hasil produksi pertanian mereka yang sekarang mau dirampas oleh kekuatan-kekuatan reaksioner yang meminjam bedil-bedil tentara sewaan.” (Kayam, 2003:121)</p>	<p>“To the cadre leaders they stressed the significance of the revolutionary atmosphere.</p> <p>-----</p> <p>At any moment they would have to put into practice the theory of an armed peasant struggle, a life-or-death battle to be fought for their rights to land and the rice that grew on it. A reactionary Army equipped with mercenaries’s guns was coming to plunder the fruits of their labor.” (Kayam [Tr. McGlynn], 2012:81)</p>
11.	<p>“Bawuk ingat bagaimana tegang dan panas suasana hari-hari itu. Suasana kesiapsiagaan yang meningkat.</p> <p>Kesenyapan yang mencekam. Diskusi yang terus- menerus.” (Kayam, 2003:121)</p>	<p>“Bawuk recalled the heat and the tension that had filled the air during those last days in T., an atmosphere suffocatingly thick with preparation.</p> <p>-----</p> <p>Discussions continued interminably, one after the other.” (Kayam [Tr. McGlynn], 2012:81)</p>
12.	<p>“Tahu-tahu orang berlari-lari meneriakan bahwa Dukuh B telah diduduki oleh tentara. Tentara ternyata telah bergerak dengan gesit, segesit siluman. Sebab tiba-tiba penduduk sudah dibuat buyar dengan hadirnya tentara di B. Kapankah mereka datang dan bagaimana mereka menembus barikade yang menurut perhitungan akan membuat setiap penerobos kewalahan? dan di dalam waktu yang menakjubkan pendeknya, tentara telah menyusup dimana-mana di dukuh-dukuh kecamatan T yang strategis. Pertempuran pun pecah.” (Kayam, 2003:122)</p>	<p>“Suddenly people were running through the streets screaming that the Army had taken the village of B. The Army had moved in quickly and silently, passing through barricades the people had thought impenetrable, attacking without warning. What kind of force were they dealing with? Some kind of ghost?</p> <p>The Army was everywhere.” (Kayam [Tr. McGlynn], 2012:82)</p>

13.	<p><i>“Petani-petani yang sudah dilatih Hassan melawan dengan cungh, dengan molotov cocktail, dengan bambu runcing, dengan segala macam senjata. Petani-petani itu melawan menurut petunjuk pemimpin-pemimpin mereka. Mereka melawan dengan semangat dan pengertian bahwa yang menjadi lawan mereka adalah kaum reaksi yang akan menghancurkan mereka, yang akan merampas tanah-tanah mereka.” (Kayam, 2003:122)</i></p>	<p>“The farmers, drilled by Hassan and their own leaders, fought relentlessly. They took up guns, Molotov Cocktails, sharpened bamboo poles, any available weapon . ----- The reactionary Army was their enemy. It had come and it would kill them and rob them of their land unless they destroyed it first.” (Kayam [Tr. McGlynn], 2012:82)</p>
14.	<p><i>“Di Jawa Timur, kembali Bawuk mengulangi dari depan mencari kontak-kontak baru dengan alamat-alamat simpatisan yang dia dapat dari kawan-kawannya di S. Kembali Bawuk mengulangi lagi hidupnya yang berpindah-pindah tempat bersama kedua anaknya. Bawuk makin merasakan sulitnya hidup dalam pengejaran.” (Kayam, 2003:126)</i></p>	<p>“So she fled to east Java. Using a list of sympathetic addresses friends had given her, she began searching out new contacts once more. ----- Increasingly Bawuk felt the difficulty and hardship of the life of fugitive.” (Kayam [Tr. McGlynn], 2012:85)</p>

In the story of Bawuk’s adolescence, Kayam tried to portray Bawuk as a daughter who married a member of PKI (Indonesia Communist Movement) who also engaged with LEKRA (the League of People’s Culture) and describes how militaristic army’s brutality against Bawuk, her husband, and other communists occurred. In the story, Bawuk left home, her *priyayi* family, with which she was engaged in her childhood, and chose to live with Hasan joining PKI (Indonesian Communist Movement) and fight with the government militaristic army. They become the militaristic army’s fugitive and have to hide in one place to another, in one subdistrict to another called T, S, M, B subdistrict, and so on. The hegemony of the government over the communist is implemented in the story by the force, violence, repression, and all. In the eight data, Bawuk and her husband hide in some certain place called headquarter in T subdistrict, the hidden area in which communist gathered during the 1965s insurgency. There is a sentence that reads *“mereka mendengar tentang keadaan S, tentang siapa-siapa yang tertangkap di S”* / they heard about the situation in S, about those who are arrested in S. This sentence refers to how the New Order regime militaristic army immensely slaughters by arresting all the members of communist and also people who have a personal relation with communist including Bawuk and her husband, Hassan. In the ninth data, Kayam tells how the insurgency of the way reactionary army cleans all the party through the erased sentence *“cara mereka membersihkan tidak kepalang tanggung”* / the way they clean the area of party influence is abysmal. This happened when the reactionary army made their huge attack to S subdistrict and cleaned all the party members. Besides that, the twelve data describes how the army’s insurgency made the people scattered everywhere trying to look for safe places to hide by the sentence *“sebab tiba-tiba penduduk sudah dibuat buyar dengan hadirnya tentara di B”* / the people were scattered running to one place to another for the militaristic army’s attack in B subdistrict. The coup of the army led by the New Order Regime is presented by the detailed description in the source text that reads *“dan di dalam waktu yang menakjubkan pendeknya, tentara telah menyusup dimana-mana di dukuh-dukuh kecamatan T yang strategis. Pertempuran pun pecah”* / the reactionary army suddenly infiltrated to every part of the area in T subdistrict just in a blink of an eye. The coup blows up. The detailed description is reduced and translated into the sentence that reads “the army was everywhere” in the target text without the practice of how the army was trying to settle and infiltrate the communist’s area in the source text. Kayam also portrays the hegemony of the New Order regime through the farmers’ resistance against the army in the thirteenth data *“petani-petani itu melawan menurut petunjuk pemimpin-pemimpin mereka. Mereka melawan dengan semangat dan pengertian bahwa yang...”* / “The farmers resisted based on their leaders’ instruction. They resisted with the spirit and the perception that...”. Based on the sentence above, this indicates that the hegemony of the communist leader’s over the communist members, including the farmers, is practiced by the idea of how the army was really going to brutally equip their wealth. He pictured the unhumane deed committed by the militaristic army of New Order Regime in a very dreadful way. Those five data in the source text prove that Kayam deals with a humanistic resistance against the 1965 tragedy. The resistance here implies that it is defined as the resistance committed towards the hegemony by presenting the alternatives about whether the action has been proper to commit, rather than by committing violent violences (Yoseph: 2014). This, however, is erased in the target text, in the translation version, by using the translation procedures called reduction. According to Peter Newmark, the reduction procedure often removes several elements that the source text conveys as a form of establishing the elements of the story. By reducing some sentences in the target text, translation version represents the story a lot more neutrally. To this extent, the repression in the tragedy of 1965 seemed to be vaguely pictured.

The protest of Umar Kayam towards the unhumane deed committed by the New Order Regime continues with the life of Bawuk and her children. After being leaved by his husband, Bawuk tried to live life in a very harshful way together with her children, Wowok and Ninuk. They searched for some place to hide and moved from one subdistrict to the other, from one place to another, avoiding the militaristic

army. This is emphasized more on the description of her life in the sentence in the fourteenth data that reads “*kembali Bawuk mengulangi lagi hidupnya yang berpindah-pindah tempat bersama kedua anaknya*” / Bawuk’s life is on repeat by moving from one place to another together with her children. This indicates that the tragedy of 1965 caused a burden towards Bawuk that she had to live her difficult life in fugitive. Kayam describes the story as if he wanted to question whether the person like Bawuk, a smart and respectful daughter of *priyayi* member / nobility, deserved this kind of horrible treatment by the New Order regime. Additionally, Kayam also describes Bawuk’s life through the eleventh data which refers to “*Kesenyapan yang mencekam*” / gloomy silence, explaining that the harshfulness Bawuk and her children felt left by her husband in the middle of the army’s attack caused her to feel the atmosphere in the gloomy silence. It is a form of the humanistic protest Umar Kayam tried to convey that if Bawuk and her children deserved to be treated so. However, all those sentences are erased in the target text. Newmark stated that the reduction procedure is rather imprecise translation procedures, which you practice intuitively in some cases (1988:90). This might be imprecise since it causes the elements in source text to be lost and effects to the story in the target text.

Conclusion

Bawuk, one of Umar Kayam’s literary works, deals with a relation between hegemony and literature presented in the tragedy of 1965. Kayam tried to express his personal protests against the New Order Regime through his literary works, including *Bawuk*, in a very refined and polite way. The protests of him are presented as a form of the humanistic resistance towards the militaristic army’s deed to the communist that it is rendered by the practice of hegemony. The hegemony practiced in the text deals a lot more with the concept of taking control the ideology and intellectual morality towards society. In the story of Bawuk’s childhood, the hegemony is portrayed by the authority of *priyayi* / nobility / an upper-class member over a lower-class member. Furthermore, the hegemony pictured in the second setting of the story in which Bawuk’s adolescence was pictured spoke more about repression, violence, oppression, abduction and many horrible deeds the militaristic army of the New Order Regime committed. However, by the role of translation, the concept of the repressive hegemony that causes a humanistic resistance by Umar

Kayam is pictured more vaguely in the target text for the domination of reduction procedure in its translation. It helps the concept of the function of hegemony depicted in the story changes. According to Gramsci’s perspective, hegemony speaks more about moral and intellectual leadership while orthodox Marxist emphasizes the practice of hegemony is implemented by the physical repression in society. These two concepts of hegemony are shifted in the translation version and cause the representation of the author’s humanistic resistance against the New Order Regime to grow more vaguely.

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Wound around the Wound: Narrative, Trauma, and Indonesia 1965

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Abstract

History's common association with science and objectivity makes it stand as the advocate of truth—shunning canards, rumors, and myths. What it tells is what truly and objectively happened in the past. However, history's close affiliation to collective authority often problematizes its position and even negates all historical facts that it presents. David W. Price in *History Made, History Imagined* (1992) argues that historical act emerges as a response to systems of values, many of which are opposed to one another. What history tells now is often a lopsided story, the very story that the authority wants it to tell. Accordingly, the voices of the personal and the un-authoritative, despite truthful contents, are frequently silenced. In this light, this paper that operates as a personal narrative aims to examine such situation by looking at how trauma resulted from the massacre of the 1965 is narrated from the perspective of the victims who have been falsely represented in the Indonesian national history. The victims, whom I have personally met, now stand as chroniclers/historiographers in spite of their close affinity to subjectivity, bias, and myth.

Keywords: authority, history, Indonesia, 1965 massacre, personal narrative

Introduction

This paper does not aim to sideline the official Indonesian History—the history with capital ‘H’ which is dubbed central, objective, scientific, and simultaneously authoritative. It just finds it compulsory that the peripheral, subjective, fictional, and less authoritative version of history, which belongs to the poor and the silenced, be taken into account and analyzed accordingly. This is done so in order to decrease the noise that the grand History makes, turn its volume into moderation, and instantaneously give the chance to those at the margin to speak on their behalf. This attempt might overlook narrative reliability and facts; but it does not matter because reliability and facts, as we know of, are often exaggerated due to the fact that historical act emerges as a response to systems of values, many of which are opposed to one another (Price, 1999:2). Both grand narrative and personal account about one particular ‘historical’ event are similarly faced with two contrasting probabilities: either it is genuinely authentic or completely fabricated. At the turn of the 20th century, for example, the founding fathers of Indonesia, particularly Muhammad Yamin who later served as the minister of education and culture under the Sukarno administration, resorted to nostalgia when they attempted to boost the people's patriotism and nationalistic spirit in order to kick the Dutch colonial rule out of Nusantara. They fabricated the narrative about the 14th century unification of Nusantara by the great commander of Majapahit, Gajah Mada, and consistently glorified and amplified it across the nation. The flaws that Gajah Mada might have were covered up and polished—making him the epitome of national heroism. Such story telling was proven fruitful; (1) the people managed to set themselves free from the repressive colonial rule and (2) Gajah Mada enjoyed the national status as hero and is glorified as the symbol of national unity. The content of the story, however, does not apply to Sundanese people at large. Never was the story patriotic nor truthful. For them, any narrative about Gajah Mada has always been about treason and cowardice nuanced with disappointment and disloyalty. In the eyes of the Sundanese, the Gajah Mada's unification was actually the origin of colonial rule imposed by non-European on non-European. This is carefully elaborated in several ancient manuscripts namely *Serat Pararaton*, *Kidung Sunda*, and *Kidung Sundayana* which according to Sundanese are historically reliable.

History is value-bound. Accurate history is only accurate before the makers and supporters of that particular history. I used to think that historical events presented in the widely distributed text book *Pendidikan Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa* (the History of National Struggle), which was based on the 1984 national curriculum for high school students, were all objective and truthful, and most importantly, heroic. I believe I was the biggest supporter of such heroism. When nearing the final year of my junior high school year, I even used to have the ambition to enter *Taruna Nusantara*, a boarding senior high-school located in Magelang, Central Java, which is backed by politically and financially strong Indonesian Armed Forces. The reason that I would do so was because I was hoping that I would be able to serve my country the way the national heroes depicted in the books did. It was only years later that I came into realization that the book was exclusively the product of the New Order regime which was used as a method to trick the people into going along with them—in this case, by toying with junior high school curriculum. I could recall that one point in the instructional objectives (*tujuan instruksional*) of the book clearly stated that it aims to get the students to “*meyakini bahwa Orde Baru mengutamakan kepentingan Negara dan Masyarakat*” (to be confident that the New Order regime prioritizes the interest of the nation and the people). Even though it

has been proven utterly wrong, such confidence lingers and grows even stronger as now more and more people idolize Suharto, who was proclaimed as the Father of Development, and idealize his despotic leadership, under which Indonesia could excel as the tiger of Asia. Nowhere is this more clear in the Indonesian contexts than contemporary pamphlets, mural, paintings, and graffiti which are accompanied by a caption that uniformly reads “*Penak Jamanku tho?*” (Javanese for ‘You like it better when I was still ruling, don’t you?’). Sadly, the narrative did not stop simply at that particular point. It went on into inventing a common enemy that would function to increase group solidarity and, most importantly, belief in the regime. It is a mechanism of projection that the regime uses to ascribe to the other all wickedness that it does not wish to recognize in it. In doing so, another instructional objective of the book is made. The book now aims to get the students to “*menyadari bahwa aksi-aksi sepihak PKI merupakan pemaksaan kehendak secara sepihak untuk menghancurkan NKRI*” (to acknowledge that PKI, Indonesian Communist Party, imposed their will on the people in order to destroy the NKRI, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia—a term coined by the Indonesian military to “defend its continued claim on a prominent role in the governance of Indonesia” (Mietzner, 2009: 228)). If there is anything bad ever to happen to the NKRI, it is justified to put all the blame on the PKI and its supporters. If there is students’ rally against any government policy, it has to be backed by the communist. All in all, it had taught the whole generation a version of the past that had contributed to further discrimination and stigmatization of those that were not favored by the regime.

It is time to turn over a new leaf and walk away from the generic historiography. History could actually be written with such fluidity that it generates empathy instead of apathy. *Nasib Manusia: Kisah Orang Yang Tak Bisa Pulang* (Human Fate: the story of he that cannot return home), written by Syarif Maulana, can be made as the perfect example that offers an alternative approach in dealing with history; it lets subjectivity lurk in and allows history be examined from a personal point of view which is nostalgic, and filled with responsiveness. Seeing history from below—from the perspective of the accused, not the accuser, the book tells the story of Awal Uzhara, a Minang born in Kayu Tanam on November 17 1931, who was accidentally, if not politically, exiled in the Soviet Union (now Russia). Uzhara’s keenness in arts and passion to pursue further studies in Sovyet Union made him accused of affiliating with the left and left him stateless for more than five decades. In the book, things that happened to Uzhara, from the days before he left to the days he finally returned, are juxtaposed with major historical events that ever happened to the Republic of Indonesia. *Nasib Manusia* might be subjective, unreliable, and fictional, but it clearly shows how historiography is invented. Writers/historians could always select historical aspects they need, add narrative spices, and engineer a whole new story that they desire or that they were told to.

Senen-Kemis: Exiled in the Homeland

Using the approach similar to that employed by Maulana, this paper is intended to work as an instrument to articulate the history of Indonesia 1965, specifically from the perspective of the victims. This story originated from my involvement in a film project from the period of 2003 to 2005, taking place in a remote village, called Pergulaan, in the sub-district of Sei Rampah, the regency of Deli Serdang, North Sumatra.

To give an overview, ‘Pergulaan’ is believed by some to be named after sugar (*gula*) cane plantation that may have existed in the region. However, there were no traces of sugar plantation around that area. What were commonly cultivated around the region were cacao, palm trees, and cassava. Not sugar cane. Some other believe that the word is the inflection of ‘*pergolakan*’ which means (political) upheaval or turmoil. If we search ‘Pergulaan, Sei Rampah, Deli Serdang’ on the internet, almost all 39,300 results found in 58 seconds give pieces information about conflicts between workers and London-Sumatra plantation management, illegal land confiscation, police repressive conduct, imprisoned plantation workers, etc. Given that, it seems that turmoil suits best the description of this barren village which is located inside the vast palm plantation belts and surrounded by relatively deep trench.

In that village, lived *Pak Senen* and *Pak Kemis*. The first time I met them was on a Monday, in early March 2004. *Pak Senen* was in his 60s. His back was hunched, most probably caused by sitting too long with bad posture. His head was partially and unevenly bald. His eyes were drooping, and his movements were not enthusiastic. But he was a passionate artist. He played various traditional music instruments, especially *bonang*, a collection of gongs placed horizontally onto strings in a wooden frame, either one or two rows wide, which explains his hunched back. He ran the Javanese gamelan group in Pergulaan and rehearsed regularly every Thursday night. When he was still very young, he played as the lead musician in a *ludruk* group, a form of traditional performance presented by a troupe of actors on stage, retelling the life stories of everyday people and their struggles. *Pak Senen* gained fame as one of the most entertaining musicians in Deli Serdang. As for *Pak Kemis*, he was about a couple of years younger than *Pak Senen*. Unlike *Pak Senen*, *Pak Kemis* did not have any interest in music or arts. He enjoyed tending his cacao trees that he planted at the front yard of his house. He was very good at taking care of the trees perhaps because he used to work as weed controller at a palm plantation belt when he was still very young. Furthermore, *Pak Kemis* was a very religious person. At one noon on a Thursday, my friend and I had to wait very long at *Pak Kemis*’ house and almost gave up the plan to interview. That day he spent more than an hour to observe *salat*, a religious duty for a muslim, whereas I would just spend five minutes. I had always considered myself a good muslim who performed *salat* five times a day at the prescribed times. But I would never feel obligated to take

shower in preparation for formal prayers. I would simply perform ablution which includes washing the face, both lower arms, running wet hands over the head, and washing both feet. Pak Kemis would go all the way and take shower before every *salat* for he felt the need to be thoroughly clean before facing God and bowing before Him. Besides performing the compulsory prayers, he would also perform *sunnah salat* which is additional voluntary prayer that accompanies the compulsory *salat*. He admitted that he had been accustomed to performing the rituals ever since he was still an elementary student at nearby Islamic boarding school. His piety went hand in hand with his excellent memory. He was also a well-known *hafiz*, a muslim who has completely memorized the holy Koran and was often invited to give sermon at local mosques. Equally pious was his wife, *Ibu Arbain*, who shared the same routine and attended religious gatherings on regular basis. Upon knowing that *Pak Kemis* and *Ibu Arbain* were so religiously committed, everything that I learned in my school and in my mosque about the anti-God communist just vanished into thin air. I suddenly felt that I had been lied to and became extremely worried about other knowledge that I had which could be possibly based on half-truth and misinformation.

In the early 1960s, when Pergulaan was still filled with enthusiasm and vivacity, and had yet to be surrounded by the deep trench, *Pak Senen's* ludruk belonged to the top paying theater groups with the largest fan base in Deli Serdang and its neighboring regencies. They performed on various stages, celebrating ceremonies from wedding reception to political campaigns. (At that time, ludruk was proven as the most effective means of entertainment and for practical/political purposes, such as mobilizing the masses). Due to the group's regular participation in political campaigns, *Pak Senen's* ludruk was suspected to be affiliated with the institute for the people culture despite the fact that *Pak Senen* had no interest whatsoever in politics. He was just a young man in his twenties who had just found the perfect means to express his passion and interest in performing arts and music and had the chance to enjoy the good taste of fame. *Pak Kemis* was equally naïve. In order make sure that he could sufficiently provide for the family, he joined SOBSI, which was the largest trade union during its existence in Indonesia and was closely linked to the PKI. *Pak Kemis* knew that SOBSI was celebrated for its commitment in advocating decent salaries for the workers in addition to demanding additional rights of the workers, i.e. monthly basic needs, popularly known as *catu*, which included sweetened condensed milk, cooking oil, kerosene, rice, mung bean, sugar, salt, tea, salted fish, cloth, and soap; and he benefited from it. All in all, both *Pak Senen* and *Pak Kemis* lived a decent life in the dynamic and culturally rich Pergulaan.

But then the attempted coup broke.

In the end of 1965, *Pak Senen* and *Pak Kemis* were rounded up by the military-backed mob and sent to imprisonment in Tebing Tinggi after they had been previously reported for affiliating with the communist by a plantation worker who was jealous of the financial stability and social status that *Pak Senen* and *Pak Kemis* enjoyed. The plantation worker was a member of the newly established civil organization, called Hansip, abbreviation of *Pertahanan Sipil* or Civil Defense. Speaking of Hansip, it is very likely that, when asked about the main task of the unit, most Indonesians today would resort to that which is often depicted in B rated horror movies regularly screen in Indonesian popular cinemas; Hansip is there to round up un-married couples suspected of lewd acts at some corn field or to banish the female ghost that haunts the villagers and kidnaps children. True. In the contemporary Indonesia, Hansip is often associated with ridicule. But in the 60s, Hansip was the real horror. According to William Blum in *Killing Hope*, hansip was the evidence of CIA's involvement in the 1965 abortive coup that led to the genocide of more than two million people in Indonesia. Blum quoted a statement from Roger Hilsman, whose career spanned the CIA and the State Department, who noted that by 1963:

One-third of the Indonesian general staff had had some sort of training from Americans and almost half of the officer corps. As a result of both the civic action project and the training program, the American and Indonesian military had come to know each other rather well. Bonds of personal respect and even affection existed. (2003: 196)

This observation is reinforced by reports of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs:

At the time of the attempted Communist coup and military counter-coup [sic] of October 1965, more than 1,200 Indonesian officers including senior military figures, had been trained in the United States. As a result of this experience, numerous friendships and contacts existed between the Indonesian and American military establishments, particularly between members of the two armies. In the post-coup period, when the political situation was still unsettled, the United States, using these existing channels of communication, was able to provide the anti-Communist forces with moral and token material support. When the average MAP [Military Assistance Program] trainee returns home he may well have some American acquaintances and a fair appreciation of the United States. This impact may provide some valuable future opportunity for communication as occurred in Indonesia during and immediately after the attempted Communist-backed coup of October 1965 (2003:197).

The main purpose of Hansip establishment was to assist in the defense-related tasks, such as mobilizing the masses to defend the country. During the years of living dangerously, the Hansip

was specifically given neighborhood patrol tasks to list and report to the military the people who were suspected communist. This means that the list could be very random and inaccurate; personal sentiments could always have been the reason that *Pak Senen* and *Pak Kemis* were rounded up, imprisoned, and tortured for years. In Pergulaan, to be dead or alive, imprisoned or set free, beheaded or let live, was determined by a very limited choice: either one chose to be a communist (by ideology or by empathy) or to be completely right, without any affiliation whatsoever with the left. The fact that Senen means Monday or Arabic for number 2 and Kemis means Thursday or Arabic for number 5 contributed greatly to relatively easy process of rounding them up. There must have been other Senen or Kemis who received similar treatment or accusation simply because it was just that easy to put them in the list.

In the first few days of incarceration, Pak Senen and Pak Kemis were told to have their hair cut. The guards, however, did not provide them with razor or scissors. They were forced to cut a piece of metal from the condensed milk can which was grinded against whetstone to make it sharp. But everyone knew that it could never be razor sharp. Perhaps, this gives answer to the uneven baldness that Pak Senen had on his head. It was not because of age, but it was scarred scalp from the scrap metal. Pak Kemis cried when he was telling this story. He also cried when he recalled the pain inflicted on him from the lashes of the serrated stingray tail by the prison guard almost on daily basis. The savage lash cut deep and left rows of diagonal scars on his back. Torture was common but food was not. *Pak Senen* and *Pak Kemis* had to make sure that they could eat at least once a day. So, the small portion of steamed rice that was served to them had to be dried out in the sun and save for later use. When they were famished, they took the dried rice, pour some water on it, and eat it.

Adversity was not only faced by the men, but also by Ibu Arbain. Rumor has it that those who were linked to the communist party would normally be castrated, decapitated, and thrown into Sungai Ular, a river distinguished by its size and swift flow, therefore, a perfect place for executions. This caused *Ibu Arbain* extreme distress for fear that her husband would end up the same. Fortunately, that did not happen to her husband. But, she still had to ride her bicycle to Tebing Tinggi when she wanted to visit her husband. The trip was both long and treacherous. The last time I was there, in 2005, it took me a more than 40 minute motorcycle ride to get to Tebing Tinggi from Pergulaan. The road was uneven dirt road without any streetlight. It was a traumatizing experience for Ibu Arbain. She could not stop crying when she told the story about how she had to return home because she accidentally fell from her bike, hurt herself, and dropped the food that she had cooked for Pak Kemis. Even when she managed to arrive safely at the Tebing Tinggi prison, the prison guard would psychologically harassed by inspecting Ibu Arbain and the food that she brought. He would spill the food on the dirty floor, checking for weapon that visitors might tuck in inside the food, and then order Ibu Arbain to scoop it back to the food container to be given to *Pak Kemis*. For more than 5 years, Ibu Arbain had to deal with such excruciating mental pain. There was one time when my friend and I were scheduled to interview Ibu Arbain we did not hear a single word; Ibu Arbain was overwhelmed with sadness and past trauma so that she remained silence despite our presence.

In 1971, Pak Senen and Pak Kemis were released. They returned to Pergulaan, which now had become uncultured and lifeless. The first time I arrived in Pergulaan, I felt so alienated because I thought I had been thrown back to the past at some place that did not have anything in common at all with other regions in the country. Such alienation was emphasized further because the trench was intentionally dug to work like the prison walls which hindered exchange of information and commodities with neighboring villages. The access was completely shut. The only entrance/exit was supervised by Hansip, sometimes by military personnel, from whom permit to enter or exit the village was requested. All in all, Pergulaan was similar to a concentration camp where people prisoners were detained. *Pak Senen* was no longer the widely recognized artist. His identification card had been marked so that he could no longer perform in any public event. *Pak Kemis* and *Ibu Arbain* were hardly surviving from the cacao crop that their trees produced. They were all scarred and exiled in their own homeland.

Conclusion

Since day one of the establishment of this modern state, we, or at least I, have become accustomed to body of lies and been forced into thinking that half-truth is truth. I have been led into demonizing fellow human beings, creating a false, one-dimensional, stereotypical picture, and even was made willing to let fellow human beings confined and exiled in their own home. According to Edward Said "Exile is strangely compelling to think but terrible to experience" (2001: 173). It is ambivalent in nature because it conveys two values that contradict each other. Exile stands as "a potent, even enriching, motif" that opens an opportunity to enrich modernity, history, and literary life through diaspora; but it also operates as the major cause of "the crippling sorrow of estrangement". But for Pak Senen, Pak Kemis, and Ibu Arbain, exile had never been about the opportunity to indulge ourselves in the enriching motif that would enable us to move freely and

obtain new knowledge. It was always about the sorrow and alienation generated from the crime that they had never committed and from the lack of opportunities to tell stories.

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The Untold History of the 'Unfinished Nation' in History Schoolbooks

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Abstract

Young generation will learn and try to understand their nation through history which is delivered by their teachers and parents or by reading books and watching movies. Yet, problems are occurred since history is always taking the winner side and seeking for truth about it is always devastating. Children have been taught, since their young age, that their nation is a great one and they shall respect the merit of Indonesia's patriot by being a hard worker and a good citizen. Their national pride, however, will be scraped when they find out something was happened not as what they have been told at school. The most intriguing part of Indonesian history which is always delivered differently and makes them keep questioning is about Indonesia's National Movement since the reign of New Order up to present time. It is important to discuss because this part is delivered in students' history schoolbook so that it will give false or inadequate information towards them. Moreover, it is also because the history is created, delivered and strengthen not only by government but also by schools as ideological state apparatus. Regarding to that, this paper is discussing the untold history delivered differently in elementary until high school history schoolbook circulated by government. Several history schoolbooks, both paperback and ebooks, are used as main sources while several interviews with students are used as supported sources. The discussion will also involve Max Lane's "Unfinished Nation" (2014) and John Rossa (2008) ideas. It is hoped that the discussion will make young generation aware and keep questioning the history of the nation without losing the pride being an Indonesian.

Keywords: *education, government, history, schoolbooks*

Introduction

How many hours students spend their times reading schoolbooks, novels, comics, and others? Lots of them said less than an hour if it is related to school and will decrease into a brief one when the subject is considered as prosaic such as history and language. Yet, they will spend more time to read novels or others because they are interested on the topics or simply because of their recreational aspect. Then for what kind of reason which makes history become one of prosaic lesson at school? This is trivial, some said learning history is meaningless because given-information about every historical event of Indonesia's history has not changed since many years, some said learning history is about memorizing historical events, and others said that learning history is problematically and doubtful because both teachers and students are living in different times thus it is very hard to comprehend. As students, once, we agreed on all of the opinions because our teachers often gave us tasks to make summaries on particular events in Indonesia's history or answer questions on an exercises book without any further explanation; if there was an explanation it was given in third grade of Senior high school. Thus, we assumed that learning history was wasting time and useless. However, during a reading of literary texts in college years, we started to ask about our comprehension on history when reading one of Soekarno's statements on his presidential speech in 1966. He stated that "*jangan sekali-kali meninggalkan sejarah*"—never leaves history behind or famously known as "*Jas Merah*". The word 'leaves' struck us as if as an Indonesian we were not only abandoning our own nation's history but also forgetting, even banishing it because its insignificance in present time. If we are having such experience, are other students experiencing the same thing?

From such thought, this paper is focused on the history lesson materials, especially about Indonesian's movement during Soeharto's era until present time, in students' schoolbooks to identify which part of Indonesia's history is eliminated, maintained and/or changed. This is surely related with the reign of Soeharto as a president for 33 years and his dethrone in 1998 and censorship occurred by controlling given-information inside the history books through Ministry of National Education's Letter of Instruction which is also clearly mentioned on the books. In controlling given-information, government was implementing certain curricula. Previously, government in Soeharto's era had curricula of 1964, 1968, 1975, 1984 and 1994, while during reformation era there are curricula of 1999, 2004, and 2013. However, due to limited sources access on curricula of 1964 to 1975, regrettably the discussion only uses 1984 until 2013 curricula and involves not only government's role through the schoolbooks but also teachers, parents and students themselves in comprehending the materials. This discussion is also important since although education was one of Soeharto's concept in nation's development (Novanto, 1996, p. xxxv-xxxvi) and became a consideration in his Repelita I - VI (*Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun*)—five-year development plan

(Bappenas, 2009), the implementation was controlled fully by *Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* (MPR)'s decree No. XXVII/MPRS/1966 about Religion, Education and Culture (Jusuf and Negoro, 1992: 58). Therefore, the given-information concerning Indonesia's movement under Soeharto's government was questionable. In order to discuss the issue comprehensively, this paper is composed after making on field observations involving students, teachers and parents, and analysis on history schoolbooks. Indonesia's movement in this discussion is related with G30S PKI's event which is called as Soeharto's coup d'état toward Soekarno's government (Rossa, 2008) and the fact that 55 years after its independence until 1998, Indonesia was operated under Soeharto's dictatorship which caused massive annihilations and political oppression (Lane, 2014, p. 18). Those researchers are asserting very strong statement which is able to drive readers to questioning the history of G30S PKI, after all there are lots of researches as well text are intended in clarifying and/or making thorough explanation about the event (Dewi, 2014). Consequently, this nation is still searching for the truth about its own history to be able to define its identity as a nation and during the process this nation can be only be called—using Lane's term—as an 'unfinished nation'.

In order to reveal the issue, method used in this research is using combined design of qualitative and quantitative models which according to Creswell (1994) is known as dominant-less dominant design. It is conducted when literature and theory would be used in an approach consistent with the dominant paradigm (inductive in qualitative, deductive in quantitative) (1994, p. 179). Such method appropriates to be used due to its coverage analysis involving few informants and documents—schoolbooks, both printed and digital version as well published by private publishers and government in digital version provided by Ministry of Education.

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History within text

Not every student from different grade realizes an existence of various paradigms when they are learning Indonesia's history at school. Some pay more attention on certain events and try to find more information before they accept it as facts, and some who decided to accept the historical lessons at school will assume it happened just as mentioned on their books and believed it as facts without further questioning. It is getting worse when the teachers and parents do not give any guidance during the learning because they think students will understand by themselves. Somehow, both teachers and parents do not realize that the students are absorbing information without filtering it and it turns to horror when their schoolbooks stating different things about particular historical events. History schoolbooks published within Soeharto's era and implemented 1984 curricula were obviously circulated under his surveillance and censorship. A history schoolbook for a third grade in Senior High School written by Jusuf and Negoro (1992), for instance, was inserting Soeharto's picture as a president and his vice, Soedarmono. Further indication showing that the book is under surveillance was a statement on its introduction which saying “...*menuangkan hasil penataran yang kami dapat sejak tahun 1982 hingga tahun 1986, dalam suatu urutan bahan pengajarannya, sesuai dengan GBPP bidang studi PSPB SK Mendikbud Nomor 216/C/Kep/II/1985, tanggal 7 November 1985...terima kasih pula kepada Ibu Kepala Bidang Dikmenum Kasie Kurikulum dan Pengawas Bidang Studi PSPB Kanwil Depdikbud DKI Jakarta.*” Thus it implies that government through its subordinate in Ministry of Education and regional officer was controlling the given-information in schoolbooks so that it would only mention the acceptable history. A scandalous part existed in information concerning Soekarno's last Dwikora cabinet session mentioned by Wiriadirja (1993, p. 11) that “*Pada tanggal 15 Januari 1966, Presiden Soekarno memimpin sidang kabinet Dwikora yang dihadiri pula oleh KAMI (Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia). Presiden Soekarno hendak melakukan penyelesaian politik terhadap para pelaku G-30-S/PKI.*” and one of Soekarno's action to overcome KAMI's requirements was the existence of Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret (Supersemar). It was controversial, though, because every history schoolbook under Soeharto's government was mentioning it, yet the truth about it is still questioned. However, we consider a hilarious information placement on the quotation above since this information was found on sub unit “*Sejarah Lokal*” focusing on historical building and mentioning the historical events related to it. But when we read it, it is like a summary without any explanation. Perhaps it could be a challenge to make a discussion in class, but would it be effective? Did the student really understand? Some people may think the brief information could be a basic pillar to learn something, but what happen if we learn about history? It becomes questionable because learning without having deeper understanding would be dangerous particularly when we learn about G30s PKI and Soeharto's regime.

Such condition is also occurred on what Jusuf and Negoro (1992, p. 58) had been summarized about *Sidang Umum* (SU) MPRS held in 1966 and mentioned that SU MPRS VI became a post of New Order constitutional and fundamental structure of this regime method of operation:

Ketetapan No. XXV/MPRS/1966 tentang pembubaran PKI, pernyataan sebagai organisasi terlarang di seluruh wilayah negara Republik Indonesia. Sikap/tindakan pengemban Supersemar yang telah membubarkan PKI, sehari setelah diterimanya surat tersebut, merupakan tindakan yang sangat tepat, karena PKI telah dengan nyata terbukti melakukan pemberontakan G-30-S/PKI. Oleh karena itu, sikap/tindakan pengemban

Supersemar pada tanggal 12 Maret 1966 mendapat sambutan yang luar biasa dari seluruh rakyat Indonesia yang setia kepada Pancasila dan UUD 1945.

Supersemar is one of the most questionable fact because the truth about it is never revealed publicly. Those books and schools made us believe that Soekarno was indeed giving a direct order toward Soeharto in handling G30S PKI in 11 March 1966 through three highest ABRI officers—Mayjen Basuki Rahmat, Brigjen M. Yusuf, and Brigjen Amir Mahmud. Every Indonesia's students accept that as admitted fact yet many people who are not a writing for schoolbooks proved that the fact about it false. Rosa (2008, p. 283) stated that Soekarno protested on Soeharto's action in arresting fifteen of Soekarno's cabinet members based on his own instruction as transfer of power. Through the Supersemar, Soeharto promoted himself as Soekarno's successor and chose his own minister; this action is surely indicating an act of coup d'état on Soekarno's government. Yet, Soekarno had lost his power because most of parliament members were Soeharto's henchmen. Therefore, the statement of "*sikap/tindakan pengembal Supersemar pada tanggal 12 Maret 1966 mendapat sambutan yang luar biasa dari seluruh rakyat Indonesia yang setia kepada Pancasila dan UUD 1945*" is actually paradoxical and sounds hypocrite because Indonesia's citizen did not know about the real truth of Supersemar. However, Soeharto through SU MPRS tried to make a standpoint by issuing that his action was indeed legal. The information is mentioned by Jusuf and Negoro (1992, p. 63-64):

Dasar pertimbangan yang melandasi ketetapan No. XXXIII/MPRS/1967 adalah: 1. Keseluruhan pidato Presiden Soekarno yang berjudul Nawakcara dan pelengkapanya tidak memenuhi harapan rakyat, karena tidak memuat secara jelas pertanggung jawaban tentang kebijaksanaan presiden mengenai pemberontakan G-30-S/PKI serta epilognya, kemunduran ekonomi dan kemerosotan akhlak; 2. Presiden telah menyerahkan kekuasaan pemerintah negara kepada pengembal ketetapan MPRS No. IX/MPRS/1966; 3. Berdasarkan laporan tertulis Pangkoptim/Pengembal ketetapan MPRS terdapat petunjuk-petunjuk bahwa presiden Soekarno telah melakukan kebijaksanaan yang secara tidak langsung menguntungkan G-30-S/PKI dan melindungi tokoh-tokoh G-30-S/PKI.

The explanation about nation's history in the quotation has an explicit propaganda, so many provocative statements to entertain young generation in academic studies, like an advertisement to drive the children see the fact which created by government and believe it as something factual or a single reality. This statement saying that "*...pidato Presiden Soekarno yang berjudul Nawakcara dan pelengkapanya tidak memenuhi harapan rakyat, karena tidak memuat secara jelas pertanggung jawaban tentang kebijaksanaan presiden mengenai pemberontakan G-30-S/PKI*" was actually one of Soeharto's trick to take over the government, Rossa (2008, p. 280) said that Soekarno had invited journalists to publish his speeches on G30S PKI during general session at Istana Bogor; yet it was never happened because military forces under Soeharto had already took charge of the media. While, the statement of "*...kebijaksanaan yang secara tidak langsung menguntungkan G-30-S/PKI dan melindungi tokoh-tokoh G-30-S/PKI*" is actually referred to Soekarno's decision for not making any prohibition even banishment PKI as a political party because he did not want to violate Nasakom doctrine. His refusal to restrict PKI's movement became his major mistake which then was used by Soeharto to take him down and show to the people that Soekarno was sympathize with PKI and communist movements. Then, people believed that Soeharto was a hero who was saving the nation, and by that the winner of this political quarrel is Soeharto. The existence of such information in history schoolbooks is strengthening the concept that history was created by the winner who will be a hero and it occurs in so many different places. Whether it is true or false, a historical book always contains a propaganda material involving external situation such us political pressure until the internal reason, depend on the writer's perspective.

Kurnia and Suryana (2000) categorized communist movement in Indonesia as an obstacle and threatening inside the country. They also describe the party comprehensively but still have an esoteric message, to tell and dictate people to point their fingers that PKI is the one who should be blamed in the victim's perception from one faction. That sound imbalance and lose their neutrality as a knowledge media. Another schoolbook gave a brief explanation about communist movement fight against colonialism and tried to build a country with communist ideology. Some people can figure out that history including the schoolbook could be influenced by people who have a power and authority. Communist and another movement tried to get what they want, even thought so many tragedy happened and killed people and history have to tell their story honestly and if it impossible, human responsibility is to find the truth.

Response toward history lesson

We have interviewed at least thirty students from elementary until senior high school students and made an observation towards their method of learning Indonesia's history for almost a month. These students were given ten similar questions in different place and time, but surprisingly their answers were also quite similar (see table 1).

Table 1. Response on learning history

No	Issues	Elementary School	Junior High School	Senior High School
1	Favorite Lesson	Mathematics (30%)	Biology (40%)	Bahasa Inggris (3%)
		P.E. (60%)	Bahasa Inggris (40%)	Biology (4%)
		Bahasa Indonesia (10%)	PLH (20%)	Fisika (3%)
2	Prosaic Lesson	IPS (80%)	History (100%)	History (100%)
3	Indonesia’s history	Interesting (30%)	Interesting (20%)	Interesting (20%)
		Boring (70%)	Boring (80%)	Boring (80%)
4	The most remembered Materials in History lesson	17 Agustus 1945 (100%)	17 Agustus 1945 (100%)	17 Agustus 1945 (100%)
5	G30S PKI	Never heard (90%)	Never heard (10%)	Never heard (20%)
		Have read (10%)	Have read (60%)	Have read (60%)
6	Reading literary text on G30S PKI	No (100%)	No (50%)	No (50%)
			Yes (50%)	Yes (50%)
7	Watching movies on G30S PKI	No (100%)	No (60%)	No (60%)
			Yes (40%)	Yes (40%)
8	Urgency of history	Abstain (50%)	Abstain (30%)	Abstain (30%)
		Yes (20%)	Yes (40%)	Yes (40%)
		No (30%)	No (30%)	No (30%)

Respondents from junior and senior high school are assuming that learning history at school is prosaic due to its monotonous learning method. It leads to idleness in learning Indonesia’s history and causes them to be unable to criticize and question the information. Such ignorance will surely make them leaves history as what is feared by Soekarno once. Teachers and parents, then, should encouraged themselves to read more and be up dated with information and learning methods so that their children will comprehend any kind of issues occurred in Indonesia.

Conclusion

Seeking knowledge and truth are two things which intertwining within history and need lot of effort to comprehend and reveal the facts. The seeking process can only happen and support through education, yet it will be very difficult if education institutions and materials in schoolbooks conceal the truth behind the history itself. Therefore, it is better for government through Ministry of Education and teachers provide numerous sources as references in delivering and teaching history, as well uses collaborated teaching with several lessons such as *Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia* and *Bahasa Inggris* by inserting historical event and/or historical fiction. Somehow, it will also need a thorough cooperation with writers and publishers of the history schoolbooks. Those various sources will help students not only able to recognize but also have comprehension to identify and criticize facts in the history if schools provides them in their libraries. While parents need more times in giving guidance during learning process at home as well adding their information concerning Indonesia’s history. Therefore, when people are all working together without making any propagandize, our journey in seeking knowledge and truth sooner or later will lead us to be a ‘complete nation’.

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Translating Pain: Women’s Struggle in Their Everyday Life after G30 S Tragedy as Represented in Putu Oka’s *Istana Jiwa*

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Abstract

The paper explores women’s struggle in their everyday life after they face G 30 S portrayed in *Istana Jiwa*. The description of everyday life after G 30 S might be over looked because it seems insignificant if it is compared to the massive of the event. The issue is addressed from cognitive literature perspective by drawing upon affective narrative offered by Patrick Colm Hogan in his discussion of the structure of emotion in the narrative.

The representation of everyday life in *Istana Jiwa* is not only a medium to understand survivor’s emotion but an essential means of portraying the massive effect of the tragedy to those who get involved. Non normalcy situation caused by social and political turmoil after G 30 S has changed women’s life and ruin their everyday life normalcy. Constructing the life after the tragedy seems a painful experience for women. This is what Sukanta tried to translate in order to make the readers feel the anguish, fear, and pain of the victims.

Keywords: *women’s struggle, everyday life, and emotion*

Introduction

During 1965-1966, the act of extreme violence was committed against communist party’s members and its affiliation. It is the cause of the accusation that PKI was responsible for 30 October pusch which killed six general and one mayor. It remains the most brutal and massive massacre in Indonesian history. Although the massacre targeted to PKI’s members and its affiliation, many of Indonesians who were accused as PKI or Surkanois were also massacred or jailed. In the Jail they were tortured or raped. The rape of women in the jail was so extensive because Gerwani as organization that closely related to PKI was associated with sexual debauchery. The accusation of having castrated and sexually abused the senior figures of Indonesian army fueled the hatred towards Gerwani’s members. It became the pretext of an abusive act towards Gerwani’s members.

There are numerous approaches to understand this historical catastrophe. Many researchers from various disciplines take an interest in researching the cause and the implication of the atrocity. The increasing interest is triggered by the fall of New Order regime. During the New Order regime such stories should remain silent. For 32 years, dominant narrative controls and restricts narratives related to the coup. The fall of Suharto seems to give a freedom for the survivors to reclaim their voice and tell their story, even their marginal position in the national history.

In an attempt to present and represent the event of 1965, many authors, survivors, and even researchers formulate it in a literary work. Some use it as the theme, background of the story, or just a minor plot. Literary work seems to provide the space to describe the indescribable the in the research report or written history. The complex aspects of the tragedy make it hard to describe it in an ordinary language. The representation of 1965 -1966 in literary work shows us history and memory of Indonesian past which can contribute to our understanding of the historical atrocity and the pain of individual victims.

Much attention has been focused on those who are jailed, tortured and massacred, but little who pays attention to the everyday life for those who are left behind, mostly women. Their struggle to make their ends meet seems insignificant and valueless to be talked about; whereas, their stories help us to construct another fragment of national history. Thus, their stories do not become lost through the silence. By elaborating the hardship of women in facing their life after they lost their loved one, mostly the head of the household, enables a story to creatively re-imagine the massive implication of the 1965 -1966 tragedy.

Putu Oka Sukanta translated women’s valuable experience in facing 1965-1966 tragedy in the form of a novel entitled *Istana Jiwa*. He uses multi focus narrative to make him able to present experience more comprehensively. Thus, it can raise reader’s awareness of women’s adversity in their everyday life and gives room for other possibilities of examining or interpreting the tragedy.

This paper relies on the affective narrative perspective to illustrate the narrative techniques used by Sukanta in delivering an emotional story so that the reader can feel the sadness, loss and empathy towards the character within the story. This study analyzes different narrative structures and strategies that emulate the reader emotion in reproducing and re-enacting the implication of social and political turmoil in the everyday life.

Literature and emotion

TenHouten (2007: ix) defines emotion as a feeling related to the perception, cognition and cultural contexts. The manifestation of emotion can be seen from the vocalization, facial gesture and the postural change. In relation to literature, Hogan defines emotion as a response to the changes to what is routine and habitual or what we have expected. It is related to the organization of the emotion in the story structure as the vicissitude from normalcy to non-normalcy. The changes from what is normal are emotional since we cannot get what we have expected.

Emotion in the literary studies is a part of cognitive literature which emphasizes on the value of literature to immerse the readers and deliver universal value of humanities.

“...many defenders of humanities believe that emphatic emotion motivates altruistic action, resulting in less aggression, less fickle helping, less blaming of victims for their misfortunes, increase cooperation in conflict situations and improved actions on behalf of needy individuals and members of stigmatized groups.” (Keen, 2007 : vii).

The quotation underlies the importance of literature in increasing the apprehension to unfortunate and stigmatized groups. In line to Keen, Oatley argues that “fiction is all about emotion” (2012: 15).

Similarly Hogan (2011, 1) underlies the importance of emotion in the story structure and it also determines the prototype of the story. The common prototype of a fiction is a vicissitude from normalcy to non-normalcy and in the end back to normalcy. In the beginning of the common story structure, readers are introduced to the character’s goal, and then follow the character’s difficulties in achieving the goal. Perhaps feel the adversity, pain, or trauma that the character encounters. In the end feel their enjoyment in reaching the goal.

Following the character’s life immerses the reader to take the selfhood of an imaginary character. It is what Oatley called identification (2012: 17). The identification of selfhood in the fictional character leads them to wish that the character can overcome the difficulties and attain his/her goal. In that way, the reader can feel the sympathy or empathy as they are reminded of their own emotional experience. (Oatley, 2012: 15). Another important thing in presenting the emotional moment in the literary text is plausibility. The emotion must be plausible to trigger the reader’s emotion. Oatley underlies that the emotional outcome when reading the literary texts is triggered by the emotional experience of the reader.

In defining the emotion in a story structure, Hogan emphasizes two things, the temporal and spatial organization. Temporal organization determines the story time which divides into incident, events, episode and story. Incident is the eliciting emotion. It is the occurrence of the problem which give rise to the emotion. It includes the expressive outcome of the emotion such as facial expression, gesture, phenomenological tone and memory activation. The next level of story structure related to emotion is events. In the event, there is a causal and a plan of the response towards the incident. Chain of events which ends in temporary normalcy is called episode. When it is reached permanent normalcy; it is a story. The elaboration above shows the organization of time in delivering emotion.

Spatiality is another aspect of emotional experience. We usually distinguish categories in terms of location. Spatiality is related to the space of the character being represented that can re-enact the social condition in the society. It is not only related to the physical body but also to the condition of normalcy or non-normalcy situation.

Temporal organization of Pain

Istana Jiwa represents one fragment of the 1965 historical catastrophe. The focus of the story is on the experience of women in facing the hardship after their husband or father is thrown to the jail. The story is told in the form of multiple-focus narrative. The multiple-focus promises the possibility of discovering various experience faced by women. The narrator can freely uses lenses from various characters in the novel and take a close attention to the condition and inner feeling of the characters. However, it also gives a hard time for the readers to connect many interrupted fragments of events. The main characteristics of multiple-focus narrative itself are “discontinuity” and it “forces characters and readers to devise novels methods of deriving meaning from apparently unrelated fragments.” (Altman, 2008: 243)

The first focus of attention is Maria’s character, since she is presented in the beginning and the ending of the story. However, some characters also gain a substantial attention in the middle of the story such as Kirtani, Asmi, Ivone and Hwani. Others characters serve as the minor plot or told from eye witness perspectives. However, their existence gives numerous individual experiences that enable readers to understand the hardship faced by women during the time. The usage of multiple-focus narrative makes the temporary normalcy not presented in a chronological order. The disjunction of time is not difficult to infer since it refers to the situation before and after G 30 S tragedy.

As explained earlier, the temporal organization includes the incident, event, and episode which are artistically chained in order to develop a story. The structure of the story is typically started with the temporary normalcy to non-normalcy and then back to normalcy. These three divisions of plot pattern will become a guide to dissect the story structure that represent emotion.

The initial condition of the *Istana Jiwa* presents Maria's anxiety in choosing the path of her future. She has two years relationship with Lasono. The relationship is quite close and Lasono has already been acknowledged by Maria's father. She thinks that she should end her relationship because their religion is different. In this incident is triggered by the advice of her mother to have a boyfriend that has the same religion and ideology with her and by the changes of Lasono's willingness to go to church with her. Her anxiety has further expressive actional consequences that are the end of the relationship and the sadness in Maria's heart which is brought to her dream (Sukanta, 2012: 9).

The presentation of Maria uses conventional way of presenting a story; a way that is used by a lot of fictional works. Her fragile and near end love life seems to emphasize the temporality of normal condition. In the temporal normalcy, Maria is presented as a smart and active university student. She is an active member of CGMI and drum band. She soon becomes a doctor. She has a respectable family. Her father is a member of house representative from the communist party. The description of her life seems picture of a happy perfect life. Drawn to Maria's presentation, goal, and vicissitude enable the readers to feel her desire. The readers might start to identify their selfhood in Maria's character.

In the next event, the focus of attention shifts from Maria to Kirtani. Maria is also included in the scene as Kirtani nephew's friend. Kirtani is presented as an ordinary house wife. She just works temporary in a preschool to substitute the teacher who becomes a volunteer for '*Ganyang Malaysia*'. She has a lot of knowledge and she can be a sharing partner for her nephew and husband in discussing the political condition. Kirtani is also presented as a happy housewife with a happy family.

Maria and Kirtani are the main protagonists introduced in the temporal normalcy situation. Other protagonists are presented after the occurrence of non-normalcy situation. Non-normalcy situation is marked by the incident of G 30 S. The night that takes the life of six General and one major of national army. The tragedy is followed by the massacre and the detention of PKI member and its affiliation.

The incident of G 30 S also changes the protagonist's life. The non-normalcy situation is a violation of the protagonist's anticipations in regards to their goals. It gives a hindrance to the protagonist's goal attainment. Most of the goal is centered on having a happy and peaceful live. Since the novel uses multiple-focus narrative, the readers are drawn to several experiences in facing the hardship as the effect of the tragedy.

As one of the leading character, the tragedy affects Maria. She loses any possibility for achieving her goal. She cannot continue her study, thus she cannot be a doctor. At first, after the tragedy Maria still comes to her university even though many of her friends mock her. In front of her friend she tries to hide her anxiety. However, at home she cannot muffle her feeling. The expressive outcome of Maria is the cause of her evaluation of what might happen to her beloved party. Thus, the appraisal intensifies the emotional feeling.

To avoid being captured, Maria moves from one place to another. Before her father's detention, they celebrate Maria's twentieth birthday. A moment that should be the happiest time for Maria becomes the last time she sees her father. The situation emphasizes the contradiction of what is expected and what is actually happened.

After a few months she is able to reunite with her mother and then gets a job as a journalist. However, she gets arrested for four month. In the jail, Maria has a role as a witness who reports the condition of the jail. Listening through Maria voice makes the readers learn the misfortune faced by women. Through Maria's memory, the readers get the story about Lastri. Lastri is an inmate where Maria is convicted. She is accused of being involved in abusing the army general sexually and performs "Harum Bunga" dance with Atika Jamilah. Maria is witnessing that Lastri is tortured and raped during the interrogation. However, some inmates accuse her as a spy. (Sukanta, 2012: 182) Lastri is not an active agent in the story. Thus, the readers do not get access to hear her voice. The above elaboration of the situation in the jail represents the chaos and confusion among the detainee. The presentation of Lastri's identity as unknown woman who get arrested, accused, and abused can call the readers's sympathy towards her and antipathy towards the army.

Despite their own misfortune, they still keep solidarity among the inmates in the jail. They share what they have to other prisoners. Some use their time meaningfully in the jail, for instance Maria uses her time to improve her English with some activists.

Maria's misfortune is not ended after she gets release. She barely gets a job but at last she is accepted in her former office but not as a journalist. Her imprisonment also gives a traumatic effect to Maria. Get involve with an army still scare her. It can be seen when an army comes to her house for a visit. She does not want to show her anxiety and fear. The anxiety and fear comes up after the army has been gone. "Now she feels her body shaking. Her hand is cold. She is so exhausted." (Sukanta, 2012: 183)

The expressive outcomes like tremble, feel cold and feel exhausted are occurred because of Maria's traumatic experience related to the army. She tries to keep her countenance calm in front of Johan, the army officer, because she has calculated the effect of showing anxiety will make Johan brave enough to do something to her. Thus, it is better for her to keep her calm countenance. However, after the officer is gone, the expressive outcome brush out. She trembles and feels exhausted. In fact, Maria realizes that Johan act courteously to her. She is also confused by her own reaction. Maria's reaction is triggered by her phenomenological tone which activated her memory during her time in the jail.

Kirtani is also affected by the 1965-1966 tragedy. Her husband becomes a fugitive and then gets arrested. Kirtani is left with her two children. She has to maintain her household despite all the difficulties

that she faced. She has to hide her fear, especially in front of the stranger and her children. As when she wants to go to the Kodim with Zubaidah, she tries to be neat which can show an authority so no one looks down upon her. She emphasizes the importance of hiding sadness to Zubaidah. Sadness can only be expressed in the bathroom when they are alone. (Sukanta, 2012: 72) Kirtani's effort in keeping her emotion is based on her assessment to the situation around her. Kirtani not only has to keep her own emotion but also has to act as a bread winner in the family. In order to make her ends meet, she sometimes has to sell her property. However, instead of only sell her own goods she helps her friends to sell their good too. Thus, she is able to get money from that. Kirtani is even able to sell a house. She uses the money to buy two sewing machines and earn money as a tailor. The presentation of Kirtani shows the struggle that Kirtani does to keep herself and her family safe.

By following Kirtani's activity, the readers also get to know several women that experience similar hardship as Kirtani does. When she visits her husband one day, she meets, Ninuk, Maruto's wife. Ninuk has to cede her husband for the sake of her children's safety. She even negotiates with the army to take her husband after all their children sleep. Under the threaten of being fired she get married to another man. It gives her a financial ease for short period of time before her new husband runaway. However, she still pays a call and brings food for Maruto in the jail. Kirtani also meets a former artist named Sruni. Sruni retells her sad story to Kirtani. After evicted from her house, she is abducted from her small rent house. In the jail, she is tortured and raped. This brutal action is under the pretext that she hides her husband. In fact, Sruni does not know where her husband is. Kirtani's conversation with Sruni also mentioned about Gerwani. Sruni reveals that the news about Gerwani and sexual abuse is false. The conversation seems to counter the news that spreads in the previous chapter.

Other protagonists who gain focus of attention during the non-normalcy situation are Hwani, Ivone and Asmi. All of them are house wife. The center of elaboration of non-normalcy situation experienced by them is their hardship after their husbands is convicted. Most of them get financial difficulties because they do not have a job. Moreover, they have to send food to the prison at least once a week. Sometimes, they get a difficult request either from their husband (Sukanta, 2012: 203) or from the prisoner's officer. One of the prisoners wife has to bring a goat for the exchange that she can visit her husband (Sukanta, 2012: 204).

Financial difficulties is not the only burden that women faced, there are a lot of trouble that they have to confront. Ivone has to defend her own house from the army invasion. Ivone bravely confronts the army and determines to defend her house. She is threatened will be jailed if she does not give in. In spite of her fear she said no to the officer. The invasion happens several times and then one army family moves in and occupies half of her house. In front of her child Ivone tries to be calm and tries to comfort her (Sukanta, 2012: 116). House invasion is also experienced by Kirtani and Hwani. Both live in the rented house, so the army cannot invade the house. However, as the result they have to move because the owner is afraid to the army.

The release of their husband marked the progress of the story towards normalcy. However, not all of the characters gain the happiness that they pursued. Kirtani and Fandi, Maruto and Ninuk are happy to reunite. Hwani finds her husband becomes flimsy. Suti, Kirtani's mother, find her husband becomes harsher to her. He even accused her that she sells herself so she can buy house on her own. He even flees from the house and dies after marries to another woman.

The elaboration on women's struggle in dealing with their difficulties and keeping their emotion for themselves enables the readers to apprehend the complexities of situation for those who left behind. In that way, the novel gives another aspect of the 1965-1966 tragedy. The calamity is not only felt by the victims but also all of the families and their surroundings. It also underlies the role of women in the time of crises who bravely confront the entire barrier in their way to turn their wheel of fortune back to normal.

Spatial Organization of Pain

The organization of space in this paper is centered to the division of home and away and women and men sphere. Home is not only referred to the material space as the building where we can stay but it is also related to the feeling of security and attachment. Home is contrasted with away or outside home. Away is out of normalcy and security. Leaving out means taking a risk and can give rise to emotion. (Hogan, 2011: 31).

In the time of social and political turmoil, leaving home is even more risky and very dangerous especially for women. They can stumble across the demonstration or get abducted because of wrong accusation or in the worse case get raped.

Despite of the dangerous situation, women in *Istana jiwa* bravely search the place where their husband is being captivated. Thus, they leave their home. Kirtani and Zubaidah also show their strength in to go out to the unsecure place. Witnessing the tortured to one of the captive in the Kodim does not shake Kirtani and Zubaidah to search their husband (Sukanta, 2012:73).

However, home is not become a safe place in Istana Jiwa. It marks a space of anxiety in regards to the possibility of losing it. Women have to face army invasion or an attack from unknown people. Ivone, Hwani, Kirtani have to confront the situation where they have to defend their house. The space where there should be a space of security. As a result to the attack Hwani and Kirtani must move because the owners of the house are afraid that their house would be ruined. Differ from Hwani and Kirtani. Ivone has

to defend her own house. Ivone's struggle in keeping her house is her desire to maintain a normal condition especially for her child.

The desire to keep what is normal can be seen from Maria's mother, Suti. In order to get a normalcy, she tries to buy a new house before her husband get release from the jail. Unfortunately, her husband does not feel the attachment to the new house because it is not his former house. More importantly, he does not accept the fact that his wife becomes the subject that maintains all the family's needs. The rationalization of his acts can be seen from Maria's husband conversation with Maria. He believes that the act is caused by losing of pride and power. Home for Rampi must be owned by men and not women. Therefore, home that is bought by his wife brings uncanny feeling to him. Women in Rampi's idea must be passive and take an object role. Thus, he cannot accept when his wife takes a role as a subject in the household. (Sukanta, 2012: 277) He is more upset because he cannot earn money after he was released from the jail. Clearly that Rampi is not motivated by rational thought but by value and belief that correspond to patriarchal system.

The elaboration of home above leads to the distinction of women and men space. The differentiation is not only a matter of domestic and public sphere but it is also in relation of power and pride. In the beginning of the story, men mostly take a position as a subject which has a sole power in the family. During the crises, women must substitute the subject position. This is not an easy task for women because they are not used to it. However, they take the role uncomplainingly for the sake of their children. Suti is also aware of this role division, as shown in her conversation with Maria, “Always in the time of crisis women take all the task. She becomes the front runner. When it is safe, men come and push us to the back.” (Sukanta, 2012: 195)

As a former member of Gerwis, women movement, Suti is aware this situation completely. When Rampi locked in jail, she takes all his role as a head of the household. She even works harder to be able to buy a house. However, Rampi does not appreciate her hard work.

Some households are also constructed under patriarchal system as Suti and Rampi. Asmi dan Mulia construct a space based on patriarchal system. Mulia is a hardwork man who is active in public space. In contrast, he is indifferent and reserved to his wife and his family. Even when he is in the jail, he does not want a news about his family what he want is a news on political and social condition. Asmi accepts it uncomplainingly. She secretly writes the political news to her husband; although, she can be jailed if the officers know about it.

The elaboration of temporal and spatial organization above gives an insight that women who do not get arrested also experience hardship in her life. They substitute the role as a bread winner of the family and face the danger. Women must be strong and sometimes hide their fear and anxiety for the sake of their family. However, despite all of the effort to maintain the family, mostly they do not get proper appreciation. Their hard work is thought as insignificant. Moreover, hurt the pride of their husband as the head of household. Home in the time of political and social upheaval cannot give a feel of secure. In contrast it is also a space of anxiety and power struggle.

Conclusion

Istana Jiwa underlies the struggle of women in dealing their everyday life after being left by their husband. Through the organization of temporal, the readers are drawn to women's hardship during 1965-1966 tragedy. The readers are introduce to the normalcy to get involved with the characters' goal and then follow the characters to the non-normalcy situation which leads to feel the anxiety, fear and pain of women. At last, the story brings the readers to normalcy to feel the hapinness of the characters in attaining their goal. However, in *Istana Jiwa*, the characters have different ending since not all of them gain what they have expected

The women's struggle in enduring the hardship enables the reader to apprehend the complexities of their situation. Most of them are full time house wife who do not get used to become the bread winner. They take the role uncomplainingly. They even repress their emotion to make their children secure or confront the hardship which forces from outside. However, they do not get proper appreciation even though from their loved one. Their hard work us seem insignificant and hurt men's pride. The organization of space gives an insight that home in the time of crises might not serves normalcy and security. There are invasion and attack at home. Thus, home is a space of anxiety and power struggle.

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Collating the Nation: The Disruption of the New Order and New Society’s National Narratives in the Novels of Seno Gumira Ajidarma and Edel Garcellano

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Abstract

Due to mounting political and economic pressure during the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Soeharto Baru Orde regime was forced to declare an era of political openness (*keterbukaan*). Seno Gumira Ajidarma (1958-present) was one of the most critical and innovative writers of that era. Initially known for his fiction about Indonesia’s invasion of East Timor, it is in his experimental novel *Jazz, parfum dan insiden* (1996) where he unleashes his critique against the Soeharto regime. Likewise can be said for Edel E. Garcellano, one of the Philippines’ most outspoken writers during and after the Marcos regime. His novel *Ficción* (1978) remains as one of the most stylistically crafted indictment of Marcos’ ‘New Society’ and Philippine history and society in general. Focusing on the two novels’ deployment of various types of texts (from historical documents to advertising leaflets) within the narrative, this study will attempt to uncover marginal narratives of the nation undercut by the national narrative of order, development, and progress espoused by both authoritarian regimes.

Keywords: *New order, new society, literary criticism, Philippine novel, Indonesian novel*

Introduction: Nation as Narrative

This article seeks to explore first the Philippine and Indonesian concept of “nation” as products of various narrative positions and narratives espoused by different forces in the society. As such, the following questions are inevitably raised and tackled in the article: From whose subject-position does the dominant and hegemonic national narrative(s) come from? With the existence of the said national narrative(s)—sometimes in the form of slogans like “order and development”—what has and what will become of the marginalized national narrative(s)?

Likewise, this article also attempts to examine the national narratives perpetuated by the Philippines and Indonesia’s past authoritarian regimes: Ferdinand E. Marcos’ New Society and Suharto’s New Order. To achieve this, the illegitimate and marginalized narratives, e.g. communist nationalism, will have to be resurfaced and weighed against the “legitimate” national narratives. In doing so, the study aims to perform an act of tracing, which is incidentally also an act of assembling, of collations in the novels of Philippines’ Edel E. Garcellano and Indonesia’s Seno Gumira Ajidarma. This study particularly argues that through the deployment of various texts, e.g. poems, reports, leaflets, news clippings, etc., within the two novels’ narrative, the marginal national narratives are uncovered and, as a result, effects a literal and symbolic disruption of the dominant narratives’ trajectory.

The study will focus on two novels: Edel E. Garcellano’s *Ficción* (1978) and Seno Gumira Ajidarma’s *Jazz, parfum dan insiden* (1996). Both works were written during momentous times in both the nations and careers of both writers. Garcellano, for instance, finished writing *Ficción* in 1972, two months before Marcos’ declaration of Martial Law, and was only able to publish it six years later. Seno’s novel, on the other hand, was published in 1996, five years after the Dili incident and two years prior to Suharto’s forced resignation from his post. From the said circumstances, it can be deduced that both writers are acting according to the imperative of portraying the truth and reality—an imperative which characterized the 19th century European realist novel (Jameson 2013, 12).

The article is indebted to the works of the following scholars which have extensively theorized the nation as composed of narratives: Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983); Caroline Hau’s *Necessary Fictions: Philippine Literature and the Nation 1946-1980* (2000); and Homi K. Bhabha’s *Nation and Narration* (1990). For providing context and astute analysis on Philippine and Indonesian history during and after the Marcos and Suharto regimes, the study is indebted to the works of Sarah Cook and Jonathan Pincus (2014); Patricio Abinales and Donna Amoroso (2005); Vincent Boudreau (2002); Michael J. Vatikiotis (1993); and Andrew Macintyre (1991).

It must be also said that though the study inevitably tackles specific events in the Philippines and Indonesia, its focus remains at highlighting the friction caused by the juxtaposition of diametrically-opposed national narratives within the said texts.

The Collators

Considered as a maverick writer and intellectual in the Philippines, Garcellano's critical praxis, especially his engagement with Marxist theory and its application to literature, is evident in both his literary works and criticism. As Caroline Hau notes in her introduction of *Knife's Edge* (2001), Garcellano's collection of literary criticism and meta-criticism, "Garcellano's mode of writing is specifically directed against a prevailing idea of "writing" in the Philippines, which is synonymous with the mere acquisition of "skills" (qtd. in Garcellano ix). The last part of Hau's statement, which implies writing as a process of acquiring certain skills, connotes the loss of (re)imagination in the process of writing. When literature becomes a mere affair of craftsmanship and style, what happens, according to Garcellano, is the reproduction of the state's discourse. Hence, what writers who continue to avoid political content in their work achieve is the reinforcement of the state apparatus. For Garcellano, these writers, especially those serving as bureaucrats, help in the proliferation of the state's already dominant and hegemonic national narratives. In this connection, Hau writes,

"Garcellano appears to have set himself in deliberate opposition to the kind of "good writing" which is the trademark of the literary practitioners whose problematic ideological positions he most wishes to expose. His liberal use of parenthetical remarks directs his readers resolutely to the branching lines of flight and inquiry taken by his ideas. By forcing his readers to backtrack on any given sentence, he defamiliarizes the reading process itself, calling to the attention the material production of ideas and their fraught disentanglement, and more significantly, the labor of meaning-making that is demanded of text and reader alike" (ix-x: Introduction).

Meanwhile, in his introduction of *Ficción*, literary critic Petronilo BN. Daroy distinguishes Garcellano from his contemporaries who tried to dilute literature of social, historical, and political realities. He writes,

"Indeed, the younger writers who, previously, had distinguish themselves with the command of language and preoccupation with words and their own preciousity had to do with some kind of new learning and exert some effort at understanding the current scene and what it means to one's individual history. *Ficción* considers the very stuff of Philippine history as the focal point of consciousness. The method of stream-of-consciousness which so many of us have learned from Joyce and Freud became an excuse for re-inventing the writer's autobiography. It became introverted in a negative sense, namely, in the fact that literature became an occasion for indulgence in personal memories which mattered only to the writer himself. The incidental, rather than the social or historical, became the very stuff of fiction. There is still something of the stream-of-consciousness method present in the novel. But memory here does not relate to the private events of an individual life. Rather, it has something to do with the recollection of a learning process on the facts of Philippine society." (v-vi: Introduction)

In what it seems to be similar characterizations of Garcellano's praxis as a writer and an intellectual in both introductions to his oeuvre, what becomes the most obvious trait of his writing is perhaps its confrontational mien. Confrontational in the sense that it does not steer clear away from themes and modes of expression avoided and shunned by the so-called apolitical writers and intellectuals. In doing so, Garcellano is able to trace and interrogate the ideological discourse fomented by these writers—an ideological discourse that serves as a copy or an image of the state's national narrative. Hence, in the hands of a writer who claims neutrality, reflected and reproduced, and eventually, as Jean Baudrillard puts it, substituting for the real. For Garcellano, writers who try their hardest to avoid being political become more political for they become willing (sometimes unwilling) imprimaturs of the state's national narrative by refusing to resist it (54).

Another interesting thing to note is Daroy's emphasis of the "learning process" as the stuff of Garcellano's fiction. This, I believe, alongside the uncovering of marginal national narratives before and during the Marcos regime, is one of the more crucial aspects of *Ficción*. The recollection of the said "learning process" does not only turn out to be merely a dose of nostalgia. In putting emphasis in the ways we receive and experience facts about our social being, what is achieved is the examination of the violence wrought by the continuous rewriting of Philippine history according to the interest of its colonizers and local elites. In the same vein, Hau, in her take on the inclusion of Rizal's life and works in the curricula of public and private universities via the Republic Act No. 1425, reminds readers of the pedagogical potential of literature. Hau (2000) writes,

"In fact, by stating that the heroes' lives and works were responsible for "shap[ing] the national character," the bill suggested that the heroes, especially Rizal and his novels, originally represented, if not embodied, the nationalist ideals of virtue, patriotism, and self-sacrifice. These ideals formed the "content" of their lives and works. Thus, by

reading Rizal and his novels as exemplary, inspiring stories that could be “applied” to everyday life, the Filipino was presumably inspired to live by these ideals. The bill therefore made the act of reading literature an act of (re)discovering the nation’s origins.” (2)

With literature occupying a mediating position between “the universal ideal of nationalism, on the one hand, and their realization in the Philippine context within a specifically Philippine context, on the other,” (Hau 2000, 2-3) the idea of the nation as composed of narratives becomes solidified. This is important because it answers the question regarding whose narrative of the nation will be subject to continuous reshaping and application. By legislating literature as the wellspring of nationalist ideals, the state becomes the primary interlocutor in the transmission of nationalist ideals. And as the primary

This, for Hau, becomes problematic because “no writing or political program can exhaust the possibilities of the social reality it tries to engage” (7). Hence, the nationalist project will always be a continuing and unfinished process since literature and politics can only produce more writing and action. Here, Hau introduces the concept of “excess” to explain the generative trait of nationalist thought and praxis. A trait which is not accidental, but actually a constitutive feature of nation-building. For Hau, the violence of the nationalist project is a by-product of “different nationalist projects of imagining and making a community.” (7)

In the case Marcos’ New Society, for instance, what serves as excesses in its nation making project are the communists and rightists’ nationalist projects. In Marcos’ *Notes on the New Society of the Philippines* (1973), he described the communist project as a prelude to the totalitarian regimentation of the lives of the masses, on the one hand, and rightist nationalism as a cover for maintaining the poverty-creating order, on the other (69). What prevails, according to Marcos, in both nationalist projects is the imposition of the ruling class ideology on the masses. The flaws of these emergent ideologies were used by Marcos to take a “developmentalist” approach in running the nation (Abinales & Amoroso 2005, 196). Eventually, with the emergence of the communist movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s and the constant threat posed by the disgruntled elites from the right, as excesses to his narrative of order and development, Marcos will declare martial law in 21 September 1972. To further rationalize his regime, Marcos would then pen several works such as the *Tadhana: A two-volume abridgement of the History of the Filipino People* (1982) to trace the origins of his regime to a mythic past (incidentally, the word myth, which was derived from the Greek word “mythos,” means narrative) (Jameson 2013).

It is from these contexts that I situate Garcellano’s praxis as a writer. In the succeeding sections of the article, I will argue that what Garcellano engenders in *Ficción* is the unveiling and juxtaposition of these national narratives considered as excesses before and during Marcos’ New Society. Particularly, by utilizing and incorporating different types of text in the narrative, the truism that the nation as a narrative is retold to the people with the state’s supervision is truncated and critically interrogated.

Seno Gumira Ajidarma is one of Indonesia’s most acclaimed contemporary writers. Though he started writing at a young age, publishing his first poem in *Horison* at the age of eighteen, he will gain popularity and respect among his contemporaries, on the one and, and flak from state functionaries, on the other, for his fiction dealing about Indonesia’s invasion of East Timor. To date, Seno has published more than 30 books of novels, poems, stories, plays, and graphic novels. Some scholars like Andrew S. Fuller characterize the works of Seno as a recording of the sounds of state violence (2011: 1-20), while Michael H. Bodden sees Seno’s fiction as resistance to Suharto’s authoritarian regime (1999: 153-156).

If Garcellano is a writer considered as a pariah by state functionaries, Seno, for a time, worked as an editor for *Jakarta-Jakarta*, a magazine owned by the media conglomerate Gramedia, before being fired for publishing the reports about the Dili incident. Having lost his job, Seno will turn to fiction to fulfill his “responsibility to history.” His turn to literature yielded a slew of short story collections such as *Saksi Mata* (1994), poems, and plays about events in Indonesian history censored and whitewashed by the Suharto regime. About this commitment, Seno quotes a passage from his previous work *Ketika Jurnalisme Dibungkam Sastra Harus Bicara* (1997) in his essay *Fiction, Journalism, and History: A Process of Self-Correction* (1999),

“When journalism is gagged, literature must speak. Because if journalism speaks with facts, literature speaks with the truth. Facts can be embargoed, manipulated, or blacked out, but the truth arises of its own accord, like reality. Journalism is bound by a thousand and one constraints, from business concerns to politics, from making its presence felt, but the only constraint on literature is one’s own honesty. Books can be banned, but truth and literature are a part of the very air we breathe, they can’t be taken to court and they can’t be stopped. Covering up the facts is a political act, covering up the truth is one of the greatest acts of stupidity committed by human beings on the face of the Earth.” (164)

Seno’s will to truth, the belief that literature can surpass the limits of journalism in times of repression and strife, might be one of the reasons of his foray into postmodern narrative strategies. In the same essay, he talks about his attempt to blur the line between fact and fiction. By collating facts censored by the New Order regime about their military ventures in East Timor and incorporating them into his stories and novels, especially in *Jazz parfum dan insiden*, he was able to throw-off the watchful eyes of censors.

Moreover, the consequence of his turn to postmodern narrative strategies as opposed to the realist and magical realist techniques used by his predecessors and some contemporaries is the return of what Lenard Davis calls historicity, or the ability of people to comment on past events and, similarly, record novelty (46-48). About his own style, Seno writes:

“It’s already enough if you understand what I’m trying to convey: a text from the category journalism doesn’t have to be greatly altered in order to be transferred into a short story or novel format. Of course what’s even more important is this question—why wasn’t the journalistic text changed at all? My answer is: I’m never entirely aware that I’m creating a short story or a novel. I only feel that I’m resisting being silenced. I concentrate completely on ensuring that the forbidden text which has been banned can be disseminated—in a way that is safe and according to the rules. I choose not to publish anonymous leaflets, because I’m not an activist. I can only write, and I write to confront silencing. I’m gagged in the official print media, and I’m happy to resist in the same place—something which I can mainly do through my short stories, which to be sure, only find a place in the newspapers. The fact that I didn’t seem satisfied, and repeated the report virtually in its entirety in a novel, I regard as my paying off the final installment of my debt to history. Under such circumstances the difference between fact and fiction doesn’t hold much meaning for me, maybe it doesn’t mean anything at all. What I do through both journalism and fiction forms my answer to the demands of temporality—which for me means my responsibility to history.” (166-167)

As mentioned, this narrative strategy does not only serve as a stylistic innovation but as well as a resistance to the state-enforced silence and censorship. Furthermore, what can be gleaned from this is the existence of an “official” history or narrative at the expense of the silenced ones. Like Garcellano, Seno acts as a collator of silenced narratives in his writings in order to weigh them, these excesses, against the accepted national narratives of the Suharto regime. In the case of most of his writings, especially years before and during the *keterbukaan* era, Indonesia’s invasion of and East Timor and the widespread massacre and torture of its people, especially those who are discovered to be connected to FRETILIN, are the excess national narratives that he juxtaposes against the accepted narratives of order, stability, and development brandished by the Suharto regime. Seno, however, notes that his objective of exposing such facts in his works is not directed to an absolute claim to truth. What he intends to do is to make the presence of these facts be felt through literature. About this, he writes:

“That’s why I no longer make an issue of how literature can grasp truth. What concerns me is how literature comes to be present, and how can it justify this presence—a question which can be reformulated as: what can a writer say about a text which he/she has written him/herself, by way of taking responsibility for it? If I am that writer, what can I do? I can only tell the story of the process by which that piece of writing was born. That’s why I no longer make an issue of how literature can grasp truth. What concerns me is how literature comes to be present, and how can it justify this presence—a question which can be reformulated as: what can a writer say about a text which he/she has written him/herself, by way of taking responsibility for it? If I am that writer, what can I do? I can only tell the story of the process by which that piece of writing was born.”(165)

What is interesting about Seno’s epiphany is how he sees literature as an effective agent and vehicle for voicing out certain truths about history and society. But what is more remarkable is the twofold invocation of fiction and history which confers to Seno’s fiction the flexibility of novelistic and historical discourse. Moreover, by categorizing his work as fiction and making certain truths present in it, Seno, without being put to task for any form of bias or whatsoever, can freely expose and comment about social and historical realities, as if arrogating to himself the role of a historian and a social critic.

Michael Bodden, meanwhile, has an interesting take on Seno’s act of justifying literature and the truths it makes present. In his article *Satuan-satuan kecil and uncomfortable improvisations in the late night of the New Order* (in Foulcher and Day 2002), he writes about *Jazz, parfum dan insiden*,

“This collation of historical and analytical texts, as well as endnotes, blur the boundaries between fact and fiction, a technique also explored by, although less conspicuously and systematically, in some of the stories in his *Saksimata* and *Negeri cabut* (Country of mist) collections. Ajidarma’s novel shows another similarity with Sae’s plays: like *Yanti* it is mainly set in a thoroughly urban landscape, a contemporary Jakarta full of films, television, telephones and computers. Yet in marked contrast to Sae, *Jazz, parfum dan insiden* revels in popular culture. Still, there is a curious twist. Only occasionally is Indonesian pop culture mentioned. Rather, the popular most clearly foregrounded—jazz, the blues, the perfume industry, films—is all associated with the United States.” (312)

Bodden’s remark about the presence of American popular culture in *Jazz, parfum dan insiden* implies that the national narrative of development and modernization of the Suharto regime is hinged on the global narrative of development and modernization preached by the United States. Neferti X. Tadiar, in *Things Fall Away: Philippine Historical Experience and the Making of Globalization* (2009), makes the same observation in her reading of novels set during the Marcos regime, e.g. Jun Cruz Reyes’ *Tutubi*, ‘*Wag kang Magpahuli sa Mamang Salbahe*’ (1987). But unlike Bodden, Tadiar sees the manifestation of the said national narrative in the attempt of then minister of human settlements Imelda Marcos to beautify and urbanize Metro Manila (146-147). This beautification program consisted of the demolition of informal settlements and replacing them with hotels, restaurant, and financial institutions—all three representing prospects for foreign investment. Similar reference to the futility of authoritarian modernization and urbanization is present in Seno’s novel. However, due to the different path taken by the Suharto regime, as mentioned by Vatikiotis (1993), in terms of local economic policies, especially in the early years of the New Order wherein firm interventionist and protectionist policies were still in play, a thorough comparative approach on the urbanization and modernization projects undertaken by both countries will not be pursued in the article.

The succeeding sections of the article will focus on the various texts deployed within in the narrative of *Ficción* and *Jazz, parfum dan insiden*. Then, these uncovered texts will be discussed and put into context against the national narratives they are trying to resist and disrupt.

The Revolution Will Be Quoted: Edel Garcellano, the Bricoleur

Ficción centers on the interwoven lives of the Extranjeros (literally means “stranger” or “foreigner”), a landed family who traces its roots from one of Juan de Salcedo’s soldiers, the Dimasalangs, a family of peasants and revolutionaries, and the Resurrecions, a middle-class family reared in American education. In the novel, history is what ties the lives of these families together. As if in a Möbius strip, these families will be involved in the making of Philippine history through revolutions, collaborations, political machinations, mass demonstrations, among others. One of the Extranjero’s third generation members, Don Fernando, is a civil servant for the Spanish Government; Jesus, Don Fernando’s son, joins the Katipunan only to find himself siding with the Americans after the Spanish forces were routed; Emmanuel, Jesus’ son, will become a Congressman after the Second World War; Simon, son of Emmanuel, will try his hand on literature and join the national democratic youth movement only to find himself, again like his grandfather, succumbing to the limitations of his class.

The Dimasalangs, on the other hand, are a picture of consistency. From their homologous nicknames up to their commitment and dedication to the movements they have sworn allegiance to, the Dimasalangs represent in Garcellano’s novel the longest and most assiduous resistance to the narrative of the nation which has been continuously exploited and hijacked by the elite. More specifically, their existence textualizes the fiercest resistance to the New Society’s narrative of discipline, development and social justice. For instance, Andres, the fourth generation Dimasalang and union leader, finds himself in the crosshairs of the military due to the number of demonstrations he led in Metro Manila factories and in the farms of Isla del Fuego (Island of Fire), a large portion of which is owned by the Extranjero family.

Aside from representing the middle class, the Resurrecions represents in the novel the disconnect between the old and the new, an interregnum of sorts in the flesh. Potenciano Resurrecion experienced the violence of all the colonizers: the cultural stagnation during the twilight of Spanish colonialism; the Janus-faced benevolence of the Americans; and the brutality of the Japanese. As a teacher of History in a public school, he does not only witness the various attempts of making the nation but also witness the contradictions in its writing and narrativization. Potenciano understands the plight of Andoy Dimasalang who, during the Second World War was a member of the Huk army, but he, just like Jesus Extranjero, finds himself beholden to the Americans for granting the Philippines its independence. Renato, Potenciano’s only son, becomes a History teacher and a conservative like his father. This is evidenced by his view that History should be taught by making students memorize endless names and dates—a simplification of a myriad of events that made possible the signifier of “the event” via the myopic homogenization itself of the signifier.

Everything comes into full circle when the fourth generation son from each family will meet each other a few years prior to the New Society. Andres Dimasalang, after having lived a life of abject poverty, now holds a key position in the worker and peasant movements. Simon Extranjero distinguished himself as an avant-garde poet, bohemian, and an armchair Marxist. Elias Resurrecion becomes Simon Extranjero’s antithesis: poet for the masses and an emerging intellectual vanguard in the movement. What this tells readers is that the narrative of the nation, the makings of the Philippine nation, is fashioned by the different forces. That, as Hau says, “productive violence” is a constitutive feature of nation-building (7).

As mentioned earlier, from the early years of Spanish conquest in the Philippines up to the martial law years, the novel, with its narrator as an outsider—a bystander who admits the fault of the narrative by claiming lack of talent—becomes a meta-fictional practice of self-criticism aimed at proving the futility of any narrative’s attempt to exhaust the possibilities of the social reality it sought to engage. About this, the narrator of *Ficción* (1978) writes,

“My lack of talent in delivering the full form and color of what he has wrought is indeed a big obstacle to your speculation, prospective reader, if it is really irony or truth that he wishes to convey.”¹ (4)

What is of interest in the narrator’s revelation is the implied need to verify a narrative which he is in the process of retelling. This (un)intended incredulity to what was supposed to be an authoritative narrative is one of the main conceits of the novel. To solve this dilemma, to avoid the homogenizing potential of a narrative, the narrator would then quote from various sources, e.g. historical documents, excerpts from literary and scholarly works, news articles, etc., to illuminate, supplement, or contradict specific moments in it. At the very moment of retelling, the novel’s narrator ceases to be merely a tool of the master narrator/narrative, and instead becomes what Claude Levi-Strauss calls a “bricoleur”—a person who fashions something new (qtd. in Genette 57), in the novel’s case a new narrative, out of extant and culled materials. For instance, the narrator would quote a passage from the work of nationalist historian Teodoro Agoncillo and juxtapose it against the colonial and orientalist perspective of Rachel Carson; a news article about the killing of demonstrators and a news article about the Muhammad Ali-Joe Frazier match; a passage from the work of Marxist philosopher Jean Paul-Sartre juxtaposed against a Shurman Commission document or a Beattles song.

Marcos rationalized his declaration of martial law, his creation of the New Society, on two circumstances: so-called “lawless elements” whose political, legal, economic, religious, and moral principles are based on the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology; and the burgeoning Muslim secessionist movement in Mindanao. Hence, like Suharto, Marcos attempted to consolidate state power to resolve what he deemed as unstable and anarchic conditions in the country—to restore order, introduce radical reforms to the system, and return the country its path, albeit singular, of development (1974, 73; 2005, 204-206). In short, the creation of the New Society implies the creation of a singular national narrative of order and development. As mentioned earlier, any excess to this national narrative will be silenced and relegated to obscurity. This, for Marcos, constitutes what calls the “revolution from the center”—a revolution which involves the constitutional reform of the government (1973, 65; ,77).

This singular national narrative is what *Ficción* resists and disrupts. As the above examples illustrate, the deployment and juxtapositions of diametrically-opposed texts with the narrative sets off two things: first, the establishment of faux parity between the authoritative narratives and the marginalized narratives; and second, the unmasking of their inherent and incidental ideological oppositions. In one scene of the novel, for instance, Simon Extranjero bemoans the lack of “new” news. As he reads through the broadsheet, he feels the burden of living in a society that has rendered everything mundane. The narrator writes,

He wastes away until the morning and gingerly walk in the streets without even stretching: The honk of the bread seller. The calls of the news paper boy. **Boys, Times nga!** But as he starts to read through, he would feel a bit sad because yet again, four demonstrators... Muhammad Ali beats Fraizer in points! (Son of a bitch! Had the WBC had not laid him off!)...² (96)

Though the Ali-Frazier match took place in the Philippines during the 1960s, considered then as a sign of the Philippines’ capability to host events of global import, what is of interest here is existence of news about demonstrators: students adhering to the call of nationalism and anti-imperial struggle and factory workers dissatisfied with the existing working conditions. These are the forces that uphold ideologies that run counter to that of the New Society’s. Moreover, if read closely, what this passage implies is the naiveté that the of resurfacing national narratives considered as excesses by the dominant and hegemonic national narratives will result into a immediate parity of forces. For although they are spoken about in the media, in broadsheets for instance, they are framed according to the interest of the ruling order. What is unutterable in Simon’s head while reading the news about the demonstrators is the fact that their deaths or dispersal are justified for they are lawless elements.

Another thing of interest is what Daroy mentioned as the novel’s recollection of “learning processes.” Noted earlier was its conceit of placing diametrically-opposed texts within the narrative as if these have exerted the same influence in the making of the nation. Yet what such actualities in the novel’s structure really suggests is the existence of opposing nation-making projects. By making these texts appear simultaneously in specific moments in the novel, the very experience of learning and knowing about the history of our nation is put under the microscope. Preceding a scene wherein military and intelligence officers are planning the capture of Elias Resurreccion in Isla del Fuego is an excerpt from National Artist for Literature Nick Joaquin’s *Culture and History: Occasional Notes on the Process of Philippine Becoming*:

¹ “Ang kawalan ko ng talento upang maihatid ang buong anyo at kulay ng kanyang hinabi ay tunay na isang malaking balakid sa iyong pagkukuro, babasa, kung kabalintunaan o katotohanan ang kanyang tinuran.”

² “Hanggang abutin siya ng umaga, at lulugolugong lalakad sa kalyeho bago pa lamang mag-iinot: Pot-pot ng tinapay. Sigaw ng diyaryo. **Boys, Times nga!** ngunit pagkabuklat niya, siya’y bahagyang manlulumo sapagkat apat na demonstrador na naman... Si Muhamad Ali ay nagapi sa puntos ni Fraizer (Anak ng puta! Kung hindi lang naman ni-lay-off ng WBC, eh!)...”

The attitude, to repeat, springs from the static view of culture, which, in turn, breeds the illusion that history can be rejected at will, as we would reject our creole history as not Philippine and not affecting the Filipino. The Filipino is thus seen, like the Asian, as a "timeless" type defined by certain persistent qualities; and Filipino, throughout history, never becomes but always is, which would make us a rather godlike being." (8)

The quote from Joaquin is interesting because it conditions and informs the readers' reading of the succeeding scene. Without the Joaquin text, the scene may be interpreted by readers as a typical portrayal of feudal relations in the Philippines, where most farmers and peasants are executed or stripped of their own land the moment they start organizing themselves to assert their rights. What the Joaquin quote (and all the other texts collated and deployed within the novel's narrative) does is push readers to dig deeper, to make them question the very roots of existing power relations in the society. Moreover, this quote suggests the existence of a resistance to the predominant notion of what it means to be a Filipino.

To justify his "democratic," Marcos pondered upon the "foreignness" of the ideologies that guided past and current revolutionary movements in the Philippines. He argues,

"We need not go beyond our historical experience to establish the origins of the Democratic revolution. The fundamental nationality of a revolution determines its success. Exported revolutions can only fail, as many of our self-professed revolutionists have yet to understand. It is certainly wise to learn from the experience of others, but it is also unwise, if not traitorous, to fashion ourselves after--or submit ourselves to--foreign models. We have a revolutionary tradition that we can well be proud of, a tradition that, moreover, continues to exercise its influence on our serious political thought." (1974, 70)

Though Marcos recognized the virtue of learning from the experience of other nations, he nevertheless assumed and asserted the existence of a truly Philippine revolution. This, as the above Joaquin quote suggests, is problematic because if indeed the truism revolutions make nations holds true, then Marcos' claim suggests that there is only one way to build the nation. Hence, the existence of a singular national narrative, while all others are considered as excesses, unconstitutional, and anarchic. Politically speaking, to legitimize a singular national narrative, other national narratives should be eliminated. About the necessity of repression, Boudreau (2002) writes,

"Under cover of Philippine martial law, Marcos jailed many of his parliamentary opponents and chased communist insurgents into the hills—but eliminated neither. He then built his New Society regime by amassing central powers and resources and using those to limit the exercise of civil liberties, representative institutions, and legal processes that he still formally allowed." (30)

In the novel's context, this is the reason why the statements even from American military officers like General Lawton, foreign news outlets like *Newsweek*, and American folk songs are collated and interwoven in the narrative. Alongside the excerpts from the works of known nationalist and anti-imperialist intellectuals and writers like Bienvenido Lumbera, Amado Hernandez, and Renato Constantino, the deployment of the aforementioned texts within the novel's narrative recreates for readers the inherent violence in the process of speaking of and writing the nation. Also, considering the function of these texts as novelistic digressions and narrative syncopes, these collated texts forces readers to abandon any notion of linearity in the novel. Encouraging readers to backtrack, evaluate, corroborate, and scrutinize every scene in the novel preceded and/or succeeded by a found text, the very possibility of a clear, unified, and homogenizing national narrative is supplanted.

The novel's method of collating various texts, its textual bricolage, is indeed crucial for exposing the marginal narratives undercut by the New Society's narrative of order and development. This method employed in the novel exposes to readers the traces of resistance to the attendant social realities caused by the Marcos regime and provides them with a purview of subversive textual assemblages. However, the disruption of the the singular national narrative in *Ficción* does not in any way nullify the real and concrete violence wrought by the Marcos' regime to the Filipino people. What *the* novel successfully does, though, is wage war against the prevailing aesthetic regime that served as the homogenizing and totalizing logic of the New Society.

Syncopating the New Order: Seno Gumira Ajidarma and Dangerous Collations

As singular as Suharto's political, economic, cultural, and social programs are the evaluations of economists, demographers, agriculturalist of the New Order's impact to Indonesian society (Hil, xxii). Most of them view the Suharto regime in favorable terms despite the carnage and violence its debut left on its wake in 1965-1966. As Michael R.J. Vatikiotis (1993) points out:

“Arguably, memories of the repression of 1966 have faded in the light of the New Orders’s successful strategy of national development. The programme of national development, or *pembangunan nasional*, became a slogan with mesmerizing effect on Indonesians and outsiders alike. There was a reason for this. Within a decade of his coming to power, Indonesia stabilized, join[ed] the exclusive ranks of oil-producing states and was using the revenue from oil to implement an extraordinary programme of development. It was a turnaround too remarkable by Third World standards to argue with. Indonesia, the nightmare of US foreign policy analysts in 1960s, suddenly became a burning proof that not all regimes born out of the barrel of gun are bad.” (34)

During the 1980s Suharto will be even dubbed as “Bapak Pembangunan,” or father of development. In the same way, Hal Hil and Jamie Mackie (1994) describes the early years of the New Order in the following terms:

“Intense political instability, bordering on civil war, has given way to an almost bland uniformity and monotony. The drama and flamboyance of Sukarno has been replaced by the low-key and pragmatic Soeharto administration. The economy has been transformed by effective economic management and the ability to take advantage of a benign international environment.” (xxiv)

Critics and detractors of the New Order, on the other hand, such as McVey (qtd. in Foulcher and Day, 1) describe the regimes as “perpetuating much of the symbolic trappings and organizational character of East Indies state at the height of Dutch colonial power.” Others find deplorable the state of human rights, the suppression civil liberties, and rampant corruption during the regime’s peak. Cook and Pincus (2014), on the other hand, note the legacy of poverty and inequality left by the regime. However, the assessment that best encapsulates the socio-political and socio-economic character of the Suharto regime comes from Boudreau. About the importance of repression to the Suharto regime, Boudreau (2002) writes,

“By eliminating the PKI, constructing a corporatist machinery, and restricting the possibility of independent political organizations, the Indonesian state under Suharto completely reworked the conditions of political contention. Mobilizations no longer had the institutional support, guidance, or continuity that political organizations, particularly the defunct PKI, once provided. Still, because the state lay secure behind its corporatist monopoly, Suharto tolerated unorganized protest and generally did not murder or arrest demonstrators (with the important exception of separatists). The regime countered protest mainly via after-the-fact restrictions on organization forms that had been too successful, supported by conflation of organization and communism in state propaganda that invoked the New Order’s baptismal slaughter. Activists quickly picked up on the new rules and responded to regime proscriptions against organization by adopting new (and often small-scale) organization forms the regime still had not banned. Activists rarely experimented with illegal organization forms, and students especially began to describe their movement as a “moral” (and explicitly not an organized “political”) force. In consequence, protest remained small, rather than national; thematically limited, rather than holistic; and short-lived, rather than sustained (Aspinall 1993). Deprived of strong movement organizations, protesters eventually found careers in the country’s dynamic economic mainstream, and meanwhile developed cautious modes of criticizing the regime that preserved the possibility of reengaging in the economy, and they frequently relied on support from select state actors.” (31)

What both supporters and detractors of the New Order agree about, though, is the presence of strong state power and of a singular, unbending, and total vision of national order and development in every fabric and interstice of the regime’s bureaucracy. Like the Marcos regime, these traits of the New Order regime suggest the perpetuation of one nationalist project and the elimination of all others. Among all other acts of the New Order regime, this is the reason for the brutal crackdown against members and supporters of the PKI, and the invasion of East Timor in 1975 which culminated in the Dili massacre in 1991.

Among others, what becomes the main concern of Seno Gumira Ajidarama’s fiction is state-enforced repression and violence in Indonesia and East Timor. Born in Boston, USA, in 1958, Seno returned to Yogyakarta, Indonesia in 1963 to attend his primary and secondary schooling. According to Fuller (2010), Seno’s first artistic foray was in acting and theater, “before pursuing writing and journalism more seriously.”(55) His stint as journalist and editor for the magazine *Jakarta Jakarta*, especially when news about the Dili incident was published under his editorship, would become the turning point of his career. Of this, Gregory Harris, in his introduction for the English translation of *Jazz, parfum dan insiden* writes,

“When reports of the Dili incident crossed his desk in November of 1991, Seno recognized the moral outrage of the situation, and the government’s clumsy and blatant cover-up for what it was. The texts of several interviews with eyewitnesses by *Jakarta Jakarta*

reporters revealed a story completely different from the government line. The interviews spoke of atrocities: rape, torture, and bizarre cruelties such as soldiers forcing the wounded protesters to drink buckets of blood and to swallow piece of their broken rosaries. Overwhelmed by the intensity of these accounts, Seno began to write, and by New Year's, he had written a collection of poems which attempted to respond in some way to the horror of the eyewitnesses' images.” (viii)

In terms of Dili incident's impact on Seno's writing, Fuller (2010) makes a comparison of Seno's early work and his writings after the incident:

“Although some of Seno's early stories in the *Penembak Misterius* collection had dealt with state violence and social issues, the stories of *Manusia Kamar* (Ajidarma, 1988) and *Negeri Kabut* (Ajidarma, 1996b) were largely abstract, philosophical and general - that is, somewhat removed from the immediate social, cultural and political context of New Order Indonesia. It can be argued that the Santa Cruz violence was a turning point in his career: not only did it bring Seno increasing media coverage and attention for his writings on the violence in East Timor, the incident also provided Seno with a clear point of opposition. By criticising the Indonesian army (Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia), Seno's criticisms were going to the very heart of the New Order regime.” (56)

As mention and argued in the previous sections, Seno's fiction as a form social criticism does not only operate on the expository and polemical plane. Though some of his early fiction tackled the violence in Aceh and East Timor, it is in his experimental novel, postmodern according to Michael Bodden (1999), where Seno unleashes his sharpest critique of the New Order regime. The novel is comprised of three alternating and interspersing narrative and thematic streams: the first deals about the narrator's encounters with different women and his fixation on the perfumes they wear; the second is composed of reflections about jazz as an art form, and the final stream follows the narrator's thought process as he reads through incident reports about the Dili massacre. Read as a novel of resistance, at first glance, the novel's narrative strategy of deploying three seemingly unrelated narratives clears a space for readers to formulate their own readings and syntheses of the novel. This strategy is obviously in opposition to the totalizing and homogenizing concepts espoused by the New Order regime such as order, control, hierarchy, unity, and development. However, like Garcellano's *Ficcian*, the novel's literal disruption of the national narrative's trajectory does not in any way annul the brutality of the Suharto regime. As Bodden (1999) writes,

“Yet the brutal reality of the Dili massacre, coupled with the difficulty of speaking the truth directly through the mass media—or in any other form—shines through as the moral fuel that fires Seno's deconstructive attack.” (155)

Indeed, *Jazz, parfum dan insiden* is an attack. The disruption of the New Order's national narrative is only the effect of the novel's main conceit: the collation of texts with “dangerous” and “improvisory” content that would serve as assemblages, war machines to borrow Deleuze and Guatarri's concept, against the state apparatus. By doing so, the New Order's constant beat of control is syncopated. Two incident reports of the Dili massacre collated in the novel can attest to this. The first, from a victim's perspective (Ajidarma, 2002):

“The government later said nineteen people had been killed, but with that many soldiers shooting rapid-fire into such a large crowd, there's no way only nineteen people died. Nineteen dead? Absolutely impossible! A number of parents said that as many as five of their children never returned home. I personally know of more than nineteen who died, and the names of many of them aren't on any official list.” (10)

The Human Right Watch report (1993) on Xanana Gusmao's trial, one of Fretlin's leaders, makes a similar assessment about the incident:

“In interviews with the Asia Watch observer, ABRI officials indicated that the search for the some 66 persons who “disappeared” following the Santa Cruz massacre continues. According to those officials, responsibility for the search has been turned over to the police. However, the military is cooperating in the current strategy to locate the disappeared, which is to work with village heads to identify residents who may have “come down from the hills” or otherwise “reappeared”. The strategy implies a presumption that the disappeared are still alive, which appears unlikely given estimates that at least 100 persons were killed and only 19 bodies have been officially acknowledged as discovered so far.” (19-20)

In the novel, a report which features a version of the incident according to general:

“Yes, I’ve seen the footage of the incident and, I must say, for those who don’t know the situation, the video can easily lead to the wrong conclusions. In the video you can see people running into the cemetery from outside. This means that the crowd was still outside. So, if the crowd was still outside, then there was no ceremony, right? How could they be having a ceremony outside?” (2002, 103-104)

After a brief diatribe against the foreign press’ portrayal of the ARBI as a faction of brutal and merciless exterminators, he proceeds:

“You want to know why the bodies of the victims haven’t been returned to their families? Just look at what happened when one person was buried. And now, nineteen people died. So if the bodies of the nineteen were given back, how many more might die? The most important thing is safety. With nineteen bodies, there would be all these funerals and special masses. Imagine having several hundred masses and how many more people dying. Are we going to have to do this kind of work forever? Just bury them before any of that can happen.” (2002, 104)

These collated reports clearly showing different perspectives on the incident engenders in readers a kind of dilemma. Like Garcellano’s *Ficción*, instead of just accepting the propaganda churned out by the state machinery, *Jazz* forces Indonesian and international readers to reconsider, verify, and examine an event with serious ramifications such as the Dili incident against the fragile state of orderliness and stability in everyday Indonesian life in the 1990s fostered by the New Order. This explains the existence and necessity of the two other narrative and thematic streams. These two streams function as self-reflexive and self-defensive attempts to avoid the real dangers of incorporating incriminating reports in the novel. Referring to the external circumstances of the novel’s publication and distribution, according to Harris (2002), Seno “relied on the fact that Indonesia’s official censors didn’t pay much attention to literary titles, particularly those by a young author being published by a small literary press” and a “superficial cover-up of jazz and perfume.” (xi) This attempt to elude state censors had the opposite effect in the novel. Instead of veering away from the consequences of collating incriminating texts, the novel engages these consequences head-on. Even the narrative streams deemed by Seno as cover-ups, in themselves engaged in the act of collations, give the novel an additional subversive layer. For instance, the works of jazz musicians and scholars such as Wynton Marsalis and Stanley Couch are referred to and collated by the narrator as he tries to find the true essence of jazz. In the process of collating and annotating the said texts, the narrator was able to link jazz to slavery, oppression, suffering, freedom, protest, and improvisation (2002: 17-22; 43-8; 65-70; 85-90; 107-112; 159-164). With this linkage, the seemingly unrelated narrative strands in the novel find a meeting point. The narrator’s reflections on jazz becomes the mediating point between the violence and terror induced by the narrative strand about the incident, on the one hand, and the decadence and materialism of Indonesian urban life portrayed in perfume strand, on the other. Of the narratives’ interrelatedness, Bodden (2002) writes,

“One of the things which does link the strands structurally is the brief segues from one strand’s main focus to the next at the end of a number of chapters, for instance, the mention of a particular jazz song at the end of a *insiden* chapter, followed by a jazz chapter. More serious in tone, however, is the second kind of linkage, that of more direct intrusions by the ceaselessly inventive, collating narrator. On several crucial occasions, startling because they are so exceptional, the narrator brings the main strands together. For example, following a grisly description of the in which the military checked for survivors among bodies in the Santa Clara cemetery, the narrator comments: ‘What kind of song would Chick Corea create if he heard this tale? I smell no perfume, I smell the putrid stench of blood’.” (313)

The said occasion of linkages becomes in the novel the apotheosis of the improvisation and syncopation of the New Order’s national narratives. Told in a New Order perspective, the three narrative strands are supposed to remain unrelated, forever inhabiting separate and disparate timelines. But the opposite occurs in the novel. By being able to locate the connection of the collated texts, ideas, and memories, the novel’s act of collation also becomes an act of improvisation—an improvisation which engenders the collapsing and coalescing of these narratives unto and with each other.

However, Seno’s most direct criticism of the New Order’s national narrative and ideology can be found in his latter engagement with the incident reports. In what Bodden calls a “cynical, taunting move” (2002, 317), the narrator riddles the final set of Amnesty international reports with “sensori dari pengarang” (censored by the author) (2002: 119-126; 139-147; 165-172). As Bodden (2002) suggests, this can be read as critique of widespread censorship during the New Order regime. The more serious implication of this scene in the novel, however, is its attempt to further syncopate and improvise the beat

and trajectory of New Order ideology. By omitting the names of victims and perpetrators, institutions and organizations, and places and dates pertinent to the incident, the very possibility of a material resistance from the side of the incriminated becomes impossible. In the collated document of violence and barbarism, the narrator-collator performs an act of erasure, effectively destroying the perpetrator-victim dichotomy. One must, however, take this scene with a grain of salt; for although it removes within the novel's confines any possibility of resistance from the perpetrators, it also extols and affirms the violence of the incident by removing traces of the victim's existence. As Bodden (2002) notes, though *Jazz* attempted to extol the importance of freedom through its improvisation, it also suggests limits to liberation (315). This kink in the novel implies a sort of complicity with the New Order's national narrative of order. Despite this, though, Bodden asserts that *Jazz* is in no way a reactionary novel (2002, 315-317). Though etched with residues of New Order ideology, the novel remains a stylistically crafted indictment of violence and authoritarian rule.

Conclusion

To recapitulate, both *Ficción* and *Jazz, parfum dan insiden*, through their deployment of various texts within the narrative, was able to collate national narratives undercut and marginalized by the New Society and New Order. The collations performed in both novels, to use Anthony Appiah's term, clears a space for readers to reevaluate, examine, and interrogate the dominant national narratives espoused by the ruling order. As a narrative strategy, the act of collation in both novels becomes a form of textual resistance against the homogenizing and totalizing logic authoritarian regimes. Seen as an act of curation and excavation, the act of collation demonstrates the improvisory and disruptive nature of nation-building.

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A Strange Form of Life: Tracing Pramoedya's Revolutionary Realism in *Tales from Djakarta*

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Abstract

A decade before the 1965 coup, Pramoedya Ananta Toer wrote short stories that were later collected in *Tales from Djakarta: Caricatures of Circumstances and Their Human Beings*. The significance of the mid-1950s to Pramoedya's career can be discerned in his search for a new foundation for his literary corpus. Especially with his association with Lekra to support Sukarno's *konsepsi* of an Indonesian democracy, Pramoedya was progressively shaping his brand of realism present in his later works. This paper traces Pramoedya's realism with an "orientation towards the people" (*tendensi kerakyatan*) through selected stories (written in 1955-56) from *Tales from Djakarta*, namely "Creatures Behind Houses," "No Resolution," "The Mastermind," "Mrs. Veterinary Doctor Suharko," and "Ketjapi." This paper emphasizes Pramoedya's critical stance as a "teller of tales" (*Erzähler*) by deftly using perspective, memory, and community—the same critical stance that would lead to his imprisonment under the "New Order" regime and enduring literary legacy.

Keywords: *biographical criticism, Indonesian literature, literary history*

Introduction

As individuals, who are armed only with their own selves, writers are naturally under the greatest pressure. Still, whatever befalls them, their personal experience is also the experience of their people, and the experience of their people is also their personal experience. A part of this experience, small or large or the whole lot, will erupt in their writings, and will return to their people in the form of new realities, literary realities. That is why the truth of fiction is also the truth of history. (Toer, *My Apologies* 8-9)

"Communism has left a lot of Indonesian ghosts." In an afterword to Pramoedya's essay, "My Apologies, In the Name of Experience," Alex G. Bardsley wrote this line and said that the New Order's legitimacy is based on its claim of being indigenous and culturally pure—as opposed to Communism's foreignness—and its function "to secure the present against the ghosts of the past" (13). "Dead, imprisoned, exiled, or ostracized... in no position to start anything," these ghosts are indeed more spectral than real threats; however, and precisely, the New Order needs them because it projects on them "the guilt of the winners and survivors, carrying a charge so powerful that the victims frequently seem about to rise from the grave" (13). Among these ghosts, Pramoedya's casts the longest of shadows.

When the Ramon Magsaysay Foundation announced their decision to give its award to Pramoedya in July 1995, Indonesian intellectuals wrote a protest statement to Manila, "suggesting that the Foundation was not fully aware of Pramoedya's role in 'witch-hunting' his fellow writers during 'the darkest period for artistic creativity during the 'guided democracy' years (1959-1965)'" (Abel 21). Even in 1995, Pramoedya's movements are still watched and restricted and his writings banned. Pramoedya's connections with the PKI were still a topic for literary historians and scholars thirty years after the 1965 coup. For example, Martina Heinschke's essay, "Between Gelanggang and Lekra: Pramoedya's Developing Literary Concepts," based on her 1993 thesis, and Ben Abel's essay, "Beholding a Landmark of Guilt: Pramoedya in the early 1960s and the Current Regime," based on a 1996 paper presentation, trace Pramoedya's involvement to the PKI through writers' groups like LEKRA and publications like *Lentera*. Scholarship on Pramoedya's life and writings today is centered on this involvement and its consequences, most importantly his fourteen-year imprisonment and the works he produced during this time.

However, it is also important to note that Pramoedya's long writing career has not been always connected to the PKI. Harry Aveling, Pramoedya scholar and translator, quotes Andreas Teeuw describing the story "Sunjisenjap disiang hari" ("The Silent Centre of Life's Day") as a "final settlement with the past at the moment of his break with it" (qtd. in Aveling 388). According to Aveling, in 1956, around ten years before the coup, when this story was written and published, Pramoedya's father, wife, friends and publisher "misjudged, deceived or given him short measure," making him "ready to replace his dreams with action. He was embittered with the world around him, disappointed at the futility of his own life, the failure of his writing and the insufficiency of his own humanity" (388). Martina Heinschke mentions the same story to be the turning point in Pramoedya's views about literature and society—something that greatly influences his latter works. She notes, for example, that Pramoedya's second wife, Maimuna Thamrin, is the basis of the woman who saved the failed author (Heinschke 162; Day 216). It is also in 1956

that Pramoedya attended a commemoration of the death of Lu Hsun in China; Pramoedya says that this trip marked him as a “Communist” for the first time to his enemies (Day 217).

This paper examines selected stories written around the same time as “The Silent Centre of Life’s Day”—in the years 1955 and 1956—from *Tales from Djakarta*, namely “Creatures Behind Houses,” “No Resolution,” “The Mastermind,” “Mrs. Veterinary Doctor Suharko,” and “Ketjapi.” Benedict Anderson, in the introduction to the collection, writes that Pramoedya stopped writing “tales” after writing this set of stories and focused his energies to “historical studies, novels, polemical essays, and, increasingly, political lectures and speeches” (13). Although Anderson does not go on to explain the transition, he notes that the years when the stories in *Tales from Djakarta* were written (1948-1956) constitutes “the time of bitter transition from the revolutionary era to the beginnings of military rule” (13). Similarly, Goenawan Mohamad in his foreword to the collection states that “[t]o Indonesian readers living in the 1950s... this collection would carry a greater thrust of urgency” because it was “the summer of popular discontent, an intense time of disillusion to Indonesians” (9). In other words, following Teeuw’s, Aveling’s and Heinschke’s biographical and Anderson’s and Mohamad’s historical notes, the years when the stories mentioned above were written are contiguous points in the formation of Pramoedya’s revolutionary realism in his more familiar works like *The Buru Quartet* and *The Mute Soliloquy*. Mohamad also implies this insight in his foreword:

You can discern Pramoedya’s indignation, his impatience, and his bitterness, responses that motivated him to locate his destitute and dispossessed characters as instrumental elements in his web of argument. The stories are impelled by such a force of anger that it pushes them to come forward so that they present themselves almost with no narrative stratagem. In fact, the stories present readers with no “narrative” in the usual sense; they have little time for opposing perspectives and different consciousnesses. *Many of the stories read like plots of novels yet to be written in years to come.* (10; italics mine)

That the stories have no narrative in the usual sense is evident in these stories. In his introduction, Anderson quotes another Indonesian writer Idrus who says that “Pram doesn’t know how to write short stories; what he produces are simply *dongeng* [tales]” (11). Anderson connects Pramoedya to Walter Benjamin’s *Erzähler* (Teller of Tales) in which “[e]xperience... is passed from mouth to mouth” (qtd in Anderson 11). Anderson reminds us that Pramoedya grew up in late-colonial, small-town Java listening to “the voices of fable-telling nursemaids, mothers, and grandfathers, *wayang* puppeteers, neighborhood gossip, and even radio performers” (11). We can also remember that Pramoedya’s *Buru Quartet* was originally told orally to fellow prisoners in *Buru* island because Pramoedya was not given pen and paper.

Tales, however, connote fantasy and illusion, while the development of the modern short story is almost always discussed with the formation of literary realism. Pramoedya’s realism is distinct because his style is more similar to tall tales and gossip. He also combines fictive and non-fictive modes of writing; it is as if there is no disbelief to suspend in the first place because the narrator tells us directly his/her experience without the intervention of writing. In “Writer as Outsider,” Aveling interprets two short stories written during the same years in question. Of one of these stories, “Djakarta,” Aveling writes that it is “not so much a short story as a collection of ideas, images, and impressions about the city of Djakarta, worked into an *easy narrative letter-form* addressed to a young friend from the country” (389; italics mine). Throughout Aveling’s reading of the stories, he switches terms from “story” to “essay” as if the two are the same. Aveling also notes that the form “gives Pramoedya a chance to describe and criticize, moralize and apologize, all at the same time” (389). Mohamad, in his foreword, echoes Aveling in saying that Pramoedya’s stories are “forceful pieces of writing of which the beginning is not the word. [They offer] an opposite paradigm of the Mallarmean mold... written with ideas, not with words” (9). Not only is Pramoedya’s style not following Mallarmean convention; it also opposes another father of Western realism: Flaubert and his dictum of finding *le mot juste*.

Stories from *Tales from Djakarta*

In “Creatures Behind Houses” (1955; henceforth “Creatures”), the narrator observes the maids of Djakarta’s *prijaji*: “the existence of a strange form of life—the life of creatures behind houses” (104). Although he does not participate in the story he is telling, the narrator takes care in explaining his immediacy to it: being the same neighborhood of row-houses, watching the maids no more than five meters from his porch, seeing them day and night “when [he is] working, when [he is] daydreaming, when [he is] receiving guests.” He cannot avoid them so their story has to be told; in fact, “there is so much that can be told... [because] every day [his] eyes fall on their faces” (108). His is an unusual but familiar perspective. The story’s title, “Creatures Behind Houses,” hints at ethnography, or even taxonomy of “a strange form of life” from an informant or an insider. It is more an exposé rather than a short story.

On the other hand, “Creatures” is really a commentary about Djakarta’s *prijaji* and its “*prijaji* morality.” The narrator says that he is not “launching a polemic” (104) but this statement is sarcastic because it is clear that he is. In the story’s beginning, he compares the maids of Djakarta’s *prijaji* to the

maids of the Chinese and the European families. The maids of Djakarta's *prijaji* is different because for them every day is just "yet another opportunity to become filthy;" their undergarments "might [even] prove fertile if one planted them with four or so peanuts, or corn or perhaps soybeans" (104). This physical filth on the maids is also the moral filth of the *prijaji*. Examples of different scenes of lack and abuse are recounted throughout the story: Miss Two and her lack of education (she is called so because the only number she knows well is two), the little girl who was kicked out when she grew into a full-figured virgin because of the insecurity of the lady of the house, the maid who lost her appetite for food and just collapsed after four hours of washing, and others. These scenes oppose what the *prijaji* class should be and how it should act. According to Anderson, *prijaji/priyayi* (the ruling class) "primarily connotes ethical values and modes of behavior rather than official position" ("The Idea of Power" 50). What distinguishes the *prijaji/priyayi* from the rest of the population is that of being *halus*:

to a certain extent covered by the idea of smoothness, the quality of not being disturbed, spotted, uneven, or discolored. Smoothness of spirit means self-control, smoothness of appearance means beauty and elegance, smoothness of behavior means politeness and sensitivity. The antithetical quality of being *kasar* means lack of control, irregularity, imbalance, disharmony, ugliness, coarseness. Since being *kasar* is the natural state of man, in which his energies, thoughts, and behavior lack all control and concentration, no effort is required to achieve it. Being *halus*, on the other hand, requires constant effort and control to reach a reduction of the spectrum of human feeling and thought to a single smooth 'white' radiance of concentrated energy. ("The Idea of Power" 50-51)

In "Creatures," Djakarta's *prijaji* shows more *kasar* than *halus*. They are stained by the same filth, albeit in a moral sense, of the maids that the narrator is describing. Because *kasar* needs no effort, Djakarta's *prijaji* has remained inert and passive. The narrator of "Creatures" spots the *prijaji*'s out-of-date morality:

And what *prijaji* is not out of date? Capable farmers have gained control of their harvests and increased their wealth. Merchants have buttressed their status and become the kings of every city. Workers have organized themselves. Only the *prijaji* have stagnated. With their ideal of idleness which refuses to rot away under pelting rain and scorching sun. And everyone knows the consequence: maids and houseboys are dealt a stroke of luck. (106)

"Stroke of luck" is used by Pramoedya in a double sense in the story. Kevin Dixon, the translator of "Creatures," notes that in the case above the phrase used is "*ketiban pulung* (italics in the original). A sarcastic joke. *Pulung* in Javanese is the mysterious radiance that descends on (*ketiban*) a man destined to be king" (108, footnote 3). In an essay about the Javanese concept of power, Benedict Anderson states that for the Javanese one traditional public sign of power is *wahyu* (divine radiance), while the everyday presence of power is "marked by the *téja* (radiance) that was thought to emanate softly from the face or person of the man of Power" ("The Idea of Power" 31). The use of "*ketiban pulung*" above is a sarcastic joke because it is clear that maids and houseboys are neither lucky nor radiant in the Javanese sense. Dixon notes that Pramoedya uses *kedjatuhan pulung* (also in italicized in the original) in a similar phrase that, in this next instance, describes a blow that came from her mistress (108, footnote 5). It is another sarcastic joke: the only "stroke of luck" or "radiance" that descends to the face/head of a *prijaji* maid comes from a fist or a cane.

Pramoedya combines history, social justice and familial connection in one question that the narrator asks in the middle of the story: "What is the significance of the Revolution for these maids, the Revolution that has claimed thousands of victims from their families?" (106). The narrator confesses that "[he] couldn't help laughing to [himself] when [he hears] hysterical shrieks [from the maids, but after he] realized how loudly these shrieks were uttered, and with such a serious expression," he recognizes the "dark and indistinct" image of the *prijaji* maid morality, "like the outline of a chicken at dusk, when clouds bestride the earth" (105).

"No Resolution" (February 1956) starts with the Japanese occupation of Djakarta, shortly before the Revolution, when the narrator was 20 years old, and ends years after, with the Indonesian independence. The narrator talks about his experiences mostly during the Revolution. Because there are many references about the narrator's youth and his generation—the Revolution, for example, is mentioned to have brought activity and even happiness to "poor youth, youths who were in love, starving youth, sick youths, and cowardly ones, too... [and the narrator] was no different from those youth" (111)—the story seems a typical bildungsroman or romance story at first. In the story's first part, narrator recounts his "childish state" (110) and his infatuation with Nana, "a young virgin, her body tall and slender, with fair skin that was almost white, an aquiline nose, small full lips, and a graceful easy sway to her hips as she walked" (109). However, as the story continues, readers realize that the situation is different.

First, the Revolution has made life difficult and brought out the worst from people. Food and water were lacking for soldiers and refugees. Violence was abound. An executioner, for instance, tells the narrator: "I saw the blood gush from an artery that had been severed by a bullet. How beautifully if

spouted! How powerfully it sprayed out! Not for long. Then the spouting slowed, and the blood dripped out only gradually. That was the beauty of it” (117). There are incidences of slander, torture, and execution in the story.

Second, Nana, to whom the narrator is infatuated at first, is a prostitute-turned-concubine for the Japanese military. Aveling notes that the prostitute, like the trishaw-driver, is a conventional symbol of the oppressed in Indonesian literature because she has no skills or possessions other than her own body, making her susceptible to exploitation (“The Writer as Outsider” 390). Nana, however, is not of the conventional victim stereotype. The narrator, early on, mentions Nana’s opportunism; she “had willingly readied herself for the world of pleasure” (109). Despite this, “[n]one of her faults figured into [the narrator’s] calculations, while all of her movements... felt like signs from a sublime world, a world of fantasy, and constituted blessings of the highest order” (110). For the narrator, Nana is not of this world, an escape from the hardships of the Japanese occupation—only she matters.

When the narrator encounters Nana after the Revolution has started and the narrator has become a soldier, the spritelike Nana has changed and has become a refugee. She seems nervous and frightened. Shortly after this encounter, the narrator hears that Nana was “stolen” by a “robber” who was immediately arrested and beaten up. This “robber” is Chalil, the narrator’s neighbor. Knowing Chalil to be a pious man, the narrator cannot believe the accusations. Chalil, however, is executed by the man whose bloodlust is mentioned earlier, but not without having left something for the executioner to remember. Chalil tells him: “Shoot me.... I will not die. I will live forever in all of your hearts” (117). The narrator remembers these same words, especially after learning that Chalil was really the victim. Nana has falsely accused Chalil; they are really married. Nana’s malicious slander, however, haunts her also to the story’s end, making her a madwoman whispering “Chalil, forgive me. *Ya, Chalil*” (118).

Compared to “Creatures,” “No Resolution” has a clearer plot. However, unlike conventional stories, where plot ends with a resolution, “No Resolution”—as the title explicitly says—offers no closure. The last sentence where the narrators says “These days Chalil truly lives on in my heart” sounds like resolution, but in relation to the entire story, it is not. Nothing happens to narrator’s infatuation. That Nana’s guilt continues to haunt her as she loses her senses “[a]t least twice a week” (120) does not completely bring justice to Chalil’s death.

If in “Creatures” the narrator gives readers a backdoor view of the *prijaji* maids—his house from which the maids are seen is “located at the back of a line of row-houses” (104)—“The Mastermind” presents “a story from a perspective that is not official, not apparent, and not popular” (121). It is this perspective that gives produces the story’s central tension. The main character, *Mas/Tuan* Kariumun, is well-known from his youth as a *pentjak* champion, to his days as a lieutenant-colonel during the Revolution and as a bureau chief during the Independence. However, the story’s progress is continuously marked by self-doubt:

As for himself, *Mas* Kariumun carried his own burden; he regretted the unsettledness of his heart. At times, when he was alone, he felt as if his heart has shriveled up, that he had no right to be famous and popular as he was... [E]very time he was alone his heart would shiver from a cold shrunken feeling. Not like in a mass meeting. There his heart was always proud and the cheers of the audience made his miniature Herculean body become gigantic: Misery for those he crossed and crushed, success for all his desires and aspirations. (122)

From the outside, *Mas* Kariumun is seen as a demi-god because of his official position, but he himself knows that “[h]is impenetrable fortress was actually a citadel of smoke” (126). He knows that he is a coward and his heart confirms the views of his critics. He always speaks of “national” or “a-national” but he really does not understand what these words meant. He is a failure as a husband and a father. His wife knows that he is greedy and insincere and that he would do anything for the sake of popular opinion; and he never showed his children affection. He lives as if estranged from his real surroundings, “as if he were a tree-stump in the middle of a field of grass” (125).

An act of sexual assault to a maid heightens this split; his attraction to her body is in its voluptuousness and that it is “so non-official, so non-popular, so genuine!” (125). He is torn once more by guilt and uncertainty. The more he tries to justify his actions, the more his conscience accuses him. Only when the maid quits her job that he felt a sense of relief. However, several days after, three young men came to his house. Not knowing that these are the maid’s brothers, *Mas* Kariumun’s reception of them is official-sounding: “Comrades... as you surely know, the cabinet has just fallen. So I’m terribly busy trying to establish a new cabinet. In half an hour I have a meeting with the party’s central committee” (127). He tells them that his responsibilities are greater than theirs and asks them to leave. But the men’s response to this reception is to do the opposite; they are not there for an official visit. They laugh and threaten to stick to him “bamboo spears... *golok*... [w]hatever” (128). One of them even grabs *Mas* Kariumun’s hand, and when all these are ineffective to make *Mas* Kariumun to really receive them, they say that they will settle the matter with his wife. This encounter shows *Mas* Kariumun’s how fragile his official world is:

And *Mas* Kariumun now realized that he had begun to tremble slightly. In his head he imagined all the people who respected him, praised him, and held him up as a divinity. Now he felt his world was shaking and on the point of collapse. (128)

The conflict between *Mas Kariumun's* "official" and the maid and young men's "unofficial" worlds proves the superficiality of the former. In the story's last scene, he is delivering a speech whose lines are clearly to highlight the irony of the situation: "[B]ecause his thoughts were so frozen, he was forced on intoning outdated platitudes in a loud and hollow voice "Esteemed audience! It is indeed true: within each healthy body there resides a healthy spirit" (129). These lines are coerced out of *Mas Kariumun* because even he knows that they are merely rehearsed. Nonetheless, *Mas Kariumun* is used to these official functions: the speech is effective, and the audience happy. *Mas Kariumun's* unhealthy spirit and unhealthy body, however, falter when he sees from the podium the three young men at the side entrance.

All his courage vanished... What really terrified him was humiliation and the collapse of his popularity, his official standing, his public persona... For a moment, *Mas Kariumun* felt as if his brain had leapt out of his head like a spring loosed from its screw, and crashing off who knows where. The knuckles of his toes curled up. He collapsed as a public figure on a stage, as a popular figure. (129)

However, "The Mastermind" ends with *Mas Kariumun's* official façade intact. The "official" story is that he fainted because he had been working too hard. The story's "moral" is for officials like *Mas Kariumun*:

And now, and forever more, *Mas Kariumun* refuses to live as a non-official person, non-visible, and non-popular. He prefers to sit enthroned atop the official world, the public world, the world of popularity—because this, for him, is the safest way in this world and in the hereafter. (130)

"The Mastermind" is "a savage caricature of the opportunist 'ex-revolutionary' leaders at the moment of the elections" (Anderson, "Introduction" 13). *Mas Kariumun's* character evokes familiarity, pity and revulsion. He is a character that readers love to hate; more importantly, readers know this character. Through this story, Pramoedya destabilizes the reality of "official" personages and the "official" stories that we hear about them. He reminds us that these stories conceal more than they reveal. "The Mastermind" connotes cunning and guile, but the character is also cheap and pathetic.

Another memorable caricature is that of Kiki in "Mrs. Veterinary Doctor Suharko" (henceforth "Mrs. Suharko"). She is the second wife of *Doktor Hewan Suharko*. When Suharko meets her, she has just returned from Europe; he is drawn to her "energy, youth, grace, and liveliness" (133). After their marriage, Suharko's life changes drastically. After the death of his first wife, Corry, Suharko's life has been slow-moving, but Kiki has made it "vigorous, energetic, and lively" (133). Even their house that used to be like "a besieged fortress" becomes "a kind of an open field" with non-stop visitors (133).

Doctor Suharko becomes alienated in his own house—"feebler than ever... [and] more lonely than ever" (134). The most marked change in the Suharko household is the things and fixtures in it:

In a short space of time Kiki had "modernized," as she and her set put it, the entire household, and its atmosphere as well. She rearranges the furniture along the lines suggested by the latest women's magazines. The first thing to go was the grandfather's clock, which upsets her everynight with its regular disturbing of her imaginings. She sold it and bought in its stead a table clock of the latest design. Suharko was naturally taken aback at first to find an object in which Corry had taken such pride sold off without his permission. But he said nothing. With the money she saved bit by bit Kiki bought decorations for the house which felt very alien to her husband: wire furnishing and maquettes made of clay, velvet, and rice straw. With every day that passed, the realm of Suharko's memories grew more tightly besieged. Each one of Kiki's acts lopped another piece off the world of his memories. (134)

Tony Day comments that the changes that Kiki did to "modernize" the household are "symbols for the lingua franca itself, for like Indonesian they replace familiar objects of the home with one that are foreign and alienating" (228). What Kiki is replacing are more than just objects inside the house. The invasion of Kiki's "modern" objects to Suharko's household cuts off memories making the doctor feel "besieged." The story also mentions how these objects "afforded Suharko beautiful inward memories of his late wife, evoked both in the traces of her handiwork and in the surviving objects she had picked for their home" (132). To some extent, Suharko even sees himself as part of the fixtures; while pondering on the objects his wife has bought, he asks: "Am I not Corry's choice? And didn't Corry love me well?" (132). While Kiki finds the objects easily disposable, Suharko values the memories connected to them. Parting with the objects seems losing a part of himself.

The most important of these memories is embodied by Suharko and Corry's eldest child, Jan. Toward the story's end, Jan stumbles over the 150-cc. Express motorcycle that Kiki has bought replacing Corry's piano. Suharko finds Jan unconscious and with his forehead split open by the motorcycle's footrest. Suharko drags Jan to the sofa and treats him. When Kiki wakes up and sees the sofa covers drenched with

blood, she asks with annoyance: “Why let the blood dribble all over the sofa? Why not on the floor?” (135). This is the last straw for Suharko; he gives a broom-blow to Kiki and commands her to get rid of the motorcycle. The motorcycle symbolizes the break between Suharko’s and Kiki’s lifestyle: Suharko adheres to the stability of memories while Kiki wants the mobility of the modern. Their marriage ends in a divorce.

Like “Creatures” and “The Mastermind,” “Doctor Suharko” is told like a gossip. The story is framed by the sale of the Express motorcycle: the seller warns the buyer, who is a friend of the narrator, that Mrs. Suharko will come to ask for the motorcycle and will promise an IOU. At the end of the story, Kiki does visit and asks for the return of the motorcycle. The buyer does not believe the seller’s warning about Mrs. Suharko and gives Kiki the motorcycle. Since the motorcycle’s return, Kiki never shows herself again. Once more, this shows Pramoedya’s style of storytelling. The readers are given a privileged access to the inner lives of the characters through folk stories underhandedly told. That the narrator’s friend did not believe the story of the buyer implies how unofficial the story seemed to the hearers. The readers of “Mrs. Suharko,” like those of the other stories, feel like listening to a gossip rather than to a conventional narrator.

“Ketjapi” (1956) is about a man who finds his life miserable because of poverty and his family’s disconnect from him. His physical appearance shows immediately this misery: his eyes are red, his back hunched and his ribs stuck out like row of crabs’ legs (136). His life is “a long chain of fears... as though each step forward was two steps back” (136). He left his first wife to run away with a *djankungkoneng* but eventually regrets his decision. Although his life in Djakarta—“a place for all runaways” (138)—improves because of his job as a debt-collector, he becomes more discontented with his new life. Pondering on his life, he tells the narrator:

Although life was more difficult, actually, I was happier before. A family that was whole. The rest was actually just inconvenience. And now? So what if good fortune pours down from the sky, my family is broken apart. My mind, broken. My body is here, my heart goes there... wherever. (139)

He blames his new wife, *si djankungkoneng*, for his sad state. His wife turns out to be barren and becomes downright plump. In return, his wife nags him for unkept promises and scolds him in front of everyone. In these moments, he runs away until his wife’s anger subsides. He continues to bemoan his fate, and his *ketjapi* serves as his escape hatch during such grumbling moments.

Like the maids in “Creatures” but unlike *Mas Kariumun* in “The Mastermind,” the main character in “Ketjapi” is a commoner. Anderson comments that the sociology of Indonesian politics is “centered on an elite-mass dichotomy, symbolized by the words *pemimpin* [leader, bigshot] and *rakyat* [the people, the common people]... The rakyat are those who are masih bodoh (nonelite or nonleaders). [...] Yet at the same time, the rakyat has all along been a central symbol of Indonesian nationalism” (“The Idea of Power” 61). In “Ketjapi,” this dichotomy is evident through the main character’s and the narrator’s justification of the story’s worth. The main character admits that he is “just one of the little people,” but he also says that he has met “a number of our great leaders: the president, the ministers, high-ranking officials” (136) as if his person is worthwhile only because of this fact. For the narrator, the story is captivating because of its “unsettling and anxious conditions, facing the future of a weakening body” (141). It is precisely the condition of a commoner approaching old-age—the narrator says “there are millions of men like him, energetic, not without skills... [this is] my situation as well”—that captivates the narrator. Similar to the question in “Creatures,” the narrator in “Ketjapi” asks “[W]hat have they got from their lives? Anything to give something to hold onto for their remaining years as they set forth into impending old age?” (141).

“Ketjapi” starts with the narrator’s broad comment: “I believe that every person has an interpretation for his own life. Even crazy people.” (136). Therefore, every man has a right to have his life-story told and heard. “Ketjapi” is such one interpretation of one’s own life; or more precisely, it is a “misinterpretation”:

Behind all of his actions, even behind the ready laughter, there was something unstable, something that indicated a suppressed angst in the face of his surroundings, his life, and himself, and yet there was a strong possibility that he was completely unaware of it. (141)

The main character’s perspective of his life is distorted because it is only in the end that he realizes his own failure “to create a happy atmosphere in which to live.” His songs accompanied by the *ketjapi* are really “tears made into a song” (142). Like the previous stories, realization happens more to the narrator and the readers than to the main character. The readers put down these stories and bring with them caricatures drawn from Pramoedya’s “personal experience [which is] also the experience of [his] people” (*My Apologies* 8). It is his astute attention to his people’s conditions that makes these caricatures real.

Conclusion

The characters in Pramoedya’s stories are part of the “strange form of life” in Indonesian society. Anderson, in his introduction to *Tales from Djakarta*, mentions that the subtitle “Caricatures of Circumstances and Their Human Beings” is most apt. It is “a typical Pramoedya reversal of the expectable

‘Human Beings and Their Circumstances’” (14). The characters are contained in their own circumstances. Pramoedya’s “orientation towards the people” (*tendensi kerakyatan*) makes his literary characters take the back seat to reveal real circumstances. Thus, Pramoedya combines the truth of fiction and the truth of reality.

Pramoedya circumvents traditional short story conventions because the stance of an *erzähler* is closer to his purpose of giving a personality to the act writing. Pramoedya is known as a revolutionary writer because of his connections with the PKI and Sukarno’s *Trisakti* doctrine.

Indeed I am outside of and have left the system that it “in effect.” The outcome is very clear: I am thought a nuisance to the status quo in the system that is in effect. And because writing is a personal activity - even though the personal is a product of the whole society, present and past - the consequences have to be endured alone. (*My Apologies* 4)

This paper shows that Pramoedya is a revolutionary writer also through his brand of realism: that Pramoedya is a “writer-outsider” is not only seen in his life but also in his way of telling stories. As shown in the stories discussed above, he uses perspective, memory, and community to heighten conflict and message. “Creatures,” “The Mastermind,” and “Ketjapi” are recounted from a “backdoor” perspective—from a view from the porch, an unofficial story, a misinterpretation. The central conflict of “Mrs. Suharko” is between Doctor Suharko’s memories against impositions by the modern and the foreign. Memory is also important in “No Resolution” (the memory of Chalil lives in the narrator’s heart) and “Ketjapi” (the songs of the *ketjapi* is nostalgic of the main character’s failures). In “Creatures,” “No Resolution,” and “Ketjapi,” the narrators evoke the feeling of sympathy and affinity to community. For Pramoedya, the unfinished business in a work of literature is “to change upstream realities to become a literary reality, that will carry its readers further forward than an established order” (*My Apologies* 12). The literary reality that he sought—and wishes other writers to seek—is one that questions and goes beyond the status quo.

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The Politics of “Placing” in Selected GUMIL Hawaii Short Fiction

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Abstract

The Filipinos, particularly the Ilocano community in Hawaii come from a plantation labor history and origin. Prejudicial images of Filipino plantation labor as uneducated, unskilled, and unassimilable by White plantation owners were necessary to keep the former in the lowest rung of the occupation ladder. The Filipino labor were practically treated as indentured servants. Such racialized labor and discriminatory practices, however, were challenged, whether as mediated by the Workers’ Union (International Longshoremen’s Association) or as headed by audacious Filipino plantation leader-workers, that moved for fairness and better working conditions, resulting in a long history of plantation workers’ strikes, threats to life and employment, violence, and scores of deaths among Filipino plantation workers. Such plantation labor history, the imperatives and vagaries of multi-ethnic Hawaii and broader US society contaminate GUMIL Hawaii’s (a community-based association of Ilocano writers in Hawaii) vision, diasporic writing, and representative space, as illustrated in its selected short fiction.

Keywords: GUMIL Hawaii, diasporic writing, prejudicial image, plantation

Introduction

In the early 1970’s, a group of Ilocano immigrants in Hawaii formed an association of writers called GUMIL Hawaii (Gunglo Dagiti Mannurat iti Ilocano ti Hawaii). The Ilocanos belong to an ethnolinguistic group coming from the Northern part of the Philippines. Using a preternaturally poetic Ilocano form of language, they write narratives of Ilokandia home, of leavings, returnings, looking back, and on the experience of negotiating nostalgia amidst their dislocatory condition. While the writings aim to preserve and enrich the Ilocano language, literature, culture, and identity, as articulated in GUMIL Hawaii’s vision and objectives, the shape that Ilocano-Hawaiian writing is predisposed to take is its portrayal of the trauma of dislocation and its associated consequences. Thus, the very contour of Ilocano-Hawaiian diasporic and exilic writing is largely circumscribed by the historical forces and context surrounding it: first, by the Filipinos’, particularly the Ilocanos’ systematic plantation labor recruitment as America’s colonial subject, and second, by the circumstances of their entry as the last ethnic labor group recruited to work in the plantations at such juncture when Hawaii was well into an expanding transnational capitalist sugar industry. The paper asserts that the Filipinos’ status as America’s colonial and neocolonial subjects and their long history as lowly plantation labor in Hawaii, compounded by the diasporic realities of Hawaii and US as a hegemonic culture and society, come to configure in the discourse of contemporary Ilocano-Hawaiian writings. In order to understand this assertion, a discussion of Philippine American colonial history, the history of Filipino plantation labor in Hawaii, and their intersection with important historical junctures and forces in Hawaii and in the broader US society is necessary.

Looking at the Context

Semiotics asserts that a text can be fully apprehended if it is interrogated in reference to its context. It requires looking at the relationship of discursive practices and their ideological imperatives, the combination of signs and signification, and their corresponding effects on texts. This section will largely interrogate the historical forces that inevitably configure in diasporic selected GUMIL Hawaii short fiction.

The annexation of the Philippines in 1898 by America legitimated in the Treaty of Paris (1899) gave the latter possession of the Philippine Archipelago.¹ This marked a long-standing “relationship” between the US and the Philippines, as illustrated in the recruitment of Filipino plantation labor to Hawaii. At around such time in 1898, Hawaii, an expanding capitalist economy and a huge producer of sugar had also been annexed as a territory of US.² Hawaii’s sugar economic industry demanded and relied upon the

¹ The Treaty of Paris ended the Spanish-American war, whereby Spain ceded the Philippines to America for \$20 million dollars. This gave America the possession of the Philippine Islands.

² “The 1890 McKinley Tariff had been the impetus behind Hawaii’s desire to be a part of the United States. It had cancelled the favored duty-free entry of Hawaiian sugar by admitting all foreign sugarfree; at the same time it did not grant Hawaii the 2 cents per pound compensation paid the mainland growers for accepting the McKinley Tariff. Although the 1894 Wilson-Gorman Tariff eventually

migration of labor to man the vast fields of sugar plantations in the different islands of Hawaii. Its demand for a steady supply of cheap labor had Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) recruiting labor from all over the globe. Since the Philippines was a colony of the US, such colonial status had rendered the latter the license to transport Filipino labor to Hawaii as US nationals. While the Filipino labor were US Nationals in the technical sense of the term, they were treated as mere contract workers (San Juan 446; Cordova 30). The Filipinos entered the U.S. as "colonized 'nationals' - neither citizens nor aliens- mainly as contract workers ..." (San Juan 31). Consequently, such an anomalous classification and ambiguous status of the Filipino plantation laborers in Hawaii made them vulnerable not only to United States' immigration laws but to plantation recruitment and job policies. While they were US nationals, as dictated by this colonial relationship between the US and the Philippines, they were not given the "ward" status by the US, and thus, consequently, their well-being, protection, and interests were not within the purview of the US. Since the primary concern was getting a constant and steady flow of cheap and docile labor, the movement of Filipino labor which began in 1906 spawned 4 waves of migration to Hawaii, with the Ilocanos constituting the largest number of plantation labor.

Sugar Plantation Fiefdom

Before the practice of sourcing out Filipino laborers, labor and manpower were largely provided by the Chinese,³ Japanese, and the Koreans and a few other minority groups until their falling out due to their perceived increasing aggressiveness.⁴ For example, the planters or plantation owners accused the Japanese of blood solidarity and conspiring to create an industrially autonomous population independent of the whites.⁵ The Big Five Plantation owners preferred docile, obedient, tractable, and not too intelligent laborers who would not be considered a serious threat to the prosperity of the sugar industry. It must be noted that the recruitment policy to get men who were physically able but not too literate was shaped by the planters' unpleasant experience with other ethnic groups who pressed for some demands later on. Thus, after the visit of A.F. Judd, a plantation owners' representative commissioned to scout and to explore the Philippines for potential plantation labor, he reported that the Filipinos, particularly, the Ilocanos, were the best model of labor the plantation owners needed as they were hardworking. Bruno Lasker explains that the Ilocanos "make good workers because many of them come from a barren region ... which requires hard work for a living" (9), and thus, are used to hard labor. As racialized bodies, the Filipinos were positioned as docile, tractable, and were regarded and deemed uneducated, unskilled, and unassimilable. Their representation as "other" served the interests of the planters. Thus, in the occupational ladder, they were classified at the lowest rank: the "Haoles (whites) held management positions regardless of education or experience. Spanish and Portuguese were "lunas," plantation overseers (supervisors). Japanese were given technical and mechanical jobs. The Filipinos and the Native Hawaiians⁶ were assigned the lowest jobs, until the easing out of the latter from the pool of labor. The Filipinos were classified as unskilled laborers for most part of their plantation lives. They performed the hardest tasks of planting, weeding, cultivating, cutting, hauling, loading, and fluming for very low pay" (Cordova 31; Teodoro 13).

Because the interests of Filipino labor were not represented, they were vulnerable to exploitative management practices and got substandard contracts and pays. They were practically treated as indentured servants working under oppressive conditions, getting 70 cents for a gruelling 10 to 12 hours per day and 6 days per week work. Labor was regarded as mere economic commodity that can easily be disposed of. Robert A. Cooke, an HSPA official admitted that "there is little difference between the importation of jute bags from India and laborers" (Nieva 25). But despite such oppressive conditions, many Filipinos responded to the call to work in the sugar plantation fields, and for some, this means leaving behind their wives and children.⁷ By 1925, Filipino laborers had comprised 50% of the plantation labor. In

restored the duty on foreign sugar, the possibility of another bill like McKinley Tariff would wreck the Hawaiian sugar industry. Annexation seemed the best course for Hawaii" See Alcantara, *Filipinos in Hawaii, The First 75 years, 1906-1981*. Filipino Migration to Hawaii: A Commemoration Book by Hawaii-Filipino Specialty Publication, Honolulu:1981,27.

³ During the formative years of the plantation industry from 1850 to 1880, the Chinese were the largest ethnic group in the plantations. But with the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, this restricted the immigration of Chinese to Hawaii and to the Mainland US. The Bureau of Immigration, which took care of the importation of labor before it was replaced by Hawaii Sugar Plantation Association (HSPA), turned to Japan as replacement of the Chinese.

⁴ Japanese labor started coming in 1885. During such time, other nationalities, like Korea, Portugal, Puerto Rico were also brought in. But with the increasing expansion of the sugar market and the falling out of the Japanese labor from their White plantation owners, articulated in the Gentleman's Agreement, which cut off Japanese labor supply, such agreement compelled the Big Five White plantation owners (C. Brewer and Co. founded in 1626, Theo H. Davies & Co., 1845, AmFac Inc., 1849, Castle & Cooke Inc., 1851, Alexander and Baldwin, Inc.,1895) to look for labor elsewhere. See (Porteus and Babcock 58; San Buenaventura 75; Sharma 581)

⁵ The planters' fears were magnified when the Japanese children had outnumbered the whites in public schools in 1905. See Alcantara, p. 27.

⁶ The planters brought in the Native Hawaiians as strike breakers but the planters found them intractable and they asked for wages that were twice as high than their Japanese predecessors. "Accustomed to a relatively independent lifestyle, many Hawaiians - numbering in the tens of thousands, without land, and therefore forced to sell their labor- were unable to adapt to the hard work required by the planters. Despite contracts with the planters, many Hawaiians often ran away from the plantations. The labor situation was unstable for the planters, and they were forced to look elsewhere for the large army of labor they needed" See "Great Expectations: The Plantation System in Hawaii," *Out of this Struggle: The Filipinos in Hawaii*. Ed. Luis V. Teodoro, p 8.

⁷ It must be noted that the abnormal sex ratio of 1 is to 20 between men and women has had devastating consequences on the Filipino male labor⁷ in Hawaii, especially in the growth of a traditional family structure.

the subsequent years, the Filipino contingent surpassed the Japanese labor, who, once consisted the largest labor group.⁸ The first venture to Hawaii in 1906 which yielded a few recruits at first, paved the way to four waves of Filipino migration to Hawaii. From 1906 - 1919, there were approximately 24, 400 men, 3000 of which were women (Nieva 25). By mid 1930's, there were roughly 54,600 Filipinos in Hawaii (Cariaga 1; San Juan 447). Nearly 21,000 out of 21, 500 arrivals in 1927 and 1928 came under voluntary arrangements. In other words, their arrival in Hawaii was no longer under the auspices of HSPA. By 1945, there was an estimate of 129,000 Filipino arrivals in Hawaii (Teodoro12).

The unjust labor practices were pervasive and not just directed at Filipino plantation workers. It was a well placed work system that involved all labor ethnicities. An overriding principle in Hawaii's sugar industry was “ethnic diversification of labor (Takaki 34). The importation of different nationalities as labor was crucial. In a memorandum sent by Theo Davis and Company (one of the Big Five plantation owners) to a plantation manager, it stipulated that there should be a “judicious mix of nationalities to modify the effect of strike” (36). The US Labor force has been “formed and replenished by an unusually driven mix of racial and ethnic groups” (Asher and Stephenson 4). Thus, the racialization of labor was tactically and strategically deployed to avert unionizing efforts by different ethnicities.

The plantation laborers, regardless of ethnicity were constantly clamoring for better work and living conditions, especially an increase in wages from 70 cents per day to \$ 2 per day. But such clamors remained unheeded by the planters. The sporadic strikes were easily quelled by threats of work eviction, detention, and deportation. The sugar plantation system was a fiefdom deploying ideological and repressive strategies of control. For instance, “the divide and rule policy of the planters was augmented by a system of residential segregation of ethnic groups, racial stratification, and differential pay and occupations for ethnic groups.⁹ The Filipinos were invariably the lowest on the scale in these last two categories- the last hired and the first fired” (Sharma 582). The absence of a labor union that would represent the workers was one critical reason for the failure of the laborers' attempt at waging a sustained strikes. Most importantly, labor ethnicities remained divided, weakening in turn, of individual ethnic demands which, if they had banded as one coalition of ethnicities could have allowed some relenting on the part of management's hard stance.

The planters' discriminatory practices, divide and rule policies, and other tactics especially directed to Filipino labor drove the latter to wage strikes. Such organizing was under the leadership of their co-Filipino plantation laborers, a few names were Pablo Manlapit, Cecilio Basa, and Epifanio Taok. They risked life, work, and threat of deportation (which eventually was the fate of Pablo Manlapit and many others). The big strikes in 1920 and in 1924, the latter of which resulted in the death of 16 people from both camps and considered as the most violent in the history of Hawaii's labor movement, brought some concession to the demands of the Filipinos and other racial groups in the form of extensive improvement of their living conditions. By early 1944, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) started to organize the plantation laborers managing to involve all nationalities and ethnicities. In 1946, 28, 000 sugar workers went on a coordinated walk out of the Island's different plantations. On the eve of the planned strike, HSPA brought in 6, 000 Filipino new arrivals from the Philippines. The plan was to use them as scabs or strikebreakers, especially exploiting the just-concluded Japanese occupation of the Philippines to spark sentiments of anger and hatred against the former who were at the forefront of the strike. The Filipinos, however, refused to serve as scabs against other ethnic groups, siding instead, with the cause of the plantation laborers. ILWU's tremendous success saw the improvement in plantation wages and the living condition of all labor ethnicities. It was a powerful union that saw to the social, economic, and political interests of the different ethnicities. Narrow regionalism was discouraged. Among the activities of ILWU was sending progressive leaders, among them the Filipinos, to attend some fora in San Francisco labor school “to learn not only basic trade union organizing skills but to understand the workings of the political and economic system” (Alegado 31).

Decline of Militant Organizing and its impact on the Filipino-Hawaiian Community

Activism and militant organizing of labor was no stranger to the Filipino plantation laborers. Plantation life was relentlessly oppressive, needing intermittent dialogues from the forces involved but peaceful negotiations with the plantation owners were futile. They were forced to wage strikes and do walk outs, paralysing for months the sugar industry. Though these sporadic strikes were exclusive to the interests of individual ethnicity, they yielded some form of results after some time. The Filipino plantation laborers never stopped until they got some concessions from the dominant plantation owners. One notes however, that the history and predisposition for militant organizing by the Filipino plantation labor were diminished by important historical events. One historical moment that had a tremendous impact on the American way of life was the era of McCarthy Red scare in the 1950's. This was a very powerful moment of American history that employed intimidation, threats of getting fired, deportation, and detention of people and entities who spoke against the dominant order. Against the backdrop of the cold war between the US

⁸ Up until 1908, Japanese immigration was put to a stop as a result of the Gentlemen's Agreement between Japan and the United States but close to 180 thousand Japanese, the largest group of foreign workers, had then been brought to Hawaii.” See Teodoro, 8.

⁹ The stratification of labor market was further reinforced and verified by the segregation of housing camps. The housing segregation and arrangement by ethnicity by private company was duly rendered official by Hawaii government which assisted in creating and maintaining ethnically homogeneous camps, fostering an environment of suspicion, unassimilableness (Labrador 35).

and the Soviet Union, Joe McCarthy's government "declared war on all political progressives - from liberals to communists" (Alegado 32). As a result, "hundreds of individuals and organizations that held progressive political ideas and philosophies were publicly persecuted, denied their democratic rights and brought to 'kangaroo court trials'" (32). The ILWU, a big and influential union of all workers which was able to bargain for substantive concessions for the laboring class in Hawaii and in the Mainland US, particularly in California, more or less changing the makeup of the sugar industry, was not spared from the "anticommunist hysteria" (32). The Mc Carthyists deployed a brilliant rhetoric of "anticommunism" that goaded the purging of radicalism. The progressive leaders were rounded up and put on "trial." Simon Bagasol, an active Filipino ILWU organizer was brought to "trial" for allegedly breaking immigration policies, thus, was deported back to the Philippines. In the interview with Carl Damaso, another ILWU officer, he said that Bagasol's only crime was being an immigrant who "spoke out against injustice and holding political views unpopular with the McCarthyists" (32).

Though the post World War II, particularly the 50's was marked by economic growth and a growing materialism, the cold war between the US and the Soviet Union was appropriated to purge extremism. Anti-communism was a prevailing sentiment then, and un-American tendencies were deemed suspicious. In Hawaii, some people and entities that were on the side of HSPA and the government exhorted the Filipino community to cooperate. For instance, Filipino newspapers such as *Wagayway* (Philippine Commonwealth Outlook), *The Filipino Outlook*, and *Philippine Press of Hilo* had a crucial role in influencing Filipino discipline and relationship with the White plantation owners. Their editorial policies would contain such injunctions: "give gratitude to plantation managers for their generous perquisites, remain docile and loyal to the plantations and do not leave them in search of better positions or federal jobs in Honolulu, resist engaging in labor strikes or altercation, understand the system of plantation passes..." (Sharma 603). The 50's on to the later years gave birth to political conservatism, conformity, and compliance.

Impact on Filipino Community

The anticommunist hysteria had a great impact on the Filipino community in Hawaii. Many of the leaders of ILWU and its members pulled away from active involvement in the labor union and community affairs. From the late 1950's to 1970's, the leadership of the community fell into the hands of people who held more politically conservative right wing views. As a consequence, the Filipino community in Hawaii turned to social, cultural, and internal affairs, such as organizing balls, fiestas, and beauty pageants. Carl Damaso explains that the focus on internal and parochial affairs of the community moved the Filipino community away from the more important, broader political issues that confronted the mainstream Hawaii society. While the Filipino community, particularly the Ilocano-immigrant community in Hawaii comprised a huge immigrant population as compared to other Asian ethnicities, their withdrawal from broader political issues marginalized them and took them away from the playing field. Thus, "not taking the public stance on critical issues facing the people of Hawaii, [thereby] deprived Filipino Americans of a much needed "voice" in the State's political battlefields" (Alegado 33).

Moreover, after World War II, a large number of Filipino immigrants in Hawaii felt that going home to the Philippines, where a bleak future awaited them¹⁰ was not a good idea. The new goal for the large majority of Filipino immigrants was to settle in Hawaii and to make it their new home, and thus, by implication, had to work for their assimilation into American life and culture, specifically, in Hawaii. In other words, the Filipino immigrants cannot afford to be uncooperative if they were to be awarded the greencard and the American citizenship. In Hawaii, "aloha spirit"¹¹ had to be imbibed.

Since the Filipino labor were the last ethnic group that got hired by HSPA, their social and economic mobility, in turn, was rather slow, as compared to Japan, for example, who by such time, had jobs outside the plantations and had already businesses in place. The preference for unmarried men as labor had also tremendously affected the economic growth of the Filipinos.¹² Moreover and crucially, a large number of Filipino illiteracy had handicapped them, as well, limiting them to find jobs in the service sector. With the decline of the sugar industry and the rise of tourism industry, there was a scramble to find jobs in the urban area. But the jobs that were available to them were still within the blue collar type (busboys, cleaners, janitors, chambermaids, gardeners, etc.) servicing the tourism industry. This kind of service sector job is Hawaii's "new plantation" which were peopled by the Filipino-Hawaiian immigrants.

The representation of the "sakada" or the plantation laborer in selected GUMIL Hawaii short fiction

The historical beginnings of Filipinos as plantation laborers in Hawaii that occupied the lowest rank in the occupation ladder is inescapable. This "sakada" or plantation laborer is an inescapable diacritical mark in the positioning of the identity of the Filipino-Hawaiian immigrant. Today, compared to other Asian ethnicities in Hawaii, the Filipino ethnic group is the least upwardly mobile. Moreover, such colonial and

¹⁰ The Philippines was occupied by the Japanese forces and was hugely devastated by the war.

¹¹ The aloha spirit is not only a greeting of hello and good-bye, it also means wishing harmony and camaraderie to the next person.

¹² For the plantation owners, the "cost of living for a family on plantation wages made normal family life almost prohibitive ... and plantation managers frowned at having to provide special housing, schooling, and medical aid to non productive dependents" (Alcantara 31).

neocolonial history and Filipino plantation labor history contaminate the social status and the identity and representation of recent Filipino immigrants in Hawaii making the project of upward mobility more fraught with difficulty. Since the aspiration is to make it in Hawaii and in the US, the prevailing stance was conformity and political conservatism. Such turn of events, I would say, has a bearing on Ilocano-Hawaiian writing which is necessarily marked by reactive, at times strategic positionality and representation.

In the reterritorialization project through narratives of “home” in GUMIL Hawaii writings, the inescapable diasporic realities are often judiciously represented, such that they are coached in a language, discourse, and significations that would not compromise the relationship between the Ilocano-Hawaiian writer vis- a-vis Hawaii and broader US society. For instance, narratives that echo plantation history would focus on the old plantation laborer or the “sakada” who is past his prime, a figure that has long retired. But the stories are taken out of the plantation context. Here, the old sakada is often portrayed as having the opportunity to marry only at a retirement age¹³ usually to a young Ilocano bride. The girl-brides are often forced by their elders to enter into marriage of convenience, alleviating the poverty of the family. Since the marriage arrangement is borne out of security on the part of the girl, and companionship on the part of the old sakada worker- balikbayan, the marriages would often fail. The sakada is often shown alone and deserted by the young wife.

Such is one topic GUMIL Hawaii writing is fascinated in. Some titles that tackle the subject on the lonely life of the old plantation laborer are the following: “**Uncle Angelo’s Return to Hawaii**” by Carlo Laforga, “**The Story of the Patani Plant, Water, and a Gentle Wind**” by Artemio Ignacio, “**When the Body Ages**” by Mario Abalos and “**Old Man Saulo, His Hut and the Vessel of Rain**” by Amado Yoro).¹⁴ The old plantation laborer is exemplified as tired, impotent, an exploitable figure, and living off his pension, a shell of a man left - a great contrast to the once robust, strapping, full of grit, but embattled plantation worker. But while the grand narrative dramatizes the virtues (hard work and sacrifice) of the old sakada, a figure worthy only of our respect and precisely the very reason for Hawaii’s transformation into a bustling, fully industrialized metropolis, all rebuke and castigation are directed to the girl-wives for their callousness, insensitivity, and mercenary ways and intentions. In the stories, the readers’ sympathies are often directed towards the sakada. But what is forgotten and taken out of the equation is the root cause of the old sakada’s, often miserable, current life, which can be traced to a plantation policy during the era of plantation industry of hiring only unmarried men. For the plantation owners, bringing in of families to Hawaii- considered nonproductive, entailed more responsibilities and would have weighed tremendous expenses on the part of the plantation owners. This plantation policy of hiring only single men has had great implications and far reaching consequences on the plantation laborers who have remained single for the great part of their life and prime. Having been denied the experience of a “normal” romance and a family life, which most people go through at some point in their life, this, emotional fulfillment necessary for one’s psychological and social well-being was not quite attained. Such recruitment policy had not only yielded a large number of unmarried Filipino laborers, this had slowed down the economic mobility and social stability of the single plantation worker, and more broadly, the Filipino community in Hawaii, which the presence of a wife and family could have allowed. A large number of plantation workers have remained unmarried for most part of their lives, for some, until retirement or even past it. When the new 1965 US Immigration Law or Family Reunification Act was passed, allowing the Filipino citizens to send for their relatives (some they have not seen for a long time) to America, this historical juncture had allowed the sakada to finally think of marriage and actually going for it . However, this new stage in their lives has come in rather late in their life, causing various problems. The failed relationships between the old plantation laborer and his wife, as portrayed in some GUMIL Hawaii stories veer the readers away from understanding the real culprit and laying the blame instead, on the girls. In the end, the stories’ aspiration comes only as far as the portrayal of the plantation laborers as figures resonant of the bygone plantation era, survivors of the rigor, harshness, and exacting and oppressive plantation life, and for that only deserving of our high accord and singular respect for them.

GUMIL Hawaii writing has never overtly portrayed plantation life and experience, especially on the travails of Filipino plantation laborers. The closest it has come to has the markings of a “fantasy” story in the remoteness of the setting and the subject. For example, in the story “**Father Vidal Ciriaco and the World of the Lepers**” (Mario Abalos), the setting is in Makarere, a leper colony, physically remote and detached from civilization. Father Vidal, the protagonist, seen dealing with the youth, is accused of fomenting insurrection against the government. As a result, he gets detained for a year. After his release, he asks to be assigned at Makarere Colony where he can do missionary work.

The protagonist, an activist Filipino priest can be read as a quintessential image of the subversion of a US- constructed Filipino representation and trope- docile and unlettered. Even at the onset, the character of Father Vidal upsets the usual stereotypes of Filipinos as compliant, docile, submissive, unintelligent, unassimilable, etc., instead, what we have is an intelligent, critical, and fearless man. Set in an unlivable, god-forsaken place, different ethnic groups and nationalities afflicted with leprosy are thrown away and forgotten in Makarere Colony. The victims are outcasts of the society. In the story, Father Vidal is thrown into the midst of the rejects of the society, who are not only afflicted with impending destruction and death but suffer from moral blight. In this multi-ethnic colony, Father Vidal is rejected by the leper-

¹³ The plantation laborers had a chance to find brides back home with the passing of 1965 US Immigration Law, allowing them to return home to the Philippines, some of whom were only able to return home after years of work in Hawaii.

¹⁴ These are award -winning short fiction writing and are taken from the anthologies of Bin-I (1984) and Dawa (1989).

residents. His presence is seen as unnecessary and absurd. But the priest does not give up until he is able to earn their trust and friendship. In working with the denizens of Makarere, he is aware of his limitations and thus, he realizes that the goal of transformation cannot be done by him alone. He writes to the local government for help in the improvement of the despicable living conditions in Makarere. His writings would fall on deaf ears but he does not give up. Father Vidal is the voice of the outcast of Makarere. Eventually, through bold and charismatic leadership, he is able to transform the place into one that is livable and habitable; its maintenance demands navigating with diverse nationalities, ethnicities, and entities. He is also able to get some substantive help from the government.

In the story, the setting and the character are changed but essentially, it is a story that resonates of the lives of the plantation laborers during Hawaii's plantation era. Father Vidal is created as a figure, a Filipino who unifies different ethnicities. He replicates the traits of a plantation labor leader- audacious, committed, and never held down by hindrances and differences. Like the labor plantation leaders who continually appealed to the planters to look into their plight, the priest repeatedly brings to the attention of the authorities the depraved condition of the lepers. Fr Vidal's and the plantation labor leaders' persistence eventually earns them the attention of the government and the plantation owners, respectively. Vidal is the labor plantation leader.

The plantations in Hawaii are composed of different labor ethnicities, who at first, worked towards their own interests. The practice of segregated housing, salary and work differentials, pitting one ethnicity over the other, such as using a group as strikebreakers are several ways of preventing collusion among different ethnicities and warding off the possibility of strikes. The labor leader speaks, represents, and bargains with HSPA and the management. In a similar way, Father Vidal replicates the activities of the plantation labor leader. He writes to the government to ask help in the improvement of the lives of the forgotten lepers. Through his vision and charismatic leadership, he unites the different ethnicities to work for the tremendous improvement not only of the place but of the lepers themselves. Makarere was initially uninhabitable but was transformed into a livable place through the persuasive character of Father Vidal. He was able to unite the different ethnicities through bayanihan, a Filipino practice of showing cooperation. Similarly, the labor plantation leader manages to organize and unite different interests, different nationalities and ethnicities to fight for a common cause and vision- that is the improvement of lives. One concerted and militant voice finally yields results for both Vidal and the Plantation labor leader. While Father Vidal invokes bayanihan, a Filipino way of showing cooperation, this bayanihan concept is recuperated to engender cooperation amongst the different ethnicities. He understands that exclusivity has no room in that place. He puts together the energies and resources of these diverse ethnicities and nationalities in the improvement of Makarere. In the synergy of these different cultures, Father Vidal reconstructs not only the place and the denizens but he recreates himself as well, in the process. He belongs nowhere and everywhere. Likewise, in order to get the plantation owners to listen to the laborers' plight, the transcendence of differences and ethnicities is necessary. Racial differences of which were ideologically deployed by the white plantation owners are shattered by the plantation leaders.

In this story, without appearing to be overtly transgressing the dominant order's representation of the Filipino immigrants, the character of Father Vidal is recuperated to dismantle the unflattering essentialist stereotypes of them. His creative transformation of the place and his own transformation, where he invokes some aspects of the culture back home, recuperating them according to the needs of the moment, illustrates the fluidity of identity, and is contingent on the specificities of location, the pressures of the moment, and the survival strategies that need to be employed, and thus, contrary to America's representation of Filipino -Hawaiian immigrants as unassimilable, are actually capable of heterogeneity. Thus, given the vagaries and homogenizing tendencies of US as an empire of capital, the Filipino, in this case, the Ilocano- Hawaiian immigrant writes of a diasporic identity that is contingent, heterogeneous, and capable of continually being repositioned, as is their writings.

The predisposition of GUMIL Hawaii literature celebrating narratives of home and the pain of nostalgia not just an empty sentiment. It is a survival strategy, a coping mechanism against the diasporic condition and the hostility of US as a hegemonic culture. Moreover, the nostalgia that underpins Ilocano-Hawaiian diasporic writing in which the Ilokandia Motherland is enshrined at the center, renders the schizoid subject- in this case, the Ilocano protagonist, a symbolic and imaginary coherence. Thus, in some way, the immigrant exile is able to counter hostile regulatory norms. The sense of nostalgia which is an access to one's home, to one's family, and to love ones is a mechanism that goads the immigrant to do well. The commitment to one's responsibility and family, and the hope of a return (given the impossibility of one's return) or a reunion to one's country, or in the host country, is kept burning by the sense of nostalgia. Finally, Ilocano-Hawaiian diaspora recuperates/refunctions nostalgia to forge a community. The strength of the Ilocano-Hawaiian community comes from this camaraderie that is sutured by a common memory. The act of looking back to one's Ilokandia Motherland is a recognition of where they all began, in turn, inspiring them to forge dreams and hopes in Hawaii, which GUMIL Hawaii/ Ilocano-Hawaiian writing makes possible.

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Marx and Magic: The Appropriation of Millenarianism Through Magical Realism in Jose Rey Munsayac's *Duguang Kamay sa Nilulumot na Pader*

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Abstract

This paper looks into the assertion of unity and solidarity between millenarian movements and revolutionary Marxism in the Philippines as seen in Jose Rey Munsayac's *Duguang Kamay sa Nilulumot na Pader*. To do so, it proposes an understanding of magical realism as a metonymic gap, where resistance to meaning can open up space for non-hegemonic discourse, but can also lead to the appropriation of “magical” images via the accumulation of contextual meanings. By contrasting historical and anthropological studies of Tagalog millenarianism with a close-reading of Munsayac's novel, this paper argues that the novel creates a neater narrative of unity between millenarians and more secular movements of the Philippine Left by using magical realism to simultaneously foreground transformative collective action whilst removing the deeper spiritual-material worldview of the millenarians. This paper also argues, however, that this act of appropriation should not be immediately and uncritically condemned, but should instead be seen in light of the necessary conditions and contradictions of any attempt to establish historicity and push for collective action.

Keywords: *millenarianism, messianism, magical realism, Marxism, Tagalog literature*

Introduction

According to Norman Cohn, millenarian movements are “any movement inspired by a particular type of salvationism... [involving] a vision of an imminent future which millenarians can prepare for and even help bring about collectively. With divine help they expect to attain salvation on earth through a cataclysmic process” (quoted in Iletto, “Millenarian Dreams and Movements” 278). Over the centuries, millenarian movements in Southeast Asia have played a major role in both small and large scale revolts against local and colonial powers (Iletto, “Religion and Anti-colonial Movements”). While varying according to geography and culture, these movements generally spring from a syncretization of current dominant religious traditions (esp. “organized religions” such as Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity), and popular cultures that are themselves rooted in both these aforementioned traditions as well as local, often “precolonial”, conceptions of materiality and spirit. This is often accompanied by the presence of a messiah-figure, which spring from local conceptions of great or holy men, such as the Thai phumibun, the Vietnamese nak sel, and the Burmese setkya-min. In Java, many religious-political leaders were identified with the mythic figure of the ratu adil or the just king, such as Sadrach and Surontiko Samin, leaders of subversive movements in the second half of the 19th century (Iletto, “Religion and Anti-colonial Movements”, 195-221). Meanwhile, in the Philippines, messianic figures were usually a syncretization between the precolonial babaylan (priestess) and the Christ-figure, as exemplified in the late 19th century with the rebellions of Dios Buhawi and Papa Isio, the latter of whom declared himself the Pope of Negros and was identified by the people as a dalagangan (a spiritually powerful man who could control the elements) (McCoy 167-172).

Due to this long history of rebellions, recent scholarship on Southeast Asia has constructed millenarian movements as precursors to more “modern” revolutionary organizations, as well as early nationalist struggles against colonialism (Iletto, “Religion and Anti-colonial Movements”, 193). In the Philippines especially, these movements are discussed not only in terms of anti-colonial struggle, but also primarily in terms of class conflict. Writers like Renato Constantino (*The Past Revisited*), Alfred McCoy (“Baylan”), Evelyn Tan-Cullamar (*Babaylanism in Negros*) and Reynaldo Iletto (*Pasyon and Revolution*) have emphasized millenarianism in the Philippines not only as a populist phenomenon in contrast to foreign elite, but as a proto-socialist one seeking true egalitarianism. In doing so, they thus conflict with all the powers that be, foreign or otherwise: the government, the landowners, the bourgeoisie, and the Catholic Church.

In many circles, this has become the standard framework for viewing such movements. On the other hand, these positions have been rightly praised for eschewing the older and more typical condemnations of “fanaticism” and “superstition”, condemnations that circulate to this day. An ability to see beyond these labels is necessary, especially since religious and millenarian revolt has not only been prevalent throughout Philippine history, but have also been claimed to be integral to the development of the nation (see Iletto's *Pasyon and Revolution* as a prime example, with its influential though controversial claim is that the Tagalog masses understood the Philippine revolution within the framework of the *Pasyon* of Jesus Christ). On the other hand, however meritorious these developments have been, these positions have

also been criticized for oversimplifying the relationship between millenarians in the Philippines and other forces in society. In the case of aforementioned Papa Isio --who led a long war against both Spain and America before, during, and after the Philippine Revolution-- Filomeno Aguilar criticizes previous historical works that have attempted to box-in both Papa Isio specifically into labels of “anti-foreign, anti-elite”, and “socialistic”. He points to Papa Isio’s theocratic tendencies, “his remarkable respect for property [rights]” (*Clash of Spirits* 182), and his belief that he was the rightful successor of Spain and the defender of the Catholic faith (183), to show how neat narratives/categories of class warfare and anti-colonialism cannot be carelessly used with the babaylanes. It is a stark reminder of how flexible and versatile these belief systems can be, and of how necessary it is to eschew simple categorization when writers and historians attempt to assimilate these different groups and belief systems into their historical narratives.

Millennial Visions

This paper will look into one such attempt by the Tagalog novelist Jose Rey Munsayac. In *Duguang Kamay sa Nilulumot na Pader* (hereon: *Duguang Kamay*), Munsayac follows the interpretation of millenarian revolt as a class war in his attempt to establish a continuity between Tagalog millenarian movements and the revolutionary Marxism of the Philippine Left. *Duguang Kamay* rejects the incompatibility of the revolution and this so-called “superstition,” constructing a history of the Philippines and the revolutionary left wherein his version of millenarian discourse --the concept of salvation as freedom from greed and materialism vis-à-vis the Komunidad ng Liwanag-- functions as the underlying indigenous philosophy for the overall Philippine struggle. Against the backdrop of the historical events such as 1896 Revolution, the Marcos Dictatorship, and the EDSA Revolution, *Duguang Kamay* weaves in millenarian symbols together with Marxist class analysis to take a stand *against* the evolutionary theory that posits religious revolt as a precursor to more modern (in this case, Marxist) revolutions, arguing instead that both forms of struggle are inseparable from one another and that they are rooted in the same attempt to discover an underlying truth that can then lead to a positive transformation of the world.

This paper argues, however, that to do this the novel eschews the concept of spiritual power at the heart of millenarian discourse. In doing so, the transformative elements of Tagalog millenarianism appear more compatible with the national, scientific, mass based culture propounded by the national democratic revolution of the Philippine Left. As a necessary condition of its project, the novel must work with the double-bind between 1) the fact that the assertion of genuine “unity” necessitates giving due regard to the beliefs of the Other (itself dependent on the “Self” in question), and 2) the difficulty of fitting in spiritual aspects of millenarian discourse with the Marxist concept of revolutionary struggle. To understand how the novel attempts to “solve” this double-bind, this paper proposes an understanding of magical realism as a metonymic gap, or a resistance to translation and meaning. In being thus, magical realism contains the paradoxical double movement of, on the one hand, using irreducibly magical images to create semantic space for the acceptance of multiple non-dominant discourses, while on the other hand, allowing these same images to accumulate *contextual* meanings that then subsume the images into the overarching the narrative logic of the text. In other words, in the case of Munsayac’s work, the use of magical realism allows the novel to turn the miraculous aspects of millenarian discourse into irreducible elements of magic; thus, on the one hand, giving the novel the discursive rhetoric of having been inclusive enough to let these “miraculous” elements of millenarianism be “real” in the text, while at the same time, allowing these unexplained images of the millenarians to be incorporated into an overarching historical narrative (of class struggle) that is not their own.

We must add, however, a long and crucial caveat. This is, after all, far from the first time that connections have been made between revolutionary Marxism and either religion or millenarianism. In spite of Marx’s proclamation that religion is the opium of the masses, the rise of Liberation Theology in the 1970s has made it clear that the interests of religion, spirituality, and Marxism need not *necessarily* contradict -- that they can in fact have a mutually beneficial (if often still quite tense) relationship with one another. Millenarianism, however, goes beyond the general category of religion, being in itself a particular form of social practice in much the same way that revolutionary Marxism is not merely “class warfare” but is a very particular (which is not to say invariant) form of revolutionary praxis.

Taking the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) as an example, its ideological underpinnings initially put it at odds with the millenarian movements of Philippine history. The CPP has always distinguished itself by emphasizing Marxist-Leninist-Maoist thought and the goal of creating a “national, scientific, and mass” culture. This is how it distinguishes itself from not only the ruling classes of contemporary Philippine society, but also from previous organizations and revolutions in Philippine history. In *Philippine Society and Revolution*, Amado Guerrero/Jose Maria Sison makes a distinction between the *old* national democratic revolution, as seen in the Revolution of 1896, and the *new* national-democratic revolutions, led originally by the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP), and eventually by the re-established Communist Party of the Philippines in 1969. According to Sison, the difference between the older and newer nat-dem revolutions (i.e., between the Katipunan and the CPP) is that the former was led by the bourgeoisie/ilustrado and guided by liberal-bourgeoisie ideology (as inspired by the French Revolution), while the latter (in a world succeeding the October Revolution) is led by the proletariat (Ibid. 231). The major difference between the PKP and the CPP, on the other hand is that the PKP was “afflicted by bourgeois subjectivism in ideology, opportunism in politics and violations of democratic centralism in

organizational life... mainly because the counter-revolutionary line of the Lava's and the Taruc's prevailed within the party" (Ibid. 232), while the CPP upholds "the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and the leadership of the Filipino proletariat in the Philippine revolution" (Ibid. 112).

Writing in the late 1960s, Sison thus agrees with the oft-accepted characterization of the revolution and the Katipunan as primarily ilustrado-inspired in terms of its worldview --the characterization that Iletto goes on to critique in *Pasyon and Revolution*. Sison also makes no mention of messianic movements in his book, although he does write, vis-à-vis the project of a national, scientific, mass culture, that the revolution seeks to create "a scientific culture... to oppose the reactionary idealism dished out by imperialism and feudalism and also the superstitions that still persist" (Ibid. 292). Alice Guillermo says much of the same in "Mao Zedong's Revolutionary Aesthetics", where she writes, "The scientific character of the new culture rejects the metaphysical and idealist world view with its mystifications regarding human nature, the economic and political structures, and the historical process that perpetuate exploitative relations. It opposes superstition which makes man live uncritically within a closed mold of unfounded beliefs, values, practices, and prejudices rendering them resistant to change."

Nevertheless, it is hard to deny that there is something vaguely millenarian in revolutionary Marxism as a whole, especially in the sense of a collective struggle towards what is not only a better but also an inevitable and *imminent* future. This is no small part due to the teleological system inherited/reversed from Hegel. In fact, even if many Marxists no longer see a communist "End of History" as *inevitable* (for capitalism, unfortunately, has shown a remarkable and disturbing capacity to evolve), the vision and promise of a classless, egalitarian end to history remains a key feature in revolutionary rhetoric. Within this line of thought, the Marxist-Leninist (and subsequently Maoist) concept of the vanguard party can be seen as analogous in role to the messianic leader, who enlightens the people and prepares them for salvation. Guy Debord makes the same connection in *Society of the Spectacle*:

...millenarianism, the expression of a revolutionary class struggle speaking the language of religion for the last time, was already a modern revolutionary tendency, lacking only the consciousness of being historical and nothing more. The millenarians were doomed to defeat because they could not recognize revolution as their own handiwork. The fact that they made their action conditional upon an external sign of God's will was a translation onto the level of thought of the tendency of insurgent peasants to follow outside leaders. The peasant class could achieve a clear consciousness neither of the workings of society nor of the way to conduct its own struggle, and it was because it lacked these prerequisites of unity in its action and consciousness that the peasantry formulated its project and waged its wars according to the imagery of an earthly paradise. (102-103)

Of course, it pays to remember that Debord was highly critical of both Leninism and Maoism, and that he described Lenin's party as 'a disciplined clandestine party under the control of intellectuals who had become "professional revolutionaries" [Ibid. 68], and whose victory in Russia let it spread "its hierarchical and ideological model to the proletariat of all countries" [Ibid.]. To Debord, then, the authoritarian nature of the vanguard party sets it apart from the people whom it claims to be a part of, making the connection between the vanguard [at least as it appeared in Russia and China] and the "outside leaders" of the millenarians both stronger and more disheartening.¹

On the other hand, what is perhaps a more positive approach at identification can be gleaned from the perspective of Utopia. In *Archaeologies of the Future*, Fredric Jameson proposes a reversal of the typical denigration of Utopian thinking that took hold in the West in the late 20th century, which has seen it as either as empty-wishful thinking, rejection of human fallibility (accd. the Right), and more and more often, a disavowal of irreducible Difference (accd. to the Left) (xi-xii). But Jameson notes Utopian projects are always grounded as critical responses to the current sociopolitical situation in which the Utopia was invented (xiii), and that to imagine Utopia is to imagine the future as essentially different from the present. This makes Utopian thinking an activity that is especially significant today, in a "triumphant" era after the fall of the USSR, when global capitalism has declared itself the End of History and so when people are not longer able to imagine a culture outside of the present (227-232). Among the various threads then that tie Marxist and millenarian revolutionaries together, there is also this: a dedication to Utopian thinking, to imagining a future radically different from the present.²

Thus, a caveat to this paper's project is in order: it must be in light of *both* these considerations -- the continued necessity of imagining the future (and so the potential activities of the present) on the one hand, and the historiographical appropriation of millenarianism on the other-- that we understand

¹ I owe this observation to the article "Norman Cohn's *The Pursuit of the Millennium*" published in the website of *NOT BORED!* (www.notbored.org) "an autonomous, situationist-inspired, low-budget, irregularly published, photocopied journal", edited by Bill Brown. As the article notes: 'Debord insists that modern millenarians will lose if they allow a "socialist" political party to conduct the revolution for them or on their behalf. Leaders must never be drawn from outside the ranks of the insurgents, and moments for insurrection must never be chosen on the basis of external signs or concerns. The revolution must be recognized and conducted as the operation of the millenarians themselves if it is to be successful'

² This is not in itself already some sort of victory: the imagining of these futures (and the specific futures that may be imagined) may or may not achieve its goals. But the ability to imagine the future itself must not be allowed to vanish,

Munsayac's attempt to forge a link between millenarianism and revolutionary Marxism. All thrusts for collective action necessitate the assertion of some form of unity, which thus immediately generates the double-bind between creating a narrative of common ground whilst recognizing inevitable, irreducible difference. To either naively celebrate or rashly condemn such assertions is to forego the possibility of real collective action, which is to say, the very possibility of social endeavors. We must therefore focus on Munsayac's proposed continuity as both a potentially liberative procedure while being *simultaneously* an appropriative and so potentially repressive one, and it is only by seeing these two as necessary functions of one another that we can more fully ascertain the risks and rewards of the choices that need to be made.

Living Faith

Before moving into the novel, it is necessary to look into some general patterns of thought found in millenarian discourse in the Philippines, particularly (because of the novel in question) in the Tagalog regions. However, any discussion of millenarianism would be incomplete without a simultaneous discussion of animism and folk Christianity. That said, it is important to remember that there is no linear progression amongst these three; millenarian discourse is neither the telos of some evolving popular political consciousness, nor is it in any way more "advanced" than folk Christianity or animism. At the same time, despite the heuristic use of these divisions, they are neither individually complete and removed from historical change, nor are they three completely separable systems. Much of the content overlap, appearing together in various formulations, with various degrees of integration.

Animistic Worldview

The most basic and central characteristic of animism in the Philippines (and subsequently folk Christian and millenarian discourses) is a conception of the world as suffused with spiritual beings and energy (Aguilar 26-32; Jocano 42-43; McCoy 154-165). These beings include natural/environmental spirits, which are often malevolent and include those often labeled as "lower mythological creatures", as well as the mostly kinder ancestral spirits (Magos 56-60). Success and failure in life is very much tied down to man's relationship with the spirit world, which is facilitated and maintained through the performance of specific rites. Within this worldview, the human being must "follow the precise system of social and linguistic behavior which emphasizes the man-and-spirit cooperative relationship -that is, the observance of moral obligations, respect for elders and superiors, emotional ordering of things: one supernatural and the other human (Jocano 43). Often assisting in this is someone that can mediate with the spirits: the shaman, or catalona, or babaylan. Because of this ability to mediate with spirits, the babaylan plays numerous social roles in animist society: the folk healer, the "priest" (i.e., "[someone] who officiates in rites involving the invoking of supernatural beings" [Magos 3]), and the overall locus and transmitter of folk knowledge, religion, philosophy, science, and culture (Ibid. 3-5; Salazar 6-14).

How this mediation works is an oft-debated topic. One understanding works with the concept of the loob. Loob has various meanings, most of which revolve around forms of interiority. According to Iletto, who defines loob as "inner being", the indigenous concept of power is that of creative, existential energy permeating the world, or what is called bisa (which has connotations, in its various usages, of power, effectivity/effectiveness, and potentiality [Covar 77-78]). Certain locations like the mountaintop or caves are filled with more power (bisa) than others, while certain rites like prayer or the recitation of oraciones draw power to the performer. This power may be absorbed by the individuals with the proper loob, which is how amulets or anting-anting work; when the anting-anting has itself gained power (when it is created via the proper rites which it is *fed* spiritual power), then, if user has a beautifully conditioned and purified loob, he is able to absorb the said power (Iletto, *Pasyon and Revolution* 23-26; Covar 77). Thus, just as powerful anting-anting are said to radiate liwanag, people who can use powerful anting-antings (ergo: absorb their power) are said to radiate liwanag as well (Iletto, *Pasyon and Revolution* 41).

It should be noted, however, that this is far from the only meaning of the word "loob", that in other words it is not always used in conjunction with spiritual power. Ramon Guillermo has criticized Iletto's use of "loob" in *Pasyon and Revolution*, and has argued that it is Iletto's non-translation of loob allows it to "accumulate a kind of enigmatic, mantra-like power" ("Translation as Argument") integral to the argument of *Pasyon and Revolution*. Guillermo argues that, because no word or phrase can ever be taken isolated from its textual context, the loob nevertheless acquires a more or less coherent meaning due to its consistent usage throughout the text. Because of this, a reader with no knowledge of Tagalog (and so no knowledge of the nuances of the word) will have little choice but to accept the singular general impression that the book seems to give with regards to the "loob", viz., that it has "a deeply religious context of usage inseparable from its articulation within the pasyon story and, on a deeper level, invokes mystical notions of power as possessed by certain extraordinary individuals and present in amulets" (Ibid.) Contrary to this impression, Guillermo then goes on to show how the usage of loob in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did in fact have various meanings and interpretations outside the realm of the pasyon and mystical notions of power (Ibid.).

That said, the "loob", removed from the specific context of the *Pasyon* (though not always from bisa; see Alsaybar below), appears often in millenarian studies in the Tagalog regions. A prime example is Robert Love's *The Samahan of Papa God*, an anthropological study of the samahans ("associations"; in this

case, specifically, religious associations) in and around Majayjay, Laguna in the 1970s. While Ileto focuses on the loob's connection to spiritual power and energy, Love discusses its significance to man's relationship with spirit beings. According to Love, it is the condition of one's "kalooban" that determines what effect possessing spirits will have upon the person. Control is a central issue here: shamans and healers -some of whom, at their own will, can summon particular enchanted spirits called *ingkanto de Dios*- are said to have firm and magaling kalooban, which cannot be easily controlled by others. Sickness is understood vis-à-vis the control and the firmness of the kalooban: "Illness is a loss of control over the body and signals a loss of control over the *kalooban* since no one would will one's own illness" (Love 102). The healer, whose kalooban is firm and good, is able to use the power of spirit beings to communicate with those malevolent spirits that cause illnesses, and to gain control of the said spirits to learn what needs to be done to free the sick man/woman. In the same way, despite the emphasis on the healer/shaman's control of his loob and the spirits, it is believed that the ability to perform these feats is not based on the shaman's own power, but rather the *kapangyarihan* (power) of the spirits who assist him, which said power is sourced ultimately from the *kapangyarihan* of God (Ibid. 101-105). A similar finding comes from Zeus Salazar's *Ang Babaylan sa Kasaysayan*, which focuses on the *kaluluwa* (soul) and its separability from the body -e.g., during dreaming- as the primary way of understanding the relationship between the *babaylan* and faith healing. This then posits an unclear connects the concepts of *kaluluwa* and *kalooban* within the same framework of attracting spirits and/or spiritual power. This is particularly interesting because of the fact that those two words and concepts (*kalooban* and *kaluluwa*) are distinct from each other and are not interchangeable.

Syncretism with Christianity

According to F. Landa Jocano, the basic underlying principles behind the belief systems in Philippine folk Christianity remains the indigenous and animistic tradition: "the individual is but a small part of a wider natural-social universe inhabited largely by spirits and saints, and the social prescription for individual human action is felt to come from metaphysical demands" (42). The saints, like environmental spirits, have their own prescribed sets of rites that will allow the human being to gain favor and blessings from said saint/spirit (Ibid. 25). Christian symbols, figures, and paraphernalia thus become a part of the pre-existing animistic tradition: saints become spirits, scapulars become *anting-anting*, Latin phrases become powerful *oraciones* (McCoy 155; Aguilar 37-39); the Sto. Niño is treated almost like a "rain god" (Jocano 26); the Holy Week assumes prominence as a time when spiritual power and energy is at its peak, and it is the appropriate time of the year for the making of *anting-antings* (Ileto 21; Magos 83); the flagellation practices in the *penitencia* are not done to seek repentance, but are seen as ritualistic vows meant as a form of payment to God for spiritual favor, "a recognition of a debt and promised payment (Ibid. 118), or seen as a means of purifying the body and making it more fitting to be a temple for the *anting-anting* (Covar 77-78).

However, according to Ileto, an important introduction from Christianity into this pre-existing worldview was a biblical conception of time. He writes:

A conception of the biblical unfolding of time was also introduced: a notion of the eras (*panahon*) of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the winding down of the latter marked by catastrophic events preceding the apocalypse and the return of Christ the King. Prophets were expected to be able correctly to read the extraordinary events in human time in terms of this over-arching conception of changing eras ("Religion and Anti-Colonial Movements" 208).

Related to this conception of time, the creation myth of *Infinito Dios* (Infinite God) appeared in the Tagalog regions, explaining how the Age of God the Father was an era of unity and *kapangyarihan*, which, in the present era -the Age of the Son- has become disunity and scatteredness and merely *lakas* (strength [of man]). It is possible, however, through sacrifice and hardship and purifying one's loob, to get back to unity and harmony, to Age of God the Holy Spirit (Love 167-169). Although many interpretations of the myth exist (see Covar 71-77; Alaras, *Pamathalaan*, 63-67), whichever one is followed, the myth of *Infinito Dios* retains ideas of a unified past and a divided present, with the implication that the former is better than the latter, and that the former (unity) is something to return to.

Knowledge of this myth lies at the very heart of the beliefs of the healers and the *samahans* studied by Love, who notes that healers considered themselves to be essentially *truth-seekers* ("*mga naghahahanap ng katotohanan*"), i.e., those who have a clearer and more accurate understanding of the history of the world/existence, of the true roots of power and spirits, and of the nature of God (Love 148). This same element of truth-seeking can be seen in Bangele Alsaybar's study on the *Lapiang Malaya*, a group that gained momentary fame in the late 1960s for standing up to President Ferdinand Marcos with *bolos* and *anting-anting*, and who were then massacred as they did so. According to Alsaybar, for the *Lapiang Malaya*, man's primary obligation is to learn about the true nature of God. This can then be done in a step-by-step process whereby the accumulation of knowledge and "power" are directly proportional, culminating in a union with God (Alsaybar 324-325).

This framework of seeking the truth gives greater depth and meaning to the power of the *oraciones* (prayers in a mix of Tagalog, Spanish, Latin, and pseudo-Latin words). Influenced on the one

hand by the Christian description of God as the Word (Covar 71), and on the other hand by an earlier native belief in the magical power of numbers and letters (Alsaybar 324), the orraciones have the potential to affect and alter the world. Among the Lapiang Malaya, this is also rooted in the belief that the Holy Alphabet (banal na abacada) is the basic unit of both human and divine knowledge (Alsaybar 174-176), and so mastery of this alphabet (including the hidden meanings behind every letter) leads to a mastery of mystical power (Ibid., 327).

Millenarian Dreams

There are different ways in which these beliefs have come together to create millenarian ways of thinking (i.e., both conceptualizing an imminent future as well as collectively acting to bring it about).

Ileto argues that the narrative of the pasyon functioned the matrix through which oppressed Tagalog peasants envisioned their goal of inner transformation and their willingness to sacrifice for “not only independence from Spain, but enlightenment, prosperity, and true brotherhood” (Ibid. 254). Although originally meant to draw the peasants closer in allegiance to the parish priest and Church, the pasyon narrative was also interpreted as a call for men and women to separate from their world allegiances to family or government and “to heed the call of a sorcerer, prophet, or rebel and ‘head for the hills,’ to die for this leaders cause and thus to see heaven” (Ileto, “Religion and Anti-Colonial Movements 208). Into their material cum spiritual world-view -along with the new found concept of changing eras and biblical time- these peasants and millenarians appropriated the figure of Christ, i.e., “a man of power (*kapangyarihan*), yet lowly and humble, the leader of a group of ordinary men and women who are infused with a knowledge far superior to that of the learned priests of the establishment” (Ibid.).³ Ideas of liwanag (light, which is connected with bisa/power), damay (compassion or empathy; partaking in another’s sufferings, especially that of Christ himself), and maintaining a controlled loob in spite of suffering, were perceived as the only means by which people can form true unity and attain paradise in the afterlife and on Earth (Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution* 41-49).

As seen above, unity (understood through loob and damay, or potentially also through the myth of Infinito Dios) is a necessary characteristic in the creation of an imminently better world (oftentimes: a New Jerusalem). This is also understood in terms of achieving what once was, i.e., of going back to a period of unity as well as light (liwanag). According to Consolacion Alaras, this going back involves a return to what is “taal” -what is native or indigenous or authentic- which was lost during colonization (Alaras, *Pamathalaan* 15). For some millenarian groups, the kind of unity brought about by this return leads to creation of the Pamathalaan⁴ or “a sacred model government based on ancestral or native moorings destined in our history” (Alaras, “Pamathalaan” 269), which said destiny is that the Philippines will become a light (liwanag) for the world (Alaras, *Pamathalaan* 16).

This emphasis of restoring and/or native culture thus forms another, perhaps larger, strain of millenarian thinking. Just as with Salazar’s emphasis on the babaylan figure, Alsaybar traces the roots of the social and nationalist projects of the Lapiang Malaya to indigenous traditions and ideology. Thus, rather than the pasyon of Christ serving as the primary means of conceptualizing their struggles, Alsaybar points to the need for cultural defense (against intrusions by foreign cultures) as well as older indigenous figures (i.e., the babaylan) that function as messiah-figures to Filipino peasants (331-338).

All together, these concepts indicate one way of understanding the often anti-colonial and anti-elite projects of millenarian discourse. The emphasis on taal, damay, and unity, on returning to a more unified past, and of searching for a truth about God and religion that matches existing beliefs about the spiritual-material make up of the world, all finds themselves in one way or another, at various points in time, contrary to the brutal double-team of colonialism and capitalism, the exploitation of both the land and the people for the benefit of a few elites and foreigners.

It is from these cultural materials that *Duguang Kamay* springs from, and it is these same materials that it attempts to make sense of in light of class and anticolonial struggle. Munsayac’s novel is divided into two parts: the first half corresponding to the Sol family’s fall from grace (from the founding of the Komunidad ng Liwanag to the death of Amang Sol and the abandonment of the Bahay ng Sol); the second half being a brutal, bloody movement between life and death, and resurrection (from settling in Manila and the return of Vizconde de la Riva to Solito Mirasol’s “conversion”). Each of the two parts of the book has a corresponding central motif: light (liwanag) versus darkness (kadiliman) for the first half; and Diyos na Buhay (living god) versus Diyos na Patay (dead god) for the second half. Interspersed in the narrative are details and political commentary on the most significant policies and events in the history of the country, as well as those events most crucial to the development of the Philippine left (e.g., Partido Nacionalista’s supposed bids for independence, the founding of the PKP, the crackdown against the HUK, the squabbles between KM and SDK and others, the founding of the NPA, the People Power, etc.). What ties these all

³ There is no indication as to whether Ileto’s use of *kapangyarihan* matches that which Love finds in the samahans of Laguna in the 1970s.

⁴ “Pamathalaan” was coined by Marius Diaz, a former SVD seminarian. It combines the words pamahalaan, thala (from Bathala), mathal (Arabic for model), taal, and laan (“destined, after Dr. Jose Rizal’s pseudonym “Laong-Laan” or long-destined” [Alaras, “Pamathalaan” 268]) (Ibid.).

together is the family of Sol, whose members participate in every major struggle of the Filipino people, from the very first rebellions at the beginning of Spanish colonial rule, to the continued struggle for a just society in the years after the first People Power.

Light and Life

The image/concept of light is important in both Tagalog millenarianism, where it is associated with knowledge, unity, freedom, and power [of God]. Analyzing a prayer of the Confradia de San Jose, Ileto writes that “the idiom of darkness and light can be used to describe the world as well as the individual self. Liwanag (light) is the horizon of being in terms of which everything can be explained; there is presence or absence, degrees of intensity, purity, permanence and concentration of liwanag” (Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution* 37). The presence of light is intertwined with other important concepts among the millenarians such as unity and the loob. Heaven, because of the perfect unity of its constituents, is a place of pure light, while earth, because of the imperfect unity of man, is a place of imperfect light, and so is in constant threat of darkness. The most powerful anting-anting are said to emanate light, while people who can use these powerful anting-anting, i.e., people whose loobs are worthy enough to use them, are also said to emanate light (Ibid. 37-41). Ultimately, however, according to Apolinario de la Cruz, the source of all liwanag on earth is heaven, in much the same way that the healers and shamans of Majayjay, Laguna consider God to be the ultimate and only source of kapangyarihan (Love 97; 234-235). Half a century after the Confradia, the Katipuneros will also use the idiom of light in their poetry and rituals, portraying their sufferings under the Spanish as a period of blindness, but in which the light of the Katipunan will shine to reveal Kalayaan (Freedom), who has been shrouded in the dark (Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution* 87-91). This same pattern recurs again in the spiritual government or Pamathalaan described by Alaras, the destiny of the Philippines, which is to be a source of light for the whole world (“Pamathalaan” 272).

This same meanings of light are found in Munsayac’s novel, where it is associated with paradisiacal utopia, freedom, and communal unity, while darkness is associated with suffering and greed. The first chapter juxtaposes two narratives: 1) Amang Sol’s dedication to keep darkness away from the Bahay ng Sol, and 2) Amang Sol’s history with the Katipunan. The latter is given as an explanation for the former, because it is only after Amang Sol returns from his imprisonment in Guam -where Apolinario Mabini himself teaches him about sovereignty, nationhood, states, and independence, as well as how to read and write- that he begins his daily ritual of keeping the Bahay ng Sol always lit. Ironically, the implied connection between light and freedom seems at first to stem solely from Mabini and his (by the names of the ideas alone) European-influenced concepts of sovereignty, nationhood, states, and independence. The novel thus begins with an explanation of the typical top-down view of Philippine history -where the masses are passive receptors of ideology and the sources of revolutionary meaning are the educated- before tossing it aside in the next chapter with the introduction of the Komunidad ng Liwanag.

The Komunidad is a proto-communist community where the taking possession of either land or sources of livelihood (pinagmumulan ng kabuhayan) is forbidden. The first Sol, Lalaking Sol, founded the Komunidad after rebelling against Spanish rule in the early years of colonization, a rebellion he was able to pull off due to the powers granted to him by his agimat (three hundred years later, Amang Sol would use the same agimat against the Americans). Like the shamans of Majayjay, Lalaking Sol is able to communicate directly with god, the Ama ng Liwanag, who leads Lalaking Sol to the peak of the mountain Corona to found the community. (The mountain is, of course, both closer to the heavens and beyond the reach of the colonial state.) There, Ama ng Liwanag instructs the whole populace on the proper means of living:

All of you, stay away from material things! Whether gold or silver, these will be the sources of your destruction. If you get attached... to material things the Sickness of Greed will cling to you.... Yes, the Sickness of Greed comes from taking possession of the sources of livelihood. This is what creates wars between people and countries

Umiwas kayong lahat sa material na bagay! Sa salapi-ginto man o pilak-sapagkat iyon ang magiging sanhi ng inyong pagkakawatak-watak. Kapag kayo’y nahumaling... sa mga bagay na material, kakapitan na kayo ng masamang Sakit ng Pagkagahaman.... Oo, ang Sakit ng Pagkagahaman ay nagmumula sa pagnanais na angkinin at ariin ang pinagmumulan ng kabuhayan. Ang paghahangad na iyon... ang siyang lilikha ng mga digmaan sa pagitan ng mga tao at bansa (Munsayac 21)

A strict binary opposition is made between the communal, selfless, spirit-directed people of the Komunidad and the individualistic, greedy, materialists from the plains (kapatagan). Only occasionally are some chosen individuals (often from the Sol family) allowed to go down from the mountain to barter trade with the people from the plains (tagapatag). Those who are chosen are those who are firm enough to resist the sickness of greed -i.e., those who have firm kalooban. That greed (pagkagahaman) is considered a sickness (sakit) is analogous to the idea that illness is a sign of the condition of one’s loob (It does not in itself, however, seem to have the overarching conception of the world as a place filled with spirits that posses those who have sinful loob (Love 87-89). This will be elaborated on later). Repeated emphasis in the novel is also placed on the divisiveness caused by greed and the necessity for unity, which echoes the millenarian call for unity and sympathy (damay) for one another (Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution* 51-53; Alaras

8-9). This echoes also the disenchantment of the members of both the Lapiang Malaya and the Samahan of Papa God vis-à-vis major religious institutions like the Roman Catholic Church (Alsaybar 79) and the Iglesia ni Cristo, viz., that both of them are perceived to be driven by their individual business interests (Love 21-31). A similar point is raised later on in the novel during the conversation between Vizconde de la Riva and Solito Mirasol concerning the Diyos na Buhay and the Diyos na Patay.

Following the Ama ng Liwanag's instruction keeps the Komunidad intact with its original inhabitants for three centuries -the effect of their communal living being not only peace but also prolonged life. This ends, however, firstly when Amang Sol is banished for falling in love with someone from the plains/lowlands, and secondly when Sanggumay - who had left the community and gone to the lowlands - returns to the Komunidad with the Sakit ng Pagkagahaman. The destruction of the Komunidad leaves only two people to remember it: Amang Sol and his illegitimate son with Sanggumay, Vizconde de la Riva. Amang Sol initially tries to return to the Komunidad, but fails repeatedly. He joins the revolution, and in the end raises a family while maintaining the light of the Bahay ng Sol. Vizconde, on the other hand, after meeting his father and telling him about the collapse of Komunidad, disappears from Bulak, only to return in the second half of the book as the leader of the Mga Anak ng Diyos na Buhay sa Komunidad ng Liwanag.

The beginning of the end of the Bahay ng Sol comes when Amang Sol dies during WWII. Eschewing the typical narrative of brave Americans and Filipinos versus the evil Japanese, the novel gives a more complex set of relationships between the returning American imperialists, their newer Japanese counterparts, the completely anti-imperialist HUKBALAHAP, and the Filipinos who collaborated with the Japanese out of either genuine faith in the invaders or a preference for the new imperialists over the old ones. This complicated situation is epitomized in the deaths of Amang Sol and Armando Bulaclac, Solita's husband, in the hands of the USAFFE. This foreshadows the fact that the long-term problem for the Philippines is not the Japanese but the Americans, which is immediately verified after the war when a certain Mr. Wulstreet claims the lands in Bulak, including the Bahay ng Sol, to start a crocodile farm. The farmers attempt to stop the construction, but are shot down by the policemen under the orders from the newly-installed Mayor Fernandez, who had been part of the USAFFE. Forgetting their family's history of rebellion, Anong, Soledad, and Solita pack up their things and seek refuge in Manila, abandoning the lands to the American. Ironically, having been lit all throughout the American and Japanese occupations, the Bahay ng Sol finally succumbs to darkness in the beginning of the country's "independence."

Solidarity and Resurrection in the Diyos na Buhay

However, while destroyed and nearly forgotten, the ideal of the Komunidad ng Liwanag continues to haunt the characters and stories in the second half of the novel. Founded by Lalaking Sol at the beginning of colonization (and also, significantly, at the beginning of the book), the Komunidad ng Liwanag is constructed as a lost Eden that must be recovered -similar to how the Age of God the Father must be recovered, and how the Katipuneros perceived the revolution as way of returning to the light before the darkness of colonization- and so therefore a point of comparison for all subsequent struggles in the novel. The story of the Komunidad ng Liwanag serves as the foundational myth for the rest of the narrative; the basic rules of community's existence (eschew greed, keep land and livelihood for everybody) are the same basic goals that the revolutionaries fight for throughout the novel. And because the Komunidad is the closest anyone has ever reached towards achieving that just society, all attempts in the novel to create a better and more egalitarian society are in many ways attempts at returning to the Komunidad.

But the Komunidad ng Liwanag itself was far from perfect, something that is indirectly/unintentionally asserted out by the Vizconde when he speaks about the Diyos na Buhay (Living God). In a discussion with Solito Mirasol, who had become a Catholic priest, about the differences between their Gods, the Vizconde says:

Is it God's wish that people suffer hardship, Solito Mirasol? Is it your God's wish that people fight one another because of greed? That is not the case with our Living God! Our God guides us towards the proper form of service. You should serve your fellow man, not your dead statues, nor your "un-living rosaries. God should be helping man; not man helping God as you are doing! Your God is Dead, Solito Mirasol!

Kagustuhan ba ng Diyos na maghirap ang tao, Solito Mirasol? Kagustuhan ba ng Diyos mo na dahil sa pagkagahaman ay mag-away-away ang tao? Hindi ganyan ang Diyos aming Buhay! Ang Diyos namin ay nag-aakay sa tamang paglilingkod. Paglilingkuran mo ang iyong kapwa, hindi ang mga patay na rebulto, hindi ang mga walang buhay na rosaryo. Ang iyong kapwa ang dapat na tulongan ng iyong Diyos; hindi ang tao ang tumulong sa Diyos, tulad ng ginagawa mo! Patay ang iyong Diyos, Solito Mirasol! (Munsayac 242-243)

Although the stated goal of Mga Anak ng Diyos na Buhay is to return to the Komunidad ng Liwanag, the description Vizconde gives with regards to the Diyos na Patay (Dead God) matches the original, insular Komunidad. While the Catholic Church is criticized for shutting its doors to the poor, the Komunidad in the first half of the book effectively does the same to those who were, by virtue of being outsiders, weak of will. In constant fear of the Sakit ng Pagkagahaman, the Komunidad shut itself off from the corrupt outside

world. Unlike the Pamathalaan described by Alaras, which is supposed to be a light for all the world, no attempts are made by the members of the original Komunidad to save other people from the sickness of greed or to share the prosperity they enjoy in their light/liwanag. Their perception of the people from the plains is absolute and static, as seen when Kabesang Sol tries to discourage Amang Sol from his love affair with the future Inang Amanda: “They’re from the lowlands, son. Their hearts and minds are wrapped up in materialism and the Sickness of Greed” (Tagapatag sila, anak. Balot ng material at Sakit ng Pagkagahaman ang kanilang puso at isipan. Kontra iyan sa espiritu ng Inang Kalikasan) (Ibid. 28). Ironically, only two people with first hand experience in the Komunidad actually feels any solidarity with people outside: 1) Amang Sol, the only person to ever be banished; and 2) Vizconde de la Riva -who is not even actually a member of the Komunidad since he had been born outside of it, and only entered it later with Sangummay, who then proceeded to destroy it.

In contrast to this insularity, however, the mission of the Mga Anak ng Diyos na Buhay sa Komunidad ng Liwanag is to restore the Komunidad ng Liwanag by spreading the teachings of the Ama ng Liwanag and the Diyos na Buhay, as well as gathering followers in preparation for the Second Great Flood. (This can be seen as parallel to the sudden shift between the Old Testament emphasis on maintaining purity of the Israelites and the New Testament emphasis on conversion and accepting even the Gentiles.) It is through the work of this group and Vizconde de la Riva that the Komunidad ng Liwanag -the epitome of millenarian aspiration- can come to together in solidarity with the overall struggle of the Philippine people. What is highlighted in the second half is no longer the opposition between light and darkness (though the motif still appears regularly), but rather the return of life after death: the resurrection. And just as the loob must pass through suffering and sacrifice in order to be purified -because in doing so they can have damay/empathy with Christ’s passion (Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution* 69-72)- so too will the Sol’s undergo further darkness before glimpsing this resurrection.

By the end of the first half of the novel, the Komunidad has fallen, Amang Sol is dead, and the Sol family has abandoned the Bahay ng Sol. After a momentary lull of peace and relative stability in Manila, another “foreign” businessman, Mr. Lupangko, claims the land they are living on to build a shopping mall. It’s at this point that Vizconde de la Riva re-appears with the Mga Anak ng Diyos na Buhay, preaching about the country’s need to be free from foreign imposition, and about a coming flood that will destroy the whole world. The movement is the first sign in the second half of the novel that there is still light in the darkness. Anong, Soledad and Solita eventually overcome skepticism and convert to their half-brother’s religion. However, at this point in the novel, the three siblings still remain timid and weak.

The bravery of the Sol’s (excluding Vizconde, who always had it) finally returns after Amanda’s death. Although the nature of her initial forays into the Left are questionable (she joins discussion groups because she falls in love Prof. Ramon Sancho, who she marries after being molested by him), Amanda dedication to the people is evident in the outpouring of love from the residents when she is buried in Bulak. Amanda’s involvement with the revolution is the second sign of light and rebirth, not only because she continues the rebellious lineage of the Sol’s, but also because it is through her and the work in Bulak that Anong returns to his hometown for the first time in the years after he abandoned the Bahay ng Sol. The hope that Amanda symbolizes must be juxtaposed with the darkness that overshadows the world. Twice she is betrayed by [non-Sol] family, the first time by Ato, which leads to her imprisonment, and the second time by her husband, whose betrayal Amanda decides to counteract by saving her comrades at the cost of her own life. This double betrayal by family is the epitome of Sakit ng Pagkagahaman, and the fact that both traitors are connected with symbols of hope and revolution (Ato lives in the now-rundown Bahay ng Sol; Sancho had been a professor at the University of the Philippines and a guerilla fighter) shows just how far the corruption of society has gone, just how divided and selfish its people have become. In despair over Amanda’s death, and as a sign of their continued timidity, Solita names her two grandchildren Armando and Aureliano, ending the tradition of always having “Sol” in their given names. Her hope is that the rebellious tradition members of the family of Sol will end, a tradition of boldness and death and revolution.

But of course her wish does not come to pass. Shortly after, Anong begins to lose his memory and is diagnosed with Alzheimer’s Disease, leading his sisters bring him back to Bulak in an attempt to restore it. In getting back these memories, however, Anong also gets the Sol fighting spirit. This is the third sign of rebirth; Anong Sol attributes his recovery to the Diyos na Buhay, and he goes on to lead the people of Bulak to protect the mountains of Corona (officially a wildlife sanctuary) against Wulstreet, the logger Ramon Ong, and marble miner Donya Floresfina. From a timid man eschewing revolution, Anong becomes like a shaman, capable of gathering followers and prophesying (to mild success) that the dead river (patay na ilog) will flow again if sprayed with the blood of Mr. Wulstreet’s crocodiles.

Anong’s rebirth leads directly to the culmination of the novel: the unification of the millenarian movement with the people’s struggle. When Wulstreet’s guards kill six of Anong’s followers, organizations flood into Bulak to rally against oppressive business, while Wulstreet’s PR team and the local government try to allay their responsibility by condemning the errant shooter themselves. Just as the issue begins to quiet down, Vizconde de la Riva arrives in Bulak, announcing that the Second Flood is about to come, and that they must enter the top of Mt. Corona where the Ark will carry them to safety. Barred from entry by the men of Ramon Ong, who holds the title to the land despite the fact that wildlife sanctuaries are supposed to be public property, Vizconde, the Mga Anak ng Diyos na Buhay sa Komunidad ng Liwanag, and organizations like Taumbayan (a group for farmers) march from Bulacan all the way to Mendiola, in front of the President’s palace, to protest alongside the urban poor, the students and worker’s unions, the

dispossessed, and even priests and nuns from the Catholic church who, the novel makes clear, have studied Liberation Theology. In the protest, nearly all parties -the millenarian and the left, the church and the proletariat and peasants, the student and the intelligensia- are united in their common struggle against foreign capitalist landlords. In contrast with the original, insular, and exclusivist Komunidad ng Liwanag (an analogue of the Diyos na Patay), the Mga Anak ng Diyos na Buhay unites with the people against repressive forces that affect them all -against comprador bureaucrats like Mayor Fernandez or the imperialist, bourgeoisie, and landlords like Wulstreet, Ong, Floresfina, and Lupangko.

This collective struggle will affect Solito Mirasol, who even at the height of the protest stays inside the church. The failure of the protest and the death of Vizconde⁵ adds fuel to the fire already burning in Solito's head regarding the role of religion and the Church for society. He remembers what Vizconde tells him about the Diyos na Buhay and Diyos na Patay. He dreams he is drowning in the blood in an empty church, and when the poor and the hungry open the doors to save him from the flood, they ask why it is they who are opening the doors of the church to save the priest, and not the other way around. Solito's old idea of the religious life being purely non-material, ignoring the real world and sticking to their devotions and their rosaries -in very many ways in fact just like the original Komunidad ng Liwanag- finally gives way. The unities that form through Solito's epiphany are at once synchronic -connecting people across different classes and social groups- and diachronic -connecting the old Komunidad and Solito's ancestors with his present convictions. The novel comes full circle: the Church comes together with the people; the "spiritual" with the material; the different groups and individuals to form a community; and Fr. Solito Mirasol finally fulfills Vizconde de la Riva's prophecy to bring new life to his God.

Seeking Transformation

How then does *Dugang Kamay* understand the unified struggle of millenarians and revolutionaries? By ending the narrative with Solito Mirasol, the novel not only asserts the necessity of continued struggle, it also emphasizes that this struggle can and should be carried forward in the spheres of religion, organized or otherwise. Even the Catholic Church, which is "dead" and is considered by many to be a business, nevertheless retains the potential for organizing the people. Both the march to Mendiola of the Mga Anak ng Diyos na Buhay and the "resurrection" of the Catholic church points to the religious aspect of living as part and parcel of revolution -or even, as with the Komunidad ng Liwanag, as its very source- rather than something that stands contrary to social change (which it can be, but shouldn't).

In order for this to be the case, however, religion must not only refuse insularity (like the original Komunidad ng Liwanag), but also necessarily inhabit the physical/material world. Paradoxically, the Vizconde simultaneously claims to privilege the spiritual over the material -e.g., when she criticizes the Catholic Church by saying "Ibinatay nila ang aral sa mga materyal na bagay sa halip sa espiritwal" (They based their teaching on material things rather than spiritual) (Munsayac 203)- while also disparaging people's reliance on merely metaphysical solutions -e.g., when Solito Mirasol tells his family not to worry about the eviction and to merely pray the rosary (Ibid., 207). This seeming contradiction can be resolved when one takes into account the difference between mere values and praxis. Although "materyal na bagay" literally means "material things", its use in the novel always comes with references to the Sickness of Greed or taking possession of the sources of livelihood. Thus, the disparaging of the material here does not refer to materialism as a philosophical doctrine (in the sense of historical materialism) but rather to the ethical problem of being *materialistic*. Being materialistic is a question then of ethics, and so Munsayac's use of "spiritual" is to be understood in the same fashion. Compare this with *Marx's Concept of Man* (1961), where Erich Fromm debunks the supposed totality of Marx's materialism by arguing that Marx's work ultimately centers on how capitalism debilitates the human being, and so, in fact, is humanist and naturalist and so therefore also *spiritual*:

Marx's aim was that of the spiritual emancipation of man, of his liberation from the chains of economic determination, of restituting him in his human wholeness, of enabling him to find unity and harmony with his fellow man and nature. Marx's philosophy was, in secular, nontheistic language, a new and radical step forward in the tradition of prophetic Messianism; it was aimed at the full realization of individualism, the very aim which has guided Western thinking from the Renaissance and the Reformation far into the nineteenth century (Fromm).

On the other hand, Solito Mirasol's initial emphasis on prayers in lieu of collective action is a problem not of materialism vs religion, but of how we must conceptualize spiritual or religious *praxis* itself. For the Mga Anak ng Diyos na Buhay spiritual praxis (rooted in the doctrine of the love of God) involves

5 The massacre at the novel's end is a clear allusion to the 1967 massacre of the Lapiang Malaya, two years before the founding of the 2nd Communist Party of the Philippines and five years before the declaration of Martial Law. This is not only seen with the marching of uniformed members with their bolos and amulets, and various allusions hidden in the Vizconde's initial speech to Solito Mirasol, but also in the eventual incarceration of the leader (Valentin de los Santos; Vizconde de la Riva) into a mental asylum, where he is soon after beaten to death by a fellow patient. The transfer of the massacre in the novel from 1967 to Corozan Aquino's presidency is meant to highlight the fact that the end of the dictatorship and the restoration of "democracy" were merely a changing of the guard from one oligarchy to the next, and did not solve any underlying social problems.

going out into and participating in the world, not withdrawing into one's metaphysical closets and relying on Divine Mercy. Like the Lapiang Malaya, who sought to bring about a New Jerusalem in this world (Alsaybar 307-316), the millenarians in *Duguang Kamay* prepare for the coming of salvation as a *historical* event in the world, just as the original Komunidad ng Liwanag existed, although isolated themselves, in the world. Thus, salvation and freedom in the novel is not displaced onto a metaphysical realm, but rather remains in the “material” world and so must be prepared for in the material world itself, especially since the spiritual and material worlds are not in fact separable (despite “spiritual” and “material” being conceptually different).

Duguang Kamay thus posits an essentially transformative understanding of the world, an understanding that unites both secular revolutionaries and millenarians in their struggles to uplift themselves and Filipinos. Against the static (dead) and fatalistic worldviews of both the closed-minded Komunidad as well as the heaven-oriented Catholic Church --and even, perhaps, if one extends the argument, against the perceptions that capitalism is the natural state of affairs, or that this volatile period of global capitalism is the “End of History”-- millenarians and revolutionaries maintain that the world as it currently exists *can* be transformed, and that the future can be changed through sustained and collective action.

Crucially, this process of transforming the world is then rooted in the human subject's *return* to history. Throughout the second half of the novel, the Vizconde urges his family to search for the truth and knowledge, and tells a young and skeptical Solito Mirasol that he must get rid of all his misunderstandings and drink from the well of true knowledge (“Itapon mo ang mga pabigat na iyan at uminom ka sa bukal ng tunay na kaalaman” [Ibid.152]). Like the healers of Majajjay or the devotees of the Lapiang Malaya, the search for truth lies at the heart of all of one's beliefs and actions. These truths, however, are also declared to be the truths of Philippine history. When Anong loses his memory, the Vizconde advises his siblings to return to the teachings of history as well as their clan as a cure for Anong's sickness (“Balikan ninyo ang aral ng Kasaysayan, ng ating Angkan, magagamot ang iyong sakit, Anong!” [Munsayac 223]). Forgetfulness and loss of memory is thus posited as a sickness, while the return to and studying of History is a cure. This is reflected in the stylistic structure of the novel itself, which routinely digresses from the narrative to discuss key moments in the history of the country, and interpret those moments according to the political line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The primacy given here to a proper understanding of history resonates with the primacy given to historicism in Marxist analyses and revolutionary ideology. In the Philippines, this is epitomized in the aforementioned *Philippine Society and Revolution*, which begins not with a detailed analysis of the basic problems of the Philippine people (reserved for part two), nor an analysis of the important classes and social groups that make up Philippine society (part three), but instead with a review of the Philippine history from pre-colonial times to the present.

In sum, *Duguang Kamay* constructs the essential solidarity of Philippine millenarians and revolutionaries as not only rooted in a transformative view of the world, but also in a continuous search for truth in History. It emphasizes both the necessity of critically studying the past (the inability to disavow the past), as well as the essential openness of the future.

Of course, the ideal result of this project, and the perpetual goal of any declaration of unity, is the creation/reconceptualization of a space for solidarity for both past and future political action. On the other hand, and as already mentioned, this same construction is problematic when put under more critical review. As stated above, one of the crucial elements that allows for this interweaving of Tagalog millenarian logic and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is an emphasis on the “spiritual” as an ethical phenomenon as opposed to a metaphysical one. It is only when we focus on the latter that we see the various excesses of millenarian discourse needs be suppressed to retain the novel's narrative logic.

Magical Appropriations

To understand the exact method by which the above construction of millenarian is achieved, it is necessary to delve into the workings of magical realism.

“Magical realism,” both as a term and as a literary practice, is most often associated with the literary production of the Latin American Boom, which was itself most known for the technique of “matter-of-fact descriptions of magical happenings” (Bowers 18). Roberto Gonzales Echevarria makes a distinction between epistemological magical realism --where “marvels stem from an observer's vision” (Faris 165) - and ontological magical realism --where the extratextual land (e.g., Latin America) is itself considered marvelous. The former roots the power of magical realism to the subjectivity of individual speakers, and to the literary techniques that make the communication of this subjectivity possible. Meanwhile, the latter harkens back to Alejo Carpentier's definition of “marvelous realism” as a depiction of the actual marvelous reality of Latin America (Carpentier 88). However, Wendy Faris points out that it is often difficult to differentiate between the two (Ibid.). Similarly, Amaryll Chanaday warns that the concept of magical realism cannot be reduced to either a naïve ontological essentialism [of Latin America] or a set of purely metropolitan aesthetic/literary techniques. She contextualizes Latin American magical realism in its postcolonial context --its struggles to subvert European paradigms of race, reason, knowledge, positivism, history, and reality. At the same time, she highlights the significance of neocolonial resistance to the development of magical realism, and its use of the imaginary in order to subvert the colonial hegemony. For example, while some Surrealist techniques can be found in magical realist works, magical realism not

only questions the validity of empirical knowledge (as Surrealists do), but uses “the appropriation of the indigenous Other as a marker of difference” (Chanady 141). Thus, the ontological claims of magical realism are themselves rooted in techniques of the epistemological kind.

This is more evident upon turning to Scott Simpkins, who uses linguistic analysis to understand the genre. Simpkins highlights the way magical realism attempts to bridge the gap between signifier and signified, i.e., the way it attempts at a complete signification of the world by presenting what realism has always attempted to present, but which it has always failed to do due to the impossibility of complete and transparent signification. In a sense then, those phenomena that the conventions of realism have been unable to signify are what are couched as “magical.” Simpkins continues to say that while actually completing “signification” is impossible in whatever genre one chooses, magical realism comes far closer than realism in doing so because it uses imagination to extend the possibilities of signification. At the same time, the magical realist work is aware of the impossibility of completion, and so, as Simpkins writes: “[magical] realism courts the inevitable problem of signification by offering the impression of success, a supplemental diversion which appears to bypass the limitations of the realistic text, evading its failures through the incorporation of imagination” (154). It then also serves as a comment on its own limitations in signifying the world, “generating a metacritical discourse about [its] own indeterminate modality” (Ibid. 156).

Meanwhile, Rawdon Wilson writes about the construction of space in magical realist texts and how it creates a copresence, or hybrid space, between the two worlds of the magical and the real. Either these two spaces clash with one another in the text, or one of them (the “magical” space) is revealed to have always been a latent part of the second (the “realist” space) (Wilson 224-225). Like Simpkins, this is contrasted with realism because the latter limits the diversity of the world with its narrow semiotic potential (Ibid. 226).

As seen above, there is no simple definition of magical realism, though there are a number of common and useful characteristics. One of the most significant characteristics of magical realism is its nonchalant use of irreducible magical occurrences to subvert hegemonic paradigms of knowledge and reality. This is achieved a synthesis of various ontological concerns and epistemological techniques, that creates interaction, contradiction, and dialogue between the spaces of the “real” -that which conventional “realism” is able to capture- and the “magical” in the text.

What’s interesting about these interpretations of magical realism is how parallel it is to what Bill Ashcroft calls the metonymic gap, and it is via this similarity that I argue we find a problem the supposed subversive tendencies of the genre. Magical realism’s resistance to meaning can be seen as a form of non-translation, and this non-translation itself -following Ramon Guillermo’s critique of *Pasyon and Revolution*- unfortunately and ironically, may accumulate contextual meanings that can themselves be colonial and/or hegemonic.

In an essay rebutting the supposed deterioration of cultural meaning in postcolonial texts in English, Ashcroft defines the metonymic gap as “...the cultural gap formed when writers transform English according to the needs of their source culture” (“Bridging the Silence” 24) such as with the usage of non-translated words, concepts, or allusions to another language or culture; “the inserted language ‘stands for’ the colonized culture in a metonymic way, and its very resistance to interpretation constructs a ‘gap’ between the writer’s culture and the English reader’s understanding.” (Ibid.) Ashcroft uses a passage from I.N.C Aniebo’s *The Journey Within* to illustrate this point:

In the passage “The day he had come to show her husband sample suiting’s, he slipped nearly breaking his neck. He had learned since then to walk like an *ogwumagada*” (Aniebo1978: 35), we do not need to know exactly what an *ogwumagada* is to know that its walk is significant, that he must walk carefully, with caution, foot after foot. In fact, *ogwumagada* means ‘chameleon’ in Igbo. Although we can locate the meaning of the word, more or less, by its location in context, the word itself confirms the metonymic gap of cultural difference. (Ibid. 26)

In the case above, the metonymic gap is a means by which the postcolonial writer allows a certain level of meanability and communication among English readers vis-à-vis the colonizer’s language, while still emphasizing the differences that make the postcolonial culture Other, viz., “I am using your language so that you will understand my world, but you will also know by the differences in the way I use it that you cannot share my experience” (Ibid. 24-25). In this gap of silence between languages and cultures -in the resistance of a total appropriation (or the attempt of it) of the colonized culture into the colonizer’s Symbolic Order- the postcolonial writer forces the English reader into a negotiation of meaning, into an active engagement with the text and so, ergo, an active engagement with the colonial Other whose meanings the English reader will never fully grasp or finalize (Ibid. 29-30).

As seen above, this is similar to how magical realism works towards destabilizing hegemonic discourses. Wendy Faris’s primary characteristics of magical realism involve (1) an irreducible element of the “magical” that is (2) made “realistic” via “all its detailed and concrete variety as it is in realism” (Faris 170), and so causes (3) the hesitation of the reader vis a vis two contradicting forces of the magical and the real. (4) Putting these contradictory forces close together then leads to (5) the interrogation of the structures of knowledge and thought, such as the questioning of our categories of time, space, and identity (Ibid. 167-172). In other words, magical realism utilizes the same conventions of traditional realism but

with an *irreducible* (ergo: unexplainable) element of the “magical”, and it is the seeming contradiction between the two that causes the reader to hesitate, to reconsider the text. This is the same situation as when the postcolonial writer utilizes the English language but warps it with elements of another language to create a metonymic gap. In both situations, a conventional signifying practice (realism/English) is molded in some way to create a resistance of interpretation, to resist the finality of meanings. Like Ashcroft’s metonymic gap, magical realism “courts the inevitable problem of signification by offering the impression of success, a supplemental diversion which appears to bypass the limitations of the realistic text. As Simpkins notes, this leads to an evasion of the failures of realism through the “incorporation of imagination” (Simpkins 154), but then also leads to a self-critique on the genre’s own limitations in signifying the world, forcing the reader into a metacritical discourse wherein signification is never completed, wherein active engagement is key (Ibid. 156).

Theoretically, at least, this is how the metonymic gap works and why it is more subversive and open to non-hegemonic discourses than the totalizing practice of realism. However, Ramon Guillermo in his aforementioned criticism of *Pasyon and Revolution* provides a counter-example to this theory. As already mentioned, Guillermo argues that it is precisely Iletto’s non-translation of *loob* that allows it to “accumulate a kind of enigmatic, mantra-like power” (“Translation as Argument”) integral to the argument of *Pasyon and Revolution*. Even if Iletto barely translates the notion of the loob, Guillermo argues that, because no word or phrase can ever be taken isolated from its textual context, the loob nevertheless acquires a more or less coherent meaning due to its consistent usage throughout the text. Because of this, a reader with no knowledge of the nuances of Tagalog will have little choice but to accept that the loob has “a deeply religious context of usage inseparable from its articulation within the pasyon story and, on a deeper level, invokes mystical notions of power as possessed by certain extraordinary individuals and present in amulets” (Ibid.). The significance of this impression is that it allows Iletto to extend the millenarian notions of power and kalooban to encompass uses of “loob” in non-millenarian texts, thus arguing that the predominant perception of revolutionary activity throughout Tagalog history, esp. during the Philippine Revolution, was exactly the same as that of the millenarians like the Confradia de San Jose and the Colorums of Felipe Salvador. Guillermo makes it clear, however, that this argument depends heavily on the method of translation (or in this case, “non-translation”), and so that historians and linguists need to research further into the nuances of the use of loob throughout Filipino history (Ibid.).

If we extend this methodology to magical realism, it becomes clear that non-translation (or non-meaning), rather than create a resistance of meaning that forces readers into a perpetual and active engagement of the Other, can nevertheless generate a more or less coherent meaning from the text. This is actually already noted by Ashcroft in the above passage with Aniebo. However, while Ashcroft claims that active engagement is still necessary despite the reader’s use of context clues, Guillermo shows that the naturally movement of the reader towards contextual meanings is enough to put forward a complicated and highly influential argument such as Iletto’s. Perhaps the meaning of loob can never be completely “finalized” in the mind of the non-Tagalog speaker. Nevertheless, it solidifies in such a way that, vis-à-vis the textual whole of *Pasyon and Revolution*, can hardly be interpreted in any other fashion than the one given above. The assertion of “difference” (the metonymic gap) via resistance to final meaning thus ironically becomes a means of accepting an extremely likely meaning that coheres with the textual whole. The engagement here does not have to be active; in fact, it barely even has to be an engagement. The metonymic gap still exists, but its effect is severely diminished, if not, after repeated use, unnoticeable.

What then are the implications of this failure of the metonymic gap? The first is that, contrary to Simpkins, depending on the usage of the “magical” throughout the text, the signification of the world in magical realism might actually be completed -or at the very least perceived by the reader to be completed- and so, just like in realism, passively translatable into specific ideologies. The second is that the irreducible elements of the magical, while still being irreducibly “magical”, may be co-opted into more or less coherent and specific meanings in the text. Because of their “non-translatability,” these “magical” aspects become signifiers without a signified, images removed from their contexts, and so therefore easily appropriated into a context other than their own, into meanings other than their own. The possibility of co-optation into hegemonic paradigms exists within magical realism itself, through the selfsame techniques that are supposed to give it subversive and transgressive power. This is what occurs in *Dugang Kamay sa Nilulumot na Pader*, where the novel’s textual strategies create an impression of non-hegemonic discourse by introducing “irreducible” magical elements in the form of millenarian beliefs, whilst simultaneously removing these from the context of the overall, metaphysical, spiritual cum material worldview of the millenarians.

Spiritual Power and the Loob

To push for its solidarity of millenarianism and revolutionary Marxism, Munsayac’s novel incorporates the tropes, symbols, and patterns of thought of millenarian discourse into its interpretation of Philippine history. It integrates patterns such as the association of light with freedom; the biblical notions of time and changing eras along with the idea of a precolonial lost Eden that must be recovered; the strong emphasis on the condition of one’s loob or inner being; the necessity and power of unity, etc. Unfortunately, despite the integration of the patterns above, the novel actually also simplifies the spiritual dimension of millenarian discourse to make it a cleaner fit with the overall narrative of people’s struggle.

This does not at first seem to be the case, considering the emphasis on important millenarian values like *damay* and unity and affirming the indigenous; the presence of powerful religious figures like the Ama ng Liwanag, the Diyos na Buhay and the Diyos na Patay, the Eden-like Komunidad and the apocalyptic Mga Anak ng Diyos na Buhay (plus the repeated mention of the Birhen, though she never actually appears or does anything); the use of archetypal religious narratives like the fall from grace and the resurrection as overarching structures for the novel; and finally the affirmation of a transformative understanding of the world that is rooted in a search for true knowledge.

What does not match, however, is that practically no connection is made in the novel between the power of God and/or the spirits and the aforementioned emphasis on the loob and power. Right at the beginning of *Pasyon and Revolution*, Iletto asserts the interconnectivity of loob and power: that the latter is perceived of as an existential energy, and that the state of the former determines its ability to absorb and accumulate the power/energy that “[permeates] the universe” (24). This is how the anting-anting works; when the user has a conditioned loob, he is able to absorb its power. But in the structure of millenarian discourse, where does this power come from? Powerful anting-anting are said to radiate liwanag, and people who can use powerful anting-antings (ergo: absorb their power) are said to radiate liwanag as well, the source of which is heaven (Ibid. 41). Love notes a very similar perception of power in the samahans of Laguna. He differentiates between *lakas*, or the strength of men, and *kapangyarihan*, or the power of God. People who are *magaling* (an adjective reserved only for those with real power, i.e., *kapangyarihan*) are able to get this power through anting-anting or oraciones or directly through God or his many spirits (Love 229-234). Significantly, men, even shamans, can never be considered active users of *kapangyarihan* because it can never be actually considered *their* power (Ibid. 97). They only ever “use” it passively, because it is clear that the power comes not from man himself but from the spirits.

The patterns of this relationship are absent in the novel. Sol’s *agimat* and the use of oraciones are mentioned for their ability to give magical powers, but the exact nature of that power and its relationship to God is never delved into or even hinted at. Through the magical realist characteristic of irreducible magic, the miraculousness of these anting-anting and oraciones are inputted into the novel but removed from their metaphysical context. When Solito Mirasol goes to the Mga Anak ng Diyos na Buhay to research for his paper, Vizconde de la Riva performs a similarly unexplained exorcism, which Solito makes fun of later on in the chapter. In *The Samahan of Papa God*, Robert Love shows how the healing powers of the shaman is connected to his ability to harness *kapangyarihan* and interact with the spirits possessing the sick man (85-91); i.e., it is tied to a greater and coherent worldview along with the use of the *agimat* and the oraciones. None of this is talked about in the novel, however, even though the book willingly spends two or three pages at a time explaining (and often times repeating the explanation) about how the government is a pawn of foreigners, or on the difference between the Diyos na Buhay and Diyos na Patay, or the sufferings that will ensue with the *Sakit ng Pagkagahaman*.

This is not to say that these latter things shouldn’t be explained, of course. The point is that the novel very often willingly digresses from the narrative to explicate on the subject at hand, but it never does so with regards to metaphysics behind millenarian discourse. Thus, the [stereo]typical signifiers of animism and folk Christianity have almost no function in the narrative apart from presentation: to show that, indeed, the Mga Anak ng Diyos na Buhay are millenarians, that they use *agimat* and oraciones, and that they perform exorcisms which educated snobs like Solito will make fun of. Magical realism ensures that the reader will not join Solito in making fun of the millenarians, that the reader will still consider the possible reality of these actions (at least within the text). But because the worldview behind them is never explained, the actions remain empty signifiers throughout the novel. This allows the overall image of the millenarians becomes more flexible and easier to appropriate.

To see how exactly this appropriation occurs, and to see what discourse the millenarians are appropriated into, we must consider the lack of the connection between millenarian activity and the metaphysical power of spirits in the narrative of the Komunidad ng Liwanag. As mentioned above, the Komunidad functions as the foundational myth for the entire novel, for it is in the story of the Komunidad that the basic theme overcoming greed is delineated, and it is here also that the result of foregoing greed - the attainment of prosperity and Earthly paradise via true community- is shown. The sickness of greed, of course, does correspond to the millenarian emphasis on the loob and how the struggle and unity of many loobs is necessary to bring about the new paradise/liwanag/independence/etc. But the exact way in which former leads to the latter is missing: the way that the loob gathers energy and *kapangyarihan* from God. The spiritual realm is integral in the logic of the millenarians, but not for the Komunidad ng Liwanag. Ironically, when the Ama ng Liwanag warns the Komunidad about materialism, he talks to the people in purely material (economic and social-political) terms, viz., that if they love things that are material, they will become greedy; if they get greedy, they will fight over land because they will want to possess land all for themselves; they will take more for themselves than they need and they will want the plants and animals of others; they will go to war in order to take land from one another; they will make slaves out of one another, etc. What they need to do is the exact opposite: share their resources, never take more than is needed, never claim ownership of land or sources of livelihood, work for the benefit of the entire community (Munsayac 21-23). The logical process between having a pure inner being and attaining paradise/liwanag/independence/etc. is an economic and socio-political process, *not* a spiritual or religious or millenarian one. Although there is a nominal recognition that all blessings stem from the Ama ng Liwanag, salvation is not couched in terms of harmony between all men and spirits, but only between men

alone. The Ama ng Liwanag’s involvement in the Komunidad is minimal: he may have led the people towards the Komunidad, and he might plan to inflict punishments on people for their sins if they fail in his dictates (e.g., the Second Great Flood), but the creation and maintenance of the Earthly paradise has little to nothing to do with His constant energy and power/kapangyarihan. The center of the narrative is man.

Nevertheless, despite only having a socio-economic perspective as to how the Komunidad works, the results of this are magical, leading not only to prosperity and happiness but to excessively prolonged life (e.g., Lalaking Sol had founded the Komunidad at the beginning of Spanish colonization, and he was still there when it fell apart shortly before the 1896 Revolution). Similarly, most other “magical” events in the novel are tied together with a larger social and national revolution, such as the use of the agimat within the context of the Katipunan, birds flocking to Amanda’s grave after her sacrifice, the brief drizzle of rain after the spilling of crocodile blood. Even the marching of the Mga Anak ng Diyos na Buhay to Mt. Corona in preparation for the Second Flood comes right after the shootings at Bulak, and is notable in the narrative because it ensures that the media attention and national outrage over both the killings and the exploitation of resources in a wildlife sanctuary does not die down (as it usually does). These last few points also ensure that the connection between the social and the “magical” is a connection between the social and the “natural” as well, i.e., between Inang Bayan and Inang Kalikasan. The fight against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism is supported by the very land itself, in contrast to the unnatural and destructive dams that are being built by Mr. Wulstreet.

Instead of presenting the millenarian worldview, the narrative of the Komunidad ng Liwanag is merely an instructional guide to live communally and avoid greed. Similarly, when Vizconde differentiates between Diyos na Buhay and Diyos na Patay, he speaks primarily about their orientations towards the wellbeing of his people: “Is it God’s wish that people suffer hardship, Solito Mirasol?... God should be helping man; not man helping God as you are doing!” (“Kagustuhan ba ng Diyos na maghirap ang tao, Solito Mirasol?... Ang iyong kapwa ang dapat na tulungan ng iyong Diyos; hindi ang tao ang tutulong sa Diyos, tulad ng ginagawa mo!”) (Munsayac 242), not about the spiritual nature of either. The most important criterion in the nature of God himself is again the social: the orientation towards people. Naturally, this kind of emphasis stems from the earlier distinction between “spiritual” as a metaphysical quality and spiritual as an ethical one, which in the case of Munsayac’s novel has been defined negatively vis-a-vis being materialistic and greedy.

This makes it easier to integrate the millenarians into the overall narrative of people struggling for a more just society. Magical realism allows the Komunidad ng Liwanag to be more than just a wonderful ideal within the discourse of the text, to be instead like the millenarian conception of a glorious past full of liwanag, an actual era of the past that can in the future be attained again. These miraculous/magical events are presented in the novel as irreducible elements of magic, thus making it seem like millenarian discourses are represented (especially since *some* of their patterns of thought are present: loob, liwanag, etc.), but simultaneously eliminating -due to the resistance to meaning in the irreducible magic- the need to place these discourses within the overall and integral relationship between man and the spiritual beings/energy that suffuses the world. Over the course of the novel, and despite the constant references to millenarian symbolism or logic (e.g., Ama ng Liwanag, ang Birhen, the Second Flood, the use of anting-anting, healing as exorcism, etc.) these miraculous images of the millenarian movements begin to accumulate a social and revolutionary character *without* a corresponding metaphysical context. As is seen through the foundational myth of the Komunidad ng Liwanag, what is apparently the *real core* of these millenarian movements has nothing to do with the exorcisms or the anting-anting or the apocalyptic visions of a flood, but is instead the struggle for equality and true egalitarianism, the vision of a society where people all work together for the good of everybody else and nobody is significantly richer or poorer than the rest. It is, in other words, more or less the same thing that the people in the national democratic tradition want as well: freedom from slavery, true equality, and a national, non-metaphysical, mass culture.

What’s funny is that this actually makes Munsayac’s novel an ironic inverse of the search for true knowledge, as least as it is conceptualized by millenarians. When Bangele Alsaybar first approached the Lapiang Malaya to understand their political views, he was told that “The knowledge that is of God or Deyos, is viewed as the proper object of man’s diligent pursuit and paramount concern,” (Alsaybar 252) and so therefore he must “learn first the spiritual teachings, for in so doing, it would be easier to comprehend the logic of their political ideas, aspirations, and actions” (ibid.). In other words, for the millenarians, seeking the full truth about God and spirits is more important than any other activity, and that any hoped for political solution is rooted first and foremost in this concern. Just as the world was understood as a material world suffused with spiritual beings and energy, so too was salvation envisioned in terms both material and spiritual (in the full sense of the word). But while *Duguang Kamay* retains the basic form of searching for political solutions by discovering the nature of God (just as Solito Mirasol chooses in the end to move to the Diyos na Buhay), the nature of this God is essentially social and political, and so it is God himself that is rooted in the proposed social and political solutions, not the other way around.

Other Simplifications

Unfortunately, even with regards to the Philippine Left, the novel glosses over differences in politics to make neater narratives of unity. In the sole chapter where any squabbles between Leftist groups

appears, the conflict between KM and SDK is quickly summarized as them actually having the same Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology (which is not delved into), with the only difference being that the former joins strikes and demonstrations, and the latter wants to organize the people first. Concerning the differences between the new CPP and the old PKP, the novel merely says: “Ayon sa military, and PKP-HMB ay may kaugnay sa Pulahang Rusya, samantalang ang katatag na CPP-NPA naman daw ay may kaugnayan sa Pulahan Tsina” (Ibid. 175) (the differences between which are, again, not delved into). In contrast, and as already quoted above, Sison describes his PKP predecessors - “the old black bourgeois gang of the Lava’s and Taruc’s” (Guerrero 111)- as being “afflicted by bourgeois subjectivism in ideology, opportunism in politics and violations of democratic centralism in organizational life... mainly because the counter-revolutionary line of the Lava’s and the Taruc’s prevailed within the party” (Ibid. 232). Whatever biases Sison may have vis-à-vis the older communists, the point is that there was often very bitter bad blood between the different Left groups, something which the novel barely mentions. Of course, much of these “omissions” can be attributed to the necessary aesthetic choices allowed the novel to focus more on the millenarian narrative, and it is hard to fault it for this choice.

What is more problematic, however, is that simplifications for unity can also be seen in the choice of villains.⁶ It’s telling that all of the ultra-rich, ultra-powerful, land-grabbing capitalists are, within the discourse of the novel, “foreigners.” It’s also quite telling that these foreigners are never actually established to be non-Filipinos --no background is ever given as to who these people are, when and where they were born, what their political ideologies might be, etc. All the reader is given are their clearly non-Filipino sounding names (with the inclusion of the “Donya” for Donya Floresfina) before they are labeled as greedy foreigners extracting precious Philippine resources. In Munsayac’s novel, ethnicity and national identity (and loyalty to that said identity) are implied to be one and the same. Even if Mr. Wulstreet is excused --because not as many American would have had the time to be consider themselves part of the nation at the time when he was introduced into the narrative (late 1940s)-- historically speaking, Floresfina, Ong, and Lupangko are far more likely to be mestizos and/or second-generation immigrants, the political and nationalist leanings of which are always a complex issue. Unfortunately, their implied foreignness is coupled by a complete absence of these same characters in the novel. They therefore remain unknown and elusive villains, further widening the gap that prevents any identification of these characters’ motives. (Even most of the villainous characters who are also “Filipino” are connected to the foreign in one form or another, e.g., the first Mayor Fernandez was part of USAFFE and works with Mr. Wulstreet, Mayor Anastacio Suhol protects the De las Alas-Zobel-Lupangko Realty Corporation, while Ramon Sancho is described as “His skin is white and smooth because of his mixed-Spanish blood. Some say that Ramon Sancho is the illegitimate son of Jesuit priest who went to Oas, Albay” [“Makinis at maputi ang kutis dahil mestisong Kastila. May nagsasabi na anak sa labas si Ramon Sancho ng isang paring Hesuwita na nadestino sa Oas, Albay”] [Munsayac 166].)

The creation of one-dimensional foreign Others allows the Filipino people to be constructed as a unity opposing the foreign. It is a operation that chooses to focus on “foreignness” above all as the threat to the Filipino nation by first making a rigid dichotomy between what is “Filipino” and what is “foreign”, and then afterwards pinning injustice and inequality on the “foreign” instead of, e.g., the overarching socio-economic structures that lets any of the ultra-rich, whether “Filipino” or not (though with a clear historical bias towards certain [racial] groups/demographics), get away with exploiting Filipino society. The only more powerful threat in the novel is the Sakit ng Pagkagahaman, but even that is inextricably linked with the Other.

Taken within this context, the insular attitude of the first Komunidad ng Liwanag vis-à-vis the lowlanders can also be interpreted as a form of xenophobia, as the fear of some essential evil that exists among those who are different. And while this attitude seems to have disappeared in the second part of the book -when the Mga Anak ng Diyos na Buhay begins its project of conversion- by then it has already been replaced with a strong opposition to anything ethnically “foreign”, to the Americans, Spaniards, and Chinese Others. Thus, in either case, the sickness of greed is deferred onto the figure of the Other, whom it is implied must be removed before the “Filipino” Self can heal and become whole.

Conclusion

Although doing much to present millenarian symbols and patterns of thought, *Dugang Kamay sa Nilulumot na Pader* also eschews the spiritual aspect of the revolution to make a neater narrative of unity between the aspirations of precolonial Filipinos, the Katipuneros, the 20th century Philippine Left, and present day millenarians. Miraculous events are presented in the novel as irreducible elements of magic, thus making it seem like millenarian discourses are represented (especially since a few of their patterns of thought are present), while simultaneously eliminating the need to place these discourses within the underlying, animistic, and integral relationship between man and the spiritual beings/energy that suffuses the world.

Implied by this critique is that the double-edged sword of magical realism needs to be handled with caution by novelists and critics alike. The risk of appropriation is rooted within the very signifying acts

⁶ Given the rigid dichotomies and moralistic tone contained in Munsayac’s novel, “villains” is the appropriate term.

that give magical realism its subversive potential. The claim that magical realism is merely a reflection of society is tenuous given that no signifying act whatsoever, whether it follows the conventions of realism or magical realism, is able to *reflect* the world (the mere perception of which is already inextricable from the subjectivity of the viewer). All acts of language (e.g., novels) are implicated within highly complex socio-historical systems of power, both internal and external, and this must be fully recognized if we are to successfully use the techniques of magical realism or any other genre to subvert the various hegemonic discourses that interpellate us in society.

And yet herein lies an even larger problem: the realization that no speech act can possibly accurately reflect the world leads naturally to the conclusion that "accurate" representation is forever beyond reach, that even "self-representation" in the purest sense of the term is actually impossible. One could say that every writer (fictionist, historian, or otherwise) will inevitably appropriate some one or another in constructing any type of narrative, argument, or idea (e.g., the nation). This writer cannot even choose to withdraw and stick only to the Self -i.e., to "write what you know"- because the very assumption that we can fully "know" ourselves is already false (our language perpetually slips from our grasp; our subconscious is forever locked).

This runs into even deeper water when we realize that all form of collective action necessitate communication, and therefore also understanding, unity, and representation. Nationalism, for example, has always relied on representation in both senses of the term, on the portrayals of "Us" and "Them" -of "Filipino" and "foreign" - and on the claims of various political, social, religious, economic, and revolutionary leaders to be able to speak for the "Us" or the "Filipino." These are never simply just signification; they are always and inevitably ideological, with material effects that can serve to privilege one group and exploit another. We must ask, therefore, what the knowledge that "pure" or "accurate" representation is impossible signifies for the development and existence of the community and nation.

The answers will remain unclear and varied for some time to come, but here is one. Spivak famously writes: "The subaltern cannot speak.... Representation has not withered away. The female intellectual as intellectual has a circumscribed task which she must not disown with flourish" (104). The implication is that -despite the seeming finality of the first line; despite the fact that when the subaltern does try to speak (as with Bhunaveswari Bhaduri) it is often unrecognized- the critic must continue her work to make such speech acts at some point in the future possible.

The gap to be crossed remains deep; the struggle to fill it will continue. From the perspective of constant struggle, for example, magical realism, despite its many limitations, has nevertheless contributed to outlining the dangers and limits of traditional realism. Similarly, in spite of its limitations, Munsayac's novel has gone beyond far beyond simplistic renderings of "class warfare" from older critics to assume a fairer and more sympathetic stance to millenarian discourse, even if more work needs to be done.

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Ideology of Media: Suharto's Collapse and International Perspective

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Abstract

The collapse of Suharto has attracted not only Indonesian, but also international society. In this regard, mass media play an important role to spread the information and create a public opinion. As an international mainstream media, *The Economist* has provided related critical articles which are interesting to analyze. This research is present to unveil the ideology of two articles of *The Economist*, entitled *Suharto's End Game* (1997) and *Epitaph of a Crook and a Tyrant* (2008). In order to show the relation of ideologies shared by these two articles which refer to the forecast of Suharto's downfall and the moment of his demise, the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) introduced by Fairclough (1995) is applied. The instruments used in this research are lexical choice and transitivity as parts of Systemic Functional Linguistic proposed by Halliday (2004). As the nature of CDA, this research also shows the imbalance of power in Indonesia under Suharto's regime. The similar ideology that the two articles might share can conceal the stance of *The Economist* upon the authoritative regime in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Critical Discourse Analysis, ideology of media, Suharto*

Introduction

The collapse of Suharto in 1998 has marked a radical change in the history of Indonesia. It has blown unremitting issues and evolved different paradigm of the politicians, political observers, historians, economists, or even the common people. It dates back to the prior regime of the New Order, before 1965, when Indonesia stood on its own feet, leaning on Sukarno's Guided Democracy (Rosser, 2004; Moniaga, 2015) and shouting Unity in Diversity. Sukarno perseveringly built a benign image that Indonesia was important and confident, relying heavily on country's physical attributes (Moniaga, 2015). Thus, he led Indonesia to withdraw from the superpowers' authority, particularly of the United State and Britain.

Emerging in 1965, among the tormenting issue of communists, Suharto started reconstructing Indonesia's image by undertaking a completely contrast ideology. Suharto foreign policy threw Indonesia back to the power of the West, and as compensation, Suharto succeeded to turn Indonesian economic basket-case into a miraculous reputation: one of Asian Tiger Economies (Moniaga, 2015). However, his seemingly unshakable charisma was not forever. Suharto's reign was blotted by corruption issues and the hampering of political freedom.

Ruling the country for 32 years, he was called a dictator who had run an authoritarian rule. This led to his downfall in 1998 which drove people to speak. Hakim (2011) states "the fall of the New Order has been widely celebrated as the so-called 'democratic transition'". In accordance with it, Moniaga (2015), spotlighting Suharto regime, says "the fall of Suharto exposed the real image of his regime, which was described by some observers in the following terms and will be its lasting legacy: "repressive-developmental", "oppressive and deeply corrupt state apparatus", and a combination of "ruthless repression, cronyism and manipulation of the world's rival superpowers".

The arising enthusiasm to criticize and comment Suharto and his rule was accommodated by the media. Even at the moment, Suharto and the after-effects still appear in some discourses of national or international media. Not only can media inform the public, but also lead and shape their opinion. Therefore, media have a vital role in the society as they are able to control the society by playing with their paradigm. In other words, a media discourse has a power to transmit an ideology. Meanwhile, an ideology is probable to change the social relations of power or domination (Fairclough, 2003:9).

Studies on media discourse, ideology, and power have been conducted extensively under the umbrella of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It is affirmed by some experts that through the language, a discourse analysis of media helps people know the meaning that the discourse embodies. Matheson (2005:1) suggests that "discourse analysis of the media allows us to describe and assess this sharing of meaning in close detail". Thus, people might be able to interact with the world by recognizing meanings in a text, but are probably not aware of the power used to share the meanings. This might explain the concept of "hidden power". Fairclough (1989:49) suggests that hidden power is what makes media discourse attractive. It is when the power relations enacted in the discourse are opaque. Therefore, many experts come to an agreement that the interest of CDA is to seek the relationship between language and power in regards with ideology and social practices (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995; Wodak and Meyer, 2001; Weiss and Wodak, 2003; Matheson, 2005).

Regarding the above explanations, this study is interested in unveiling the ideologies and power domination in two articles of *The Economist* online and to know whether the ideology remains unchanged.

There are three rationales behind the selection of the data source. Firstly, *The Economist* is basically a British media company. The study then is expected to give some insights on how a representative of a former superpower colonizer of Indonesia views this country’s political situation. In their site, they wrote “*The Economist* online offers authoritative insight and opinion on international news, politics, business, finance, science, and technology”. Secondly, *The Economist* has three offices which locate in New York, London, and San Francisco. Its readers scatter around the world. Lastly, *The Economist* is one of the news sites that are keen to write about Indonesian political issues, including Suharto and his regime. It has, therefore, positioned Indonesia in the arena of international interests.

In the attempt to reveal the ideologies, this study employed CDA method proposed by Fairclough (1992:73), covering three layers of analysis namely text analysis (*micro*), discursive practice analysis (*meso*), and social practice analysis (*macro*). Fairclough (1989:26) addresses them as three different dimensions or stages. *Description*, the language analysis, is concerned with the formal properties of the text. *Interpretation*, the analysis on discursive practice, is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction in which text is seen a product of a process of production. *Explanation*, the analysis on social practice, is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context.

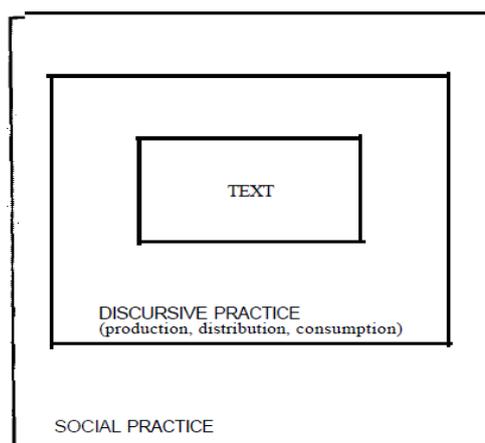


Figure 1. Three-dimensional conception of discourse (*Discourse and Social Change*, Polity Press, 1992).

The central concept used in Fairclough’s model is the systemic functional grammar (SFG). Fairclough states (2003:5) “SFG is profoundly concerned with the relationship between language and other elements and aspects of social life, and its approach to the linguistic analysis of texts is always oriented to the social character of texts”. The SFG applied in this study focuses on language metafunctions (ideational and interpersonal meanings) on which discourse meanings are embodied. These regard to transitivity (analysis of clause processes) and modality (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). Clause processes involve a process, participant(s), and circumstance(s) and be distinguished as a process of doing, being, behaving, existing, saying, or sensing, while modality in this study includes modalization which emphasizes probability.

Another instrument to analyze the text language in this study is lexical choice. Lexical choice is important in building the meaning of a text (Matheson, 2005:20). The fact that a text tends to use certain words instead of their alternatives indicates that lexis is ideological. One case of lexical choice which occurred in this study is labeling. Labeling a person enables the society members to understand and judge the actions committed by that person and let them generalize about the person (2005:24). An extra part of wording in CDA is using metaphors. Fairclough (1989:119) argues that different metaphors have different ideological attachments.

Discursive practice analysis tries to interpret hegemonic practice and hegemonic struggle, power relation processes, and ideological processes manifested in a discourse. This is in accordance with what Fairclough (1995:87-94) discusses. Discursive practice links the micro context (text) of a discourse with the macro context (social practice) so as to see the social effects which draw upon the processes of the discourse production, consumption, and distribution.

The final aim of CDA is to explain the social practice of a discourse which is problem oriented and, therefore, there is a necessity to identify the obstacles tackled in the problem and propose possible solutions (Fairclough in Wodak and Meyer. 2001: 25). The salient focus of the third dimension of Fairclough’s CDA is intertextuality. Fairclough (1992:105) suggests that intertextuality is important as it manifest how texts constitute social identities. Fairclough (2003:17) defines intertextuality as “how texts draw upon, incorporate, recontextualize, and dialogue with other texts.” Especially in analyzing political texts in this study, intertextuality occupies an important position as it is more likely able to reveal whether the two texts share similar ideologies even after a significant change in Indonesia political situation.

Context of the Discourse Practice

The Economist, as an internationally read political magazine, intends to transcend the society awareness by criticizing the policy and conduct of government. Its articles are written anonymously to represent collective voice. The board of editors consisting of many experts throughout the world always provides calculus which is pro liberation, democracy, and humanity. Distributed world-wide, the readers of this media are claimed to be political and economic leaders all over the world.

In this paper, there are two articles to analyze. The first article entitled “Suharto’s End Game” was written on 1997 before the event Suharto’s collapse happened. This article mainly talks about how Suharto’s reign would end and the prediction of political situation in Indonesia. The second article is “Epitaph on A Crook and A Tyrant” written in 2008—ten years after Suharto’s collapse. The article describes the moment when Suharto passed away and the reaction of the nation and political associates. Here, *The Economist* provides opinion that is in line with its ideology. These articles show the tendency to liberate from oppression. This is consistent with its other products of article, such as “Don’t Let the Crocodile Cheat Again” (Jul 27th 2013) and “Hugo Chávez’s Rotten Legacy” (Mar 9th 2013) which criticize the 33-year-ruling Zimbabwe President, Robert Mugabe, and Venezuelan dictator, Hugo Chávez.

Analysis of Text

In order to reveal the ideology of the text, transitivity and lexical analysis are conducted. From these analyses, it is found that there are two prominent processes of transitivity, which are relational process and material process, supported by modalization. Lexemes and metaphors are also not coincidentally chosen. Those items are used for reasons and contribute to the representation of ideology since they reflect the semantic choice constructing the message.

1997: Suharto’s End Game

The relational processes in this article embody the judgment given to Suharto as a tyrannical leader. In the clause *Suharto seems unable to let go*, the verb *seems* explains that Suharto apparently had no willingness to step down from his reign (which had been run for 29 years (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2015)). In other words, he is clingy onto his power. In the clause *uncertainty about life without him has long been one of the sources of Suharto’s power*, there is a relational process *has long been* which explains that the dependency of people toward Suharto’s government had happened for a long period. Thus, Suharto could use this as the source of legitimacy of his long run ruling. It also projects the hegemony of Suharto: his power was overwhelmed in all aspects so that living without him seemed not guaranteed. The relational process *has been* in the clause *his rule has been harsh, arbitrary and sometimes brutal*, projects that during his regime, Suharto’s government created a fearful government which was absolute and violent. Hence, the label of a tyrannical leader is attached.

Table 1
Relational Process: Article 1 (Suharto’s End Game)

No.	Participant	Process	Circumstance
1.	Suharto (carrier); unable to let go (attribute)	seems	-
2.	his rule (carrier) harsh, arbitrary and sometimes brutal (attribute)	has been	-
3.	uncertainty about life without him (carrier) one of the sources of Suharto’s power (attribute)	has long been	-
4.	the only person not taking part in this never ending discussion (value) Suharto himself (token)	is	-

The material processes, which emphasize the action accomplished by participants (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004:179), show that Suharto overruled Indonesia. As presented in the clause *the small club of dictators who have ruled for more than 30 years was reduced to an ill-matched twosome: Fidel Castro of Cuba and Suharto of Indonesia*, the material process *have ruled* shows the long regime and *was reduced* specifies entities as Fidel Castro and Suharto which are categorized as the dictators. In the clause *corruption pervades every part of his “New Order”: his family has amassed unimaginable wealth*, the verb *pervades* emphasizes the action done by the actor which is *corruption*. From this clause, *corruption* is described as an action which is systematically defused to every part. In line with this notion, the material process *has amassed* refers to the abundant wealth which is collected from a long time. It can be concluded that the clause presents the act of corruption done by Suharto which benefited his family and himself. The material process *began* in the clause *he began the first of (so far) six five-year terms* exhibits the new period of his long run regime at that time. Below is presented Table 2 showing that Suharto, using the military forces, had thrived his regime (finding 6-7).

Table 2
Material Process: Article 1 (Suharto’s End Game)

No.	Participant	Process	Circumstance
1.	the small club of dictators (goal) <i>unspecified actor</i>	was reduced (passive)	to an ill-matched twosome: Fidel Castro of Cuba and Suharto of Indonesia (role)
2.	who (the small club of dictators) (actor)	have ruled	for more than 30 years (extent)
3.	he (actor); the first of (so far) six five-year terms (goal)	began	-
4.	corruption (actor) every part of his “New Order” (scope)	pervades	-
5.	his family (actor) an unimaginable wealth (goal)	has amassed	-
6.	the system Suharto has built (actor)	will endure	under new leadership (contingency)
7.	new leadership (goal) the ever-watchful army (actor)	backed (passive)	-

Other than relational and material processes in transitivity analysis, modalization also appears frequently on the text. The modalization is the use of the modal *will* which generally indicates prediction (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004:147). This transitivity item shows up because this article forecasts what would happen to Indonesia if Suharto ended his reign. Interestingly, all of the prognostics imply that Suharto’s power would remain exist after his resignation. It can be proven from the clause *social unrest will sputter on but not explode*, which infers the meaning that the dispute was predicted to happen but it would not be tangible enough to create chaos. The clause *nothing will change* also indicates that Indonesia would remain the same if Suharto collapsed. This meaning is clearly supported by the next clause *Suharto himself will control the process* (of transition) which emboldens the idea that he would intervene the process of transition. Those all are clauses with modalization forecasting that Suharto’s power would still exist though he had no longer a president.

The use of particular lexical items determines the notion and the strength of message projected on the text (Matheson, 2005:21). Therefore, it is important to also observe the number of positive and negative lexical items that are used in this article. In Suharto’s End Game, there are 6 positive expressions and 28 negative expressions as samples given in the Table 3. The presence of positive expression projects that there were some acknowledged accomplishments during his leadership. However, the dominance of negative expressions on the text accentuates the intention of the text to antagonize Suharto and his regime. This intention is amplified by the use of 18 metaphors which reflect the powerful yet failing government.

Table 3
Samples of Positive and Negative Expressions: Article 1 (Suharto’s End Game)

No.	Negative Expression	Positive Expression
1.	the New Order has done <i>the trick</i>	“father of development” is <i>not just a label...</i>
2.	his <i>clinging on to power... years of growing political uncertainty and conflict</i>	took over an economic basket- case and turned it into a <i>miracle</i>
3.	a <i>dangerous period of transition</i>	the <i>economy has grown</i> , on average, by more than 6% a year
4.	the <i>mob violence</i>	GDP per head <i>has increased</i>
5.	total <i>chaos, economic decline</i> and even the <i>disintegration</i> of Indonesian nation	some 76m people <i>have been lifted above the poverty line</i>
6.	continued <i>authoritarian rule</i>	-
7.	“unity in diversity” is still an <i>unrealised ideal</i>	-
8.	the strong, centralising government in Jakarta feels <i>more vulnerable</i>	-

Table 4
Samples of Metaphors: Article 1 (Suharto’s End Game)

No.	Metaphor	Meaning (according to the context in the text)
1.	emerged from obscurity	the legitimacy of Suharto to take charge of Indonesia came out of nowhere
2.	an abortive coup	taking power of Indonesia government forcefully
3.	political machine	political power resources which blindly follow order
4.	a power struggle among the elite	the competition among politicians to get more power from Suharto
5.	Suharto has undercut him	Suharto stopped the effort of anyone who possibly replaced him

2008: Epitaph of a Crook and a Tyrant

The relational process in the clauses presented in this article also shows the label of Suharto as a tyrannical leader. The image that he is clingy onto power is projected through the clause *whose successor he seemed to thin himself*. The relational process *he seemed to think* represents that the idea of stepping down from his position had never been considered. He wanted to keep his position as a ruler. The notion that there is hegemony of Suharto is also presented in the clause *it (the grief of Indonesians) is not in thrall to the former dictator's memory*. The relational process *is not* defines the insufficiency of performance to mourn Suharto's death. It means that hegemony of Suharto was portrayed to be still intact although he was no longer in power. Thus, the lack of grief shown by Indonesians would not enough to pay respect toward what he had done in his reign. These judgments are also strengthened by the clause *he was a despot* that is presented as the topic sentence of the article. The predicate *was* labels Suharto as the value *a despot* which means 'a ruler, who has unlimited power over other people, and often uses it unfairly and cruelly' (*Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary: Third Edition*). The presence of this clause as the topic sentence of the text is a strong emphasis that Suharto is a tyrant.

Table 5
Relational Process: Article 2 (Epitaph of A Crook and A Tyrant)

No.	Participant	Process	Circumstance
1.	he (token); a despot (value)	was	-
2.	whose successor (token); himself (value)	he seemed to think	-
3.	it (carrier) in thrall to the former dictator's memory (attribute)	is not	-
4.	the rosy nostalgic glow bathing his obsequies (token) no substitute for true reconciliation (value)	is	-

The clauses with material processes in this article do not merely support the notion presented in the previous article that Suharto overruled Indonesia. These processes even confirm the hegemony of Suharto that still exists even if he had passed away. On the text, some clauses presenting the bad things that Suharto did in the past are found. For instance, *ten of thousands were locked up for years without charge* with material process *were locked up* (passive) shows that in the past Suharto had locked up many people without any transparent and legal reasons. The clause *the stability he had boasted of creating proved an illusion* presents *had boasted* and *proved* as material processes. The material process *had boasted* indicates that Suharto created stability in his term and it was a thing that he was so proud of. However, this stability was not real as the material process *proved* explains the action of making the participant *an illusion*.

On the other hand, there are some clauses that present the remnant of Suharto's power shown by the actions of people in regard to his death. The clause *other statesmen from the region trooped to his funeral* presents the material process *trooped* which contains the sense of subordination of the other countries leaders to pay their respects on Suharto's death. It indicates that there is a power of him that remains existing even after his death. Further, the clause *some may hanker for the old certainties of his rule* shows the incapability of Indonesians to let his influence go. *May hanker*, as a material process, shows the expectation of Indonesians upon his rule. From the messages analyzed from the material process, it can be concluded that Indonesians still fail to free from the influence of Suharto as his hegemony still remains after his death.

Table 6
Material Process: Article 2 (Epitaph of a Crook and a Tyrant)

No	Participant	Process	Circumstance
1.	ruthless cruelty (actor) behind his pudgily-smooth benign face (scope)	lays	-
2.	tens of thousands (range)	were locked up (passive)	for years (extent) without charge (accompaniment)
3.	the stability (goal) he (actor)	had boasted	-
4.	[the stability he had boasted of creating] (agent) an illusion (range)	proved	-
5.	other statesmen from the region (actor) to his funeral (scope)	trooped	to pay their respects (cause-purpose)
6.	some (actor) for the old certainties of his rule (range)	may hanker	-

As what is found in the first article, the use of negative expression in this second text is also dominant. There are 4 positive expressions and 16 negative expressions found in the text. The positive expressions refer to the achievements Suharto made in solving regional conflict and economy sector. On the contrary, the negative expressions retell the cruelty and the misdemeanors when he was ruling. Those all display that despite of the progress he made, the dominance of his misconducts was still overwhelming his governance.

On the text, 16 metaphors are also found. Most of those metaphors directly project the evil characteristics of Suharto. Some of them have a positive meaning, yet they function as sarcastic expressions. For instance, the metaphor in the sentence ‘*the rosy nostalgic glow bathing his obsequies* is no substitute for true reconciliation’ means *his funeral which was full of memory of his greatness*. This metaphor is not intended to glorify Suharto’s greatness but to show that his greatness that was recalled as he passed away cannot settle down the crime he had done.

Table 7

Samples of Positive and Negative Expressions: Article 2 (Epitaph of a Crook and a Tyrant)

No	Negative Expression	Positive Expression
1.	<i>a cold-war monster cosseted by the West</i>	Mr Lee and Dr Mahathir also had <i>reason to honour Mr Suharto,</i>
2.	<i>the slaughter</i> as he consolidated his power in the mid-1960s <i>cost hundreds of thousands of lives</i>	who <i>ended his predecessor’s “confrontation”</i> with Malaysia
3.	<i>his greedy wife</i>	<i>nurtured regional unity</i>
4.	<i>ill-gotten loot</i>	their country made <i>huge economic strides</i> under his 32-year rule
5.	<i>the old kleptocrat</i>	-
6.	<i>the murky atrocities</i>	-
7.	<i>untold thievery of Mr Suharto’s reign</i>	-

Table 8

Samples of Metaphors: Article 2 (Epitaph of a Crook and a Tyrant)

No.	Metaphor	Meaning (according to the context in the text)
1.	Indonesian occupation led to the deaths	his order to invade East Timor in 1975 caused many casualties
2.	he was robbing his own country blind	he corrupted and the people did not notice
3.	to push the boat out	idiom = to spend a lot of money, Indonesia needed to spend a lot of money to recover the economic loss during his regime
4.	the rosy nostalgic glow bathing his obsequies	his funeral which was full of memory of his greatness
5.	economy was in tailspin	economy fell quickly to the ground when he was forced to quit

Power Imbalance, Ideology of Revolution, and Social Practice

The imbalance of power during Suharto’s regime is presented through his domination in controlling the Indonesian political stage and the way he exercised his power. Suharto, marked as a dictator and a despot, became the president by seizing power from Indonesian first president, Sukarno. He obtained the support of the people by sending narrative of his success to increase Indonesian economy and proliferate Indonesian unity. Not to mention, military forces had become his back up to maintain stability and social order. His image as a great leader was even well-known among political leaders in ASEAN countries. These powers became the source of his domination. It turns out that those established image was a false sense of success: he hid many abuses of power. Suharto had fabricated a systemic corruption and nepotism, thus his family owned one of the wealthiest businesses in Asia (Parry, 1996). He used his military resources to occupy East Timor which cost many casualties. To sustain his power, he imprisoned many innocents who were assumed opposing his reign and tackled down any figure who was potentially running to replace his position. Furthermore, his narrative of economic growth turned into US\$110 billion foreign debt (Schwarz, 1997), causing massive inflation until the present. Those facts, happening during his regime, project how huge the power he obtained was. The fact that he ruled for 32-nonstop years also shows how powerless the Indonesian society was at that time. This imbalance of power is proven further by the society dependency upon him and the failure to move on.

Form the presentation of power imbalance, the ideology of revolution is revealed. Through these two articles, *The Economist* attaches label to Suharto as a tyrant and describes him as a powerful yet abusive leader to show its stance which opposes authoritative leader. This label does not change since his regime nearly ended (1997) until he demised (2008). This label is given to emphasize that Indonesia should revolve. “Suharto End’s Game”, specifically, projects the message that the event of Suharto downfall was not impossible, even might happen soon. By providing analysis of what would happen next and showing some speculations, the media wanted to make Indonesians ready for the worst case scenario. In “Epitaph of a Crook and a Tyrant”, the media wants to evaluate how far Indonesia has recovered since Suharto’s demission. It turns out that Indonesia has not fully moved on. Some are still in agony, yet some are still praising his era. This incertitude is also affirmed by other international mass media, such as Foreign Affairs: “Indonesia After Suharto” (July 2008), *The Guardian*: “Obituary of Suharto, Former Indonesian Dictator”

(January 27th 2008), and The New York Times: “Suharto Dies at 86; Indonesia Dictator Brought Order and Bloodshed” (January 28th 2008).

In social practice, these agony and praise can be proven. One of the practical examples is that there were many graffiti on trucks, pamphlets, or posters containing a provocative line, “*Penak jamanku, to?*” (Better in my regime, isn’t it?), with a picture of Suharto on it. This written message spread out massively in public in the nearly end of SBY’s second term in which Indonesian economy growth was decreasing. In 2013, the number of farmer welfare was dwindling 0.92% and the availability of job was reducing, causing the 272 thousand gap from 2004 to 2013 (Supriadin, 2014). This line intrigues people to compare Suharto’s era to the ruling government. This line can be consumed in two ways: literally or sarcastically. In literal interpretation, the economy desperation at that moment recalled society’s memory of Indonesian economy condition during Suharto’s regime. Farmers became the main strength of economy known as *Program Swasembada Pangan* (BBC Indonesia, 2008), the jobs were available, and the goods were so affordable. Either this or the line is meant to show the irony that economy de-escalation on that moment was caused by the fake economy stability in Suharto’s regime as he left billions US\$ debt to his successors. Regardless the true intention of the producers and how readers consume the line, the existence of this well-spread line shows that some people still consider Suharto’s era as the influential one. Therefore, they use Suharto’s figure, not the other Indonesian presidents, to provoke.

Despite of this incertitude, the ideology of revolution currently has been proven being proliferated. The 2014 presidential election is a clear depiction of how Indonesians have been aware of the malpractice of power and exercised the ideology of revolution. Being deceived by Suharto’s military background, Indonesians challenged one of presidential candidates, Prabowo Subianto — an ex-lieutenant general and one of Suharto’s military right hand, with human right issue. His similar economy program to place farmers as the front guard of economy did not buy the voter’s trust. He lost with 8 million margin of votes (Muhyiddin, 2014). This event shows that the awareness of people not to repeat the authoritative regime has existed. However, for some others, Prabowo was still an ideal figure to lead Indonesia, proven by the rapid popularity and support for Prabowo in the period of campaign which made him deserved to gain the spot as a presidential candidate.

As the ideology presented on the text, to sum up, *The Economist* constructs a perspective to international readers that Indonesians are not yet ready to leave their dependency toward Suharto’s economic strategy, especially the elitists and conglomerates who leaned on his economic policy to flourish their business. There was a vacuum of economic stabilization after his resignation. His successor was unable to respond speedily and effectively to the Asian financial and economic crisis in 1997-1998. South Korean and Thailand which were supposedly become the most affected countries managed to handle this crisis better and managed to recover sooner than Indonesia (Wee, 2006: 15). Therefore, many investors were reluctant to invest in Indonesia even after the transition process was over. This emphasizes how dependent Indonesians are on ‘Suharto’.

Conclusion

The analysis conceals the power imbalance within the discourses. The power imbalance occurs between Suharto as the actor of domination and Indonesians as the dominated ones. The ideology reflected from the discourses is revolution. It implies *The Economist*’s stance which opposes authoritarian government. It also shapes the international opinion upon Indonesia which is still influenced by Suharto’s power. Although 17 years have passed, some people are still referring Suharto’s regime as a model of government. The fact that the ideology of revolution has been proliferated and still has been being exercised by people is not enough to release Indonesia from his shadow. Due to this issue, it is suggested that *mental revolution* can be exercised holistically in all layer of society to combat corruption and other structural misdemeanors.

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Cultural Forms of Woman's Submission and Resistance in Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *The Girl From The Coast*

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Abstract

Spivak in her well-known essay, "Can the Subaltern Speak" concerns to the representation of Other, the colonial subject which is often constitutionalized by ideology and scientific production. In her opinion, the intellectuals seem to persist on produce Other as the Self's shadow. She objects Foucault and Deleuze's opinion that the Others or the oppressed "can speak and know their condition", if they are given chance. Rather, she questions the possibility of the subaltern to speak under strictly social strata which surround their lives. This article is developed from Spivak's argument to look at the construction of the Girl from the Coast, the main character of the novel which has the same title. This article scrutinizes the cultural forms of domination and the main female character's submission and resistance to the cultural forms of oppression. Further, it investigates how Pramoedya construct the woman as the Other and identify voice-consciousness of the Other under patriarchal colonialism.

Keywords: *New Historicism, Postcolonial, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Gadis Pantai (the Girl from the Coast)*

Introduction

A literary text is constructed with an intention and it has a meaning which is not limited to any one context, such as in the context of the production of the text, but it could be taken up in fresh context. A text does not have singular meaning because "language is not bound to express singular meaning in a universal form" (Easthope, 1991, p. 109). That makes classic literature open to read to contemporary readers to gain pleasure and derive interest from the classic story. With no universality of language, particular intention bounded in the context of production can be broken with every given context and thus it activates new contexts. The pleasure of reading engenders the unconsciousness unbound the social-historical account of the text.

At an issue of the relations between text and history, it raises a thought of totality in terms of space or time, derived by Derrida on his attention to both histories of meaning and unconscious meaning. Reading the text means that the subject enters the discourse of the text "to refind within discourse what only originates outside discourse". The desire of reading the text makes the subject "active and constitutive as well as constituted...so ideology and phantasy are incommensurate" (p. 113). It means that reading text is not begun from a general conception of historical situation towards textual analysis. It does not ask "what happened?" and "what does the event tell us about history?" On the contrary, analysis of textuality comes first and then it moves to "an account of the historically determined institutions in which texts are produced and reproduced" (p. 116). It asks "how has the event been interpreted?" and "what do the interpretations tell us about the interpreters?" It means that reading text is not begun from a general conception of historical situation towards textual analysis. On the contrary, analysis of textuality comes first and then it moves to "an account of the historically determined institutions in which texts are produced and reproduced" (p. 116).

Although textual analysis comes first, it does not endorse the fantasies that the representations articulate. It does not have a purpose to glorify the power of artistic representation. The argument is based on a belief that there are various texts which can be considered as objects because they gave the notion of culture. Minor, marginal and non-literary texts can be as objects of attention although they are lack of "the aesthetic polish, the self-conscious use of rhetorical figures, the aura of distance from the everyday world, the marked status as fiction that separately or together characterize belles lettres" (Gallagher & Greenblatt, 2000, p. 9). Thus, figures which whose writing has been discarded or dismissed and their works are not considered as conical can be an object of study. The task of the critics is not to find out the literariness or the uniqueness of the works but to find "the creative power that shapes literary works outside the narrow boundaries in which it has hitherto been located, as well as within boundaries" (p. 12). The interpretation is developed from imagination that writers in representing the culture draw from whole-life world and this whole-life world gives traces on their works.

The key of interpretation is to treat culture as a text. It means that there is an interplay between representation and event. It is difficult to differentiate between what is representation and what is event. Cultural text is a perspective. The relationships between symbolic distance and matter are closely bound up

with cultural representations. There is unsettling relation between reality and representation which opens up to interpretation. That is why, the discussion shifts from arts to representations and is to investigate the unexpected discursive contexts with discourse analysis. This is to say that words are powerful. However, words are also expressed through various rhetoric. To understand the words and the rhetoric needs references which are easily understood if there is a similar share of discourses between the writer and the readers. However, it becomes not easy when the work is produced from certainty forces from the past and from different cultural aspects. It needs a quest for understanding to link the temporal problem of language and material condition of culture. In this case, the position of the readers is in subjective place and the readers have a power either to submit or resist from any discourse within the texts.

Reading a text with an assumption that every aspect is significant, in this context, means drawing attention to ideology, gender meaning, subject position and sense of the other. These are cultural aspects which are significant for doing cultural analysis. As culture is dynamic, it always develops over the time, the cultural aspects are not stable also. Ideology, gender meaning and subject position are constructed through contemporary forces which could be detached from the past. All are represented in discursive forms which could be interpreted differently over the time, as Greenblatt says that “self-expression is always and inescapably the expression of something else, something different”. The utterance of the author is implicated within other structures of power and culture.

Although eyeing also on the marginal, postcolonial thinkers questions the representation and discourses of the colonial Other. Still offering a fundamental critique of the ideology of the dominant, it focuses more on the colonial domination and the ‘imaginative geography’ of the West and the Rest, the civilized and uncivilized although it also brings up the wealth, labor and culture of the colonial peoples in fresh perspective. The readers of these texts are in subjective position and also question discourses in radical approaches. In the development, reading a text in postcolonial perspective also opens up to analyze notions of resistance, identity, subjectivity and difference that can be complicated, reshaped and extended in certain texts. Marginality is brought into a question and repositioned in connection to a struggle for social and political empowerment in the face of different kinds of oppression. (Chew, 2010, p. 3)

In terms of, Pramoedya, many critics consider his works represent the radical and Marxist-oriented cultural nationalism (Foulcher, 1995, p. 165). Many of his works represent the inhuman sense of class superiority. His works could be considered as the field of object of the New Historicists who are interested in representations marginal/marginalized groups because his works bring out to examine with an eye for how economic and social realities produce ideology of power and domination which is institutionalized through cultural consents. Also, he has shared similar opinion that no fundamental opposition between the field of aesthetics and rationality because beauty of art requires to be combined with justice, humanity or nationalism. (Heinschke, 1996, pp. 152-3) Yet, his works are also considered as postcolonial as the inhuman sense is operated within post-colonial state, derived from “the much-prized Eastern morality. Indigenous culture - in this case the ‘feudal’ attitudes of the lower level Javanese aristocracy” (Foulcher, 1995, p. 166). Pramoedya works show his drawing the links between class, colonialism, the national bourgeoisie that attract the postcolonialist critique. However, this article is not going draw criticism to Pramoedya’s work, *The Girl from the Coast*, from the political left for its depiction of counter-cultural expression of the dominant groups, although the analysis is developed from Greenblatt’s argument on New Historicism. Stepping up from the argument that literature is produced by identifiable ethnic group, Pramoedya as the Javanese and his subordinate position in mainstream Indonesian literature, this article is investigating the relationship between colonizer and colonized in the post-colonization. It concerns with the representation of Other, the colonial subject which is often constitutionalized by ideology and scientific production, albeit it takes the centrality of the argument of the subjectivity of the readers to develop the interpretation of the references of the discursive past and the freedom to choose the one cultural aspect to draw the interpretation, in this article it is gender. It discusses the marginality of both “the third world” and the colonized subaltern subject theorized by Spivak.

Spivak in her well-known essay, “Can the Subaltern Speak” concerns to the representation of Other, the colonial subject which is often constitutionalized by ideology and scientific production. In her opinion, the intellectuals seem to persist on produce Other as the Self’s shadow. She objects Foucault and Deleuze’s opinion that the Others or the oppressed “can speak and know their condition”, if they are given chance. Rather, she questions the possibility of the subaltern to speak under strictly social strata which surround their lives. Spivak’s essay is noteworthy in this articles, since it challenges the disciplinary conventions of literary criticism by focusing on the marginalized people, the minority groups, women and the postcolonial subject. Influenced by Spivak’s argument that “the social, political and economic structures that were established during colonial rule continued to inflect the cultural, political and economic life of post-national states”, (Morton, 2003, p. 4) this article discusses the reproduction of the social and political inequalities as continuation of colonial structure which produces the cultural forms of loss and submission of the subaltern and their subversive acts to resist the domination of bourgeois character of the upper class.

Coastal versus aristocratic culture

In the note from the editor, the editor has stated that Pramoedya’s novels are written based on his account to socio-cultural history of the Indonesian society. All of his novels are social-politic romance and

romance of the history of the nation struggle. The Girl from the Coast is categorized as family romance because it is written based on his imagination to his grandmother. In his memory, his grandmother is a woman with yellow-tone skin, slim and small. Typical of Javanese common women, she is a peddler, bringing big bunch on her bag, going from one house to the other house of the *priyayi*, the aristocrats, to buy various stuff: empty bottle, used clothes and all recycle stuff to sell in the market. She is independent and does not relies on her husband for maintaining their life, for her husband is failed farmer, failed *soto*, soup peddler, and failed administrative village worker also. This expression is to show how Pramoedya admires her independency as a woman. As this novel is based on the story Pramoedya has heard about his grandmother, and is written as a memoir, he does not create a name to represent her grandmother. He has just written the girl from the coast, to say that he does not know the name of his grandmother, to highlight the based-on-fact fiction. With this note, Pramoedya emphasizes his creative process that “the work was not considered to be an arbitrary product of an individual. Rather it was given the character of a natural event, conditioned by the sublime forces of the cosmic order” (Heinschke, 1996, p. 157)

Pramoedya indirectly states that the socio-cultural construction in this novel is not just his imagination. From his introductory note to his fiction, Pramoedya has led the readers that the story is developed based on the conflict of the social class of Indonesian society in the past, the pre-modern society which constitute into two different social strata, the aristocratic and the common people. In this novel, Pramoedya constructs the culture of the coastal area where the common people is represented as the fishermen: the lower class society living along the northern coastal area of the island of Java. Meanwhile, the aristocrats are represented as the people from the Javanese court culture.

Constructing the culture of the third world, in terms of ethnocentric nativism and traditionalism, Pramoedya contrasts the different world view and ideology of the two different social groups. The aristocrat Muslim, a combination of a noble and Muslim, represents the feudal Javanese community with the feature of striking economic significance of leisure class. They are also described as devout Muslim, however they glorify the Javanese aristocratic traits manifested in their everyday life. They are a groups with non-industrial high class occupations, with no activities of working but they enjoy the welfare of life. Meanwhile, the low class fisherman is the working class, because the work of the fishermen contributes to the food supply and the other necessary consumption of the group. The contradictory traits are in their activities of fishing and exploiting nature which need human adaption, the sea as natural resources, in that different concept of productive labor. Strength and aggression, which are considered as barbaric and savage for the noble groups, are essential features to conquer the wild sea life and ability of conquering the beast of sea waves is the sign of the successful aggression act.

The economic process bears the character of struggle for wealth. When men and women work cooperatively albeit in different situation and stage of production for all necessary consumption, equality between sexes is prescribed in their everyday activities. Since labor is recognized as mode of life, different labors between men and women is highly appreciated as complementary division of works. Women’s labor is not marked as inferior and counted as worth as men’s. Both sexes acknowledge that only the sea is above them with its limitless power. When men use their strength to conquer the sea, women make contribution to fish processing and distribution. For the low class fishermen living close enough to the sea, material wealth is defined in terms of its attribution the longevity of their life as fisherman. The sea which can be very wild and can take their life and their need to adapt with the sea life produces behaviors and traits which make the brotherhood and bounding among the fishermen strong. When material wealth, such as gold could damage the brotherhood and bounding between them, they can abide it. When they consider mangrove will protect their access to the richness of the sea, they will protect it, without reason, developed from their experience and belief.

Situated in postcolonial Indonesia, Pramoedya constructs the imbalance power relation between the aristocrat Muslim and lower class fisherman, This novel, like any other Pramoedya’s works suggests his intension “to evoke with his imagery a picture of modern Indonesian might create literature out of its colonial past” (Abel, 1997, p. 23). Although he dismantles the hegemony of Dutch colonial culture, he maintains the relation between the colonizers and colonized constructed in the relation between different social groups. Taking up universal humanism as an idealistic system of ideas, Pramoedya constructs how the aristocratic Muslim in this novel continues the colonizer’s tradition of marginalizing the lower fishermen’s culture as uncivilized, highly governed by myths rather than using reasons to look at everyday problems. The aristocrat Muslim is represented as having great social privilege, taking a pity on the unprivileged fisherman, however, the aristocrat Muslim fails to share the smallest part of his own good fortune. There is a spirit of cynicism when the different of interests between these groups are conflicted. There is a nuance of submission of the lower class fishermen to the aristocratic Muslim, as the man from high class society, in terms of material wealth and status in the society. However, that they resist to submit to his ideology shows the nuance struggle for emancipation.

Ideology of resistance is also combined with ideology of subversion. The fishermen group is fashioned by the generative rules and conflicts of a given culture. They realize their subordinate position and marginality to the aristocratic Muslim in terms of material wealth and status. The form of resistance is constructed through their pride of marrying their daughter to the aristocrat Muslim, *Bendoro* for material wealth and status enjoyed by their daughter. However, they refuse to accept the gold their daughter offers to them which can be interpreted as an act of subversion. Combination of pride and loss is manifested in their refusal to the gold which further signifies their barrier and separation to the life of their daughter.

With their daughter stepping up to the upper status, they construct the invisible border between their life and their daughter's. Their crying on the day visiting their son in law signifies the powerless relation of the parents to their son in law. Marriage is not constructed as social mobility for both the bride and the family, but it strengthens their awareness of their differences. Only through subversive way they can resist to their marginality, they change their language expression from equal relation between parents and daughter to the subordinate relation of lower class to the upper class. Their hate to their fate as the lower class is manifested through their change of language expression, making their daughter rejected.

Women's submission and loss

Constructed as a 14th year old girl, a girl in her transition stage from childhood to adult, *Gadis Pantai* is narrated not as a girl with exceptional beauty, she is not different among any other girls, except her skin is lighter compared to other coastal girls who spend most of their time under the sun. However, her lighter skin is her asset for her social mobility, moving from just ordinary girl of lower class fisherman daughter to the wife of aristocratic Muslim. The development of the story is focused on the decay of *Gadis Pantai*'s girl power and her identity of coastal girl after she becomes a concubine of *Bendoro*, the aristocrat Muslim. Inside the beautiful but cold building, she finds herself rendered subject to higher power of the aristocratic Muslim because she is a woman and she is from lower class society.

Pramoedya's *Gadis Pantai* is an attempt to create the necessary condition of dismantling the double marginalization of the coastal girl through her submission and resistance to the social structure that she could not understand. The narrative of the story is developed from how the coastal girl formerly submit to social structure of the aristocratic culture to how her subjectivity develops to resist the dominant discourse which marginalize her. From the beginning of the story, Pramoedya has constructed her marginality through the unspoken question she has in her mind of her wedding with a kris as a substitute of *Bendoro*. On this day, that should be the happiest day in the life of a woman, she realizes that she is in different social position with *Bendoro*. As a 14 year old girl, as a psychologically rebellious age, she has a lot of questions in her mind of why her wedding is more like funeral for their parents although their parents keep to ensure her that she is very lucky girl being chosen as a concubine of *Bendoro*. Growing up as a coastal girl who is surrounded by a tradition to glorify the sea as the only power beyond them and high value on brotherhood and bounding between individuals in the community above material wealth, gold and beautiful clothes are not her means. Devout Muslim as the best requirement of being a husband is outside her imagination. She does not understand why devout Muslim who has done twice pilgrimage to Mecca and literate to Quran is considered as a good husband she should be thankful. And it goes further with how patriarchy and colonialism are intertwined to exacerbate women's oppression. The lower class women are objectified through his depiction only as a practice wife of the aristocratic and once she delivers the baby, she is deserted without a right to take care her own baby.

The expression of pain and anguish which characterizes Pramoedya's work begins when Pramoedya describes the coldness of the building with its high walls and fence as well as its silence without any sound of human life. It becomes more intense when her husband does not welcome her, he is still sleeping, and only an old housemaid comes to greet her. The powerless position of lower class woman is depicted through the answer of the young maid to the question of whose baby she is nursing: two year old baby without mother since her mother is deserted two years ago. From the first day of stay-at-her husband home, the coastal girl has begun to learn to be silent and exile from her community, even from the people who live in this house.

As the novel presents it, the telling of the Coastal Girl, the process of adaptation to be the wife of *Bendoro* is painful and ruptured. Her girl power which signifies her freedom to move in the open space is cut out and she should submit herself to the powerful *Bendoro* whom she does not understand why he is so powerful with his unmuscular body. She questions the accumulation of his power that makes the head of the village and her father highly respect him. Step by step and little by little she is domesticated with the ideology of good wife. She learns how to respect *Bendoro* and how to serve him as a wife of the aristocrat. However, deep into her heart, her subjectivity is still dominant albeit her silence and submission.

This novel also depicts the denial of woman's cultural autonomy despite the Javanese tradition of independent and assertive female power. Material wealth and status are the causes of women's loss. Women of the aristocrats are individuals without social or political consciousness to reach their autonomy. Social status and material wealth blind them that make them susceptible to the aristocrats. In his construction of Mardinah, Pramoedya emphasizes subalternity of Mardinah, a woman without struggle to have cultural autonomy, rather position himself under the discourse of patriarchy which glorifies her definition under the shadow of her husband. Through the contradictory depiction of the two female characters, women from upper aristocratic class versus women from lower social structure of coastal culture, Pramoedya attempts to transform condition of impossibility to shift women's loss into condition of possibility of female autonomy, although she must sacrifice her material wealth and social status involuntarily.

Cultural Forms of Resistance

Pramoedya's depiction of class-consciousness and subjectivity is developed through the conflict between *Gadis Pantai* and Mardinah. Represented as woman from different social group, they are in conflict to exercise their own power reclaiming their subjective position in their class. Both women are powerless and in hopeless and fragile position to lose their social status. Mardinah struggles to maintain her social position in the expense of *Gadis Pantai*, however, *Gadis Pantai* dominated by her impulse prefers to follow her heart of which she could regain her past freedom and self-autonomy. The pessimistic concept of subaltern unable to speak within the social strata is challenged with the dynamic possibility of subversive resistance.

Mardinah, for example, formerly is imprisoned in the discourse of social status and material wealth, she stands against *Gadis Pantai* with an expectation that she could exchange her position, not as a concubine of *Bendoro* but as his sub-wife since her social status is higher rather than *Gadis Pantai*. Growing up in aristocratic culture, she is educated to glorify the status of aristocratic wife and submit her self-autonomy to serve only her husband. As she knows that the position of aristocratic wife is fragile, anytime she can be deserted and her position is exchanged by another girl, her main struggle is how to make the other woman feel uncomfortable. In other words, it can be said that aristocratic women do not have self-autonomy and freedom to express her own self, rather she uses all her own capability only to compete with other women to secure her position as a wife of aristocrat. However, she has to accompany *Gadis Pantai* to visit her parent, forced to adapt the hard work life but egalitarian coastal culture and learn to have female autonomy, Mardinah experiences a transformation of ideology which leads her to sacrifice her dream to achieve higher social status and finds her happiness with her unexpected marriage to the fisherman.

This novel concerns to *Gadis Pantai* process to reclaim her power and cultural autonomy which are lost after she moves to the aristocratic culture. Growing up in coastal culture which glorifies female autonomy and contribution to any consumption, despite being silenced, she has never loosed her subjectivity. Feeling despair and hopeless does not make her loose her individuality. She has learned to submit and follow the rules but inside her, the waves of rebel are still floating and waiting to explode. She has tried to love her husband, and she did it, but she could not throw away her strangeness to her husband. Through her silence and no room for self-articulation, she develops herself to resist. She chooses to keep silent. She does not make any friendship to anyone in this house. Her silence is her autonomy when she could speak to herself and free her mind from any barrier. Inside she still dreams living as girl in the coastal area, with her freedom and autonomy. Visiting her homeland, she finds herself refused by her community. She is considered as a stranger: people respect her but there is invisible gap between them. She is completely lost. She returns to her husband home with despair. Again, she has tried to reclaim her subjectivity when she finds herself pregnant. But, as she is only a practice wife, she is deserted just after her delivery to the baby. She is sent home with some material wealth as an exchange of her practice wife. However, again she resists. Rather than going back to the culture which she has been abandoned, she prefers to stay close to her baby. Although she does not have any access to look after her baby, she is still able to peek her baby grow inside the wall of her ex-husband. Again, she resists and she has never submitted to the aristocratic culture.

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Politik Estetika: Strategi Mochtar Lubis dalam Mempertahankan Propaganda Orde Baru Melalui Buku *Kuli Kontrak*

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Abstract

This paper shows Mochtar Lubis' *Kuli Kontrak* has the political relations with the New Order's negative stigma of communism; *Kuli Kontrak* was culturally part of spreading the stigma. Every element in the short stories collection has different functions, but interrelated, in maintaining the negative stigma. The elements discussed in this paper, first, the intrinsic elements, namely the narrative strategy is divided into three main parts. Second, extrinsic elements: namely the covers which contains a painting and endorsements from figures. Third, the political element: the year of publication of the book and political backgrounds in Indonesia at that time. Discussion of each element followed by politics of aesthetics analysis, namely analysis of the political impacts of the use of these elements to social conditions, either directly or indirectly, expected by the author or not.

Keywords: *New Order, Anti-Communist Propaganda, Literary Strategy, Politics of Aesthetics*

Pengantar

Soeharto menjadikan peristiwa G30S sebagai dalih untuk menghancurkan Komunisme di Indonesia dan itu artinya, sekaligus menumbangkan Soekarno sebagai pemimpin besar revolusi, serta melemahkan kekuatan PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia).¹ Anti-Komunisme kemudian menjadi propaganda utama di sepanjang pemerintahan Orde Baru (1966-1998). Tulisan ini tak akan membahas lebih dalam bagaimana Orde Baru melakukan propaganda tersebut, karena sudah banyak kajian yang komprehensif mengenai hal tersebut², tetapi beberapa praktik propaganda yang sudah dibahas dalam beberapa kajian sebelumnya saya gunakan untuk menunjukkan relasinya dengan karya sastra yang ditulis oleh Mochtar Lubis.

Propaganda pemerintahan Orde Baru terhadap Komunisme lebih cenderung dengan paradigma moral (baik-buruk), sehingga dalam memberi pengetahuan tentang Komunisme, pemerintahan Orde Baru mengasosiasikannya dengan iblis, jahat, pembunuh, dan seterusnya, lalu sebagai lawannya, Pancasila diasosiasikan dengan ideologi resmi negara. Dengan kata lain, Orde Baru mereduksi unsur-unsur Komunisme, yang tak dapat dipungkiri, menjadi embrio dari nilai-nilai dalam Pancasila itu sendiri. Namun, dalam pendekatan moral, pereduksian basis sosial dari suatu ideologi memang sudah lumrah. Karena PKI adalah satu-satunya partai berhaluan Komunisme di Indonesia, maka secara otomatis propaganda anti-Komunisme berkaitan dengan propaganda anti-PKI. Dalam hal ini, Orde Baru telah mereduksi Komunisme sebagai 'Ide Murni' dan Komunisme sebagai 'Eksperimen Politik'.³ Selanjutnya, karena Soekarno berafiliasi dengan Komunisme dan PKI, maka soekarno juga menjadi bagian yang tak terpisahkan dari pembentukan identitas negara Orde Baru melalui propaganda, yaitu dengan melakukan desoekarnoisasi, sehingga pemerintahan Orde Baru mempersempit penghargaan Soekarno, meskipun sikap tersebut tidak konsisten dan tergantung kepentingan politik tertentu.⁴

Dalam menjalankan propaganda tersebut, Orde Baru tak hanya menggunakan instrumen negara, tetapi juga didukung oleh pihak non-pemerintah, seperti pengarang. Mochtar Lubis adalah salah satu intelektual penting dalam mempertahankan propaganda Orde Baru tersebut. Penggunaan kata 'mempertahankan' dalam tulisan ini sebenarnya untuk menjelaskan bahwa propaganda Mochtar Lubis dan Orde Baru tidak jauh berbeda. Dengan kata lain, sebagai seorang tokoh publik, Mochtar Lubis tidak berusaha menunjukkan sikap anti-Komunisme dengan cara seorang intelektual, misalnya dengan menciptakan polemik baru yang sifatnya dialektis, tapi malah menutup kemungkinan perdebatan tentang

¹ Lebih lanjut lihat buku *Dalih Pembunuhan Massal: Gerakan 30 September dan Kudeta Soeharto* (Penerbit Hasta Mista, Jakarta, 2008) terjemahan Hersri Setiawan atas buku karya John Roosa.

² Selain buku karya John Roosa, buku terbaru yang komprehensif membahas peristiwa 1965 adalah *Kekerasan Budaya: Bagaimana Orde Baru Melegitimasi Anti-Komunisme Melalui Sastra dan Film* (Penerbit Marjin Kiri, Tangerang, November 2013) karya Wijaya Herlambang.

³ Perbedaan ini merupakan pemikiran dari filsuf Prancis, Alan Badiou, dalam bukunya *Communist Hypothesis* (Verso, 2010). Pembahasan mengenai reduksi Orde Baru atas Komunisme, berdasarkan pemikiran Badiou ini, dilanjutkan pada bagian penutup dari makalah ini.

⁴ Lihat buku *Citra Bung Karno: Analisa Berita Pers Orde Baru* (Penerbit Bigrif Publishing, 1999) karya Agus Sudibyo, terutama pada sub-bab *Desoekarnoisasi*. Hal. 123-144.

Komunisme itu sendiri, dan justru mengeksplorasi reduksi yang dilakukan Orde Baru, meskipun dalam seruan politiknya selama Orde Baru, Mochtar Lubis seringkali membahas demokrasi, berpikir terbuka, dan kebebasan berpendapat.

Kumpulan cerita pendek berjudul *Kuli Kontrak* adalah salah satu bukti dari pola pemertahanan propaganda Orde Baru yang dilakukan oleh Mochtar Lubis. Buku ini berisi 18 cerita pendek dan tidak dituliskan tahun penulisan masing-masing ceritanya, tapi dipublikasikan pada tahun 1982. David T. Hill mengatakan dalam biografi kritis tentang Mochtar Lubis, bahwa cerita pendek berjudul *Kuli Kontrak*, yang sekaligus dijadikan judul buku, merupakan pengalaman masa kecilnya di Kerinci.⁵

Dalam masa pemerintahan Orde Baru, tahun 1982 adalah periode di mana Orde Baru sangat otoriter, sebagaimana dituliskan oleh Yoseph Yapi Taum, yang mana periode ini disebutnya sebagai periode hegemoni total:

Kurun waktu tahun 1981-1988 merupakan sebuah periode di mana kekuasaan Orde Baru melaksanakan pengawasan yang semakin ketat terhadap kegiatan-kegiatan masyarakat, termasuk dalam bidang ekspresi kebudayaan. Sejauh menyangkut Tragedi 1965, pemerintah menciptakan tiga sarana-sarana penguat penting yang dimobilisasikan melalui jalur pendidikan, yaitu: film *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* (1984), buku *Tragedi Nasional Percobaan Kup G 30 S/PKI di Indonesia* (1989), dan Buku Putih *Sejarah G30S Pemberontakan PKI* (1994). Sementara itu, penataran P4 tetap dilaksanakan pada setiap jenjang pendidikan. Dapat dikatakan bahwa ingatan tentang Tragedi 1965 memasuki wilayah ekspresi kebudayaan. Negara Orde Baru dalam periode 1981-1998 menunjukkan watak kekuasaan yang semakin otoriter dan militeristik. Kebebasan berpendapat dan berorganisasi benar-benar dibatasi dan diawasi oleh alat-alat kekuasaan negara, baik dengan cara memaksa (melalui lembaga militer Kopkamtib maupun peraturan kenegaraan) maupun dengan cara membujuk (melalui historiografi dan reproduksi kultural). Sosok negara pada periode ini adalah negara yang maha kuasa, maha menentukan, termasuk hidup dan matinya seorang warga negara Indonesia.⁶

Artinya, publikasi buku *Kuli Kontrak* pada waktu itu, meskipun cerita pendek di dalamnya ditulis pada tahun-tahun sebelumnya, tak bisa dipisahkan dari agenda Orde Baru sendiri. Mochtar Lubis ikut memberikan dukungan kultural terhadap strategi yang dilakukan Orde Baru dalam melegitimasi tindakan apa pun atas nama melindungi negara dari ideologi Komunisme. Bahkan di sekitar tahun-tahun buku itu diterbitkan, terdapat beberapa momentum penting dalam usaha menjaga keberlangsungan pemerintahan Orde Baru, yang mana dalam itu, propaganda anti-Komunisme semakin dibutuhkan sebagai instrumen pelanggungan itu sendiri. Dengan kata lain, buku *Kuli Kontrak* adalah versi non-pemerintah dari propaganda dalam film *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* (1984), buku *Tragedi Nasional Percobaan Kup G 30 S/PKI di Indonesia* (1989), dan Buku Putih *Sejarah G30S Pemberontakan PKI* (1994). Selain itu, David T. Hill memang mengatakan bahwa tindakan Mochtar Lubis untuk menerbitkan buku cerita tersebut, yang kemudian diikuti oleh buku cerita *Bromocorah* (1983), tak hanya sebagai usaha untuk menyampaikan pandangan politiknya kepada dunia melalui karya sastra meskipun pada akhirnya usaha tersebut tidak efektif, tetapi juga suatu proyek untuk Orde Baru.⁷

Tak hanya itu, dalam menyerukan anti-komunis tersebut, Mochtar Lubis juga tak mempunyai lawan yang seimbang. Ia tetap kukuh sebagai seorang anti-komunis, meskipun beberapa koleganya dalam membentuk Orde Baru sudah melakukan rekonsiliasi terhadap korban peristiwa 1965, bahkan ia pun tak mau menjadikan pertimbangan kemanusiaan untuk melihat para korban kekerasan pemerintah⁸. Bahkan tak ada pengarang sekaligus pendukung komunis yang menjadi penyeimbang propaganda yang dilakukannya, sebab kerja anti-komunis yang dilakukan oleh Mochtar Lubis didukung oleh peraturan pemerintah Orde Baru sendiri, yang memberikan kesempatan bagi terbitnya buku-buku anti-komunis sekaligus melarang buku yang mempunyai sikap oposisi pada Orde Baru⁹. Selain legitimasi dari peraturan pemerintah, posisi Mochtar Lubis sebagai pengarang juga dilegitimasi oleh berbagai penghargaan yang didapatnya pada masa sebelumnya, seperti Magsaysay Award (1953), Pena Emas untuk Kemerdekaan (1967), Buku Terbaik Yayasan Buku Utama (1976) untuk novel *Harimau! Harimau!*, yang mana hal tersebut mempunyai pengaruh terhadap apa yang disampaikannya, yang setidaknya, dalam paradigma moral yang terdapat dalam masyarakat, menjadi pertimbangan penting terhadap apa yang disampaikannya sebagai kebenaran absolut.

⁵ Lihat buku *Jurnalisme dan Politik di Indonesia: Biografi Kritis Mochtar Lubis (1922-2004) Sebagai Pemimpin Redaksi dan Pengarang*, Buku Obor: Jakarta, Juli 2011, karya David. T Hill.

⁶ Kutipan ini diambil dari tulisan berjudul Tragedi 1965 dalam Karya Umar Kayam: Perspektif Antonio Gramsci, di Lembar kebudayaan Jurnal Indoprogres, yang versi onlinenya dapat dilihat di <http://indoprogress.com/2014/09/tragedi-1965-dalam-karya-karya-umar-kayam-perspektif-antonio-gramsci/> Diakses 15 Agustus 2015.

⁷ David T. Hill, *Jurnalisme dan Politik di Indonesia: Biografi Kritis Mochtar Lubis (1922-2004) Sebagai Pemimpin Redaksi dan Pengarang*, Buku Obor: Jakarta, Juli 2011. Hal. 185.

⁸ Ibid. Hal. 132.

⁹ Lihat buku *Pelarangan Buku di Indonesia: Sebuah Paradoks Demokrasi Dan Kebebasan Bereksresi* (Penerbit Pr2media, Yogyakarta 2011) oleh Iwan Awaludin Yusuf, dkk.

Strategi *Kuli Kontrak*

Tidak semua cerita dalam buku *Kuli Kontrak* menganjurkan sikap anti-komunis, hanya ada 5 cerita yang secara langsung menunjukkan sikap oposisi terhadap Komunisme, dan afiliasinya, seperti Soekarno, dan PKI, ditambah lagi 2 cerita yang menjadi alegori dari pemimpin, serta 3 cerita menggambarkan sikap perlawanan terhadap pemerintah, dan selebihnya ada 8 cerita tentang kisah manusia sehari-hari yang tak mempunyai hubungan dengan propaganda Orde Baru.

Sebagai cerita yang dikumpulkan dalam sebuah kumpulan, setiap cerita akan selalu dihubungkan oleh berbagai aspek. Dalam hal ini, buku *Kuli Kontrak* dihubungkan oleh tendensi politik Mochtar Lubis dalam mempertahankan propaganda Orde Baru. Oleh sebab itu, dukungan secara langsung yang ditunjukkan hanya oleh 5 cerita tidak mengurangi kekuatan buku ini sebagai propaganda anti-komunis, karena cerita-cerita lain, yang tidak menjadikan Komunisme sebagai isu sentralnya, mempunyai peranan yang berbeda.

Cerita yang berjudul ‘Cemburu’ menceritakan seorang istri yang selalu curiga kepada suaminya. Saking curiganya, ia selalu mengikuti ke mana suaminya pergi, meskipun dalam urusan pekerjaan sekalipun. Dengan kata lain, istri itu tidak ingin suaminya bercinta dengan perempuan lain. Secara umum, cerita ini membangun suatu landasan moral tentang hubungan rumah tangga, terutama tentang kesetiaan, “Laki-laki sudah gila dan harus diawasi,” tambah Nyonya Hartowidigdo. “Umur, anak, lama kawin sudah mereka pedulikan lagi. Lihat Bung Karno sendiri. Berapa sudah anaknya? Berapa lama sudah dia kawin dengan Fatmawati...”¹⁰ Cerita ini tidak menjadikan topik yang berhubungan dengan propaganda Orde Baru sebagai isu ceritanya, tapi dalam percakapan antara istri dengan suami, Mochtar Lubis menyelipkan sebuah kalimat yang memang menggambarkan Soekarno sebagai lelaki yang tak setia. Dengan kata lain, dengan landasan moral yang dibangun oleh cerita tersebut, alusi terhadap Soekarno diarahkan menjadi suatu model dari bentuk amoral dari standar moralitas yang dibangun cerita ini.

Cerita alegoris ‘Hidup Singkat Si Conat yang Berbahagia’ bercerita tentang seorang tokoh utama, Conat, yang sangat patuh dan percaya pada apa yang disampaikan pemimpin. Bahkan saking patuh dan percaya, ia lebih mementingkan urusan revolusi daripada urusan dirinya sendiri. Pemimpin yang dimaksudkan oleh cerita ini memang tidak secara langsung menyatakan Soekarno, tapi beberapa peristiwa yang menjadi latar cerita ini, seperti Pembebasan Irian Barat dan Dekrit Presiden, tentu saja mengarahkan kita bahwa pemimpin yang tidak paham penderitaan rakyat di cerita itu adalah Soekarno, “Bagi si Conat semuanya ditetapkan oleh nasib. Dia menerima dia harus hidup begitu. Tak ada yang disalahkannya. Dia tak menyalahkan pemerintah, atau pemimpin-pemimpin...”¹¹ Dalam sebuah pembicaraan, Conat mengatakan, “Kalau pemimpin sudah bilang begitu, ya, kita tinggal turut saja. Pemimpin kan nyang lebih tau! Kalau dia bodoh masa dia jadi pemimpin dan jadi orang besar?”¹² Dengan menampilkan sosok Conat yang lugu sekaligus percaya pada pemimpin ini, Mochtar sekaligus bisa menyinggung kepemimpinan Soekarno yang dianggapnya sewenang-wenang dan tidak memperhatikan penderitaan rakyat:

Dan ketika kemudian pidato-pidato telah dimulai, maka si Conat pun lupa pada panas terik matahari, pada lapar perutnya, pada capek kakinya, lupa pada nanti malam ketika ia harus menarik becak, dan tiap kali pemimpin melontarkan yang baru dan hebat, maka si Conat pun membuka mulutnya, dan dengan sepenuh hati dan didukung oleh keyakinan yang bulat, ia pun menyerukan persetujuan dan dukungannya. Si Conat mendukung semuanya yang disuruh oleh pemimpin-pemimpin. Dia mendukung kembali ke UUD 1945, dia mendukung dekrit Presiden, dia mendukung Manipol, dia mendukung usdek, dia mendukung Kepribadian Nasional, dia mendukung perjuangan merebut Irian Barat....¹³

Penggambaran tokoh Conat seperti itu memang sangat konyol sekali, sehingga cerita ini lebih tepat disebut sebagai cerita yang satire terhadap kepemimpinan Soekarno, sekaligus usaha memperolok-olok revolusi yang ingin dicapai Soekarno sebagai agenda yang tak sesuai dengan kondisi rakyat.

Selanjutnya, cerpen ‘Potret’ bercerita tentang seorang penjual potret yang mendapatkan keuntungan karena menjual potret Soekarno setelah Soekarno menyampaikan tentang Nasakom. Selain itu, cerita ini juga menyampaikan hubungan Soekarno dengan Mao dan DN Aidit. Hubungan ketiga tokoh tersebut sama-sama dilihat dari banyaknya potret mereka yang terjual.

Pak Darmo merasa cukup senang dengan hasil usahanya. Dia bebas. Dan penghasilannya cukup baik. Terutama sekali setelah potret-potret Soekarno yang berwarna dan besar laris sekali....¹⁴ Kemudian ada pula potret yang laku. Yang orang-orangnya tak dikenalnya dan dia tak mengerti mengapa orang membelinya....Demikianlah Pak Darmo selama hampir sepuluh tahun terakhir bergantung hidup semata-mata dari potret presiden Soekarno dan

¹⁰ *Kuli Kontrak* (Penerbit Sinar Harapan, 1982) oleh Mochtar Lubis. Hal. 17

¹¹ *Ibid.* Hal. 59.

¹² *Ibid.* Hal. 60.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Hal. 101

selama dua tahun terakhir penghasilannya bertambah pula dengan menjual potret Aidit dan Mao.¹⁵

Bahkan, tak hanya itu, citra buruk Soekarno melalui paradigma moral juga dihadirkan kembali oleh Mochtar Lubis, sebagaimana dalam cerita 'Cemburu' sebelumnya, "Reproduksi lukisan-lukisan setengah wanita setelah telanjang dari koleksi lukisan Presiden Soekarno juga laku sekali..."¹⁶ Dengan kata lain, cerita pendek bergaya realis-satire ini mengarahkan suatu gambaran tentang kekaguman yang luar biasa tapi konyol terhadap Soekarno sekaligus usaha Mochtar menyampaikan citra buruk terhadap Soekarno.

'Cerita Sebenarnya Mengapa Haji Jala Menggantungkan Diri' adalah sebuah kisah yang menggambarkan PKI sebagai partai yang munafik dan menipu rakyat. Haji Jala sebagai tokoh utama dalam cerita ini berada dalam dua era, ketika rejim kapitalis berkuasa dan ketika komunis berkuasa. Ketika rejim berkuasa, para komunis memberikan alasan mengapa rakyat harus melawan kepada penjajah, dan mempertahankan sawah mereka, sehingga rakyat pun, yang dipimpin oleh Haji Jala, melakukan perlawanan sebagai bentuk keyakinan yang ditanamkan oleh PKI, sehingga penjajah pun hengkang:

"Kawan-kawan," katanya [kata tukang propaganda PKI], "datanglah waktunya kelas tani dan kelas buruh bersatu padu menghadapi siasat jahat kaum imperialis dan kapitalis. Seluruh kaum buruh internasional menyokong perjuangan kita di bawah pimpinan Stalin, Malenkov dan kawan Mao Tse-Tung..."¹⁷

Setelah hengkangnya rejim lama dan digantikan dengan komunis, tapi ternyata komunis melakukan apa yang dilakukan penjajah, meminta rakyat pindah dari tanah mereka. Sebagaimana yang dituliskan Mochtar Lubis sebagai kalimat propaganda yang dilakukan tukang propaganda PKI ketika partai itu menang:

"Sekarang Tuan Haji harus menyuruh dan mengajak orang tani supaya mau pindah. Pemerintah sekarang [kabinet anti-kapitalis] pemerintah yang kita sokong, jadi apa-apa perbuatannya harus kita sokong. Inilah namanya politik. Kalau pemerintah menyuruh kita pindah, maka kita harus pindah. Dahulu kita melawan karena pemerintahnya tidak kita sokong. Mengertikah Haji?"¹⁸

Tapi rakyat tak mau patuh kepada komunis karena mereka sudah percaya dengan propaganda sebelumnya yang mengatakan rakyat berhak atas tanah mereka sendiri. Sehingga komunis pun mendesak Haji Jala untuk meminta rakyat patuh. Haji Jala akhirnya memilih bunuh diri, tak hanya karena tak mengerti mengapa orang komunis yang dulu menyuruh mempertahankan tanah tetapi kini justru menyuruh mereka pindah, tetapi juga karena tak bisa meminta kembali rakyat pindah, karena ia sudah menggunakan ayat Al-Quran untuk mempengaruhi rakyat, dan tak mungkin ia mendustakan ayat suci. Melalui cerita ini, Mochtar menggambarkan PKI sebagai partai yang menghalalkan segala cara untuk mencapai tujuan, yang mana sikap tersebut dianggap Mochtar sebagai sikap orang komunis.

Di antara cerita sebelumnya, cerita simbolik 'Nasionalis Nomor Satu' adalah cerita yang paling provokatif dalam menggambarkan Komunisme sebagai paham yang biadab. Tokoh utama cerita ini, Jamal, digambarkan sebagai seorang yang sangat nasionalis, patuh pada peraturan, dan tidak pernah melakukan korupsi, sehingga malaikat pun memberinya anugerah, yaitu warna bendera Indonesia, merah-putih, ke telinga dan rambutnya, sehingga ia pun dianggap aneh, lalu menjadi objek lelucon bagi masyarakat. Karena tak ingin menjadi objek lelucon, maka ia pun meminta kepada malaikat untuk mengambil anugerah tersebut kembali, tapi malaikat tak pernah mengembalikannya, sehingga ia pun berusaha menjadi orang jahat agar malaikat mengambil anugerah untuk orang baik tersebut.

Tokoh utama, Jamal, mencoba melakukan berbagai level kejahatan agar malaikat mengambil kembali anugerah tersebut. Pada mulanya ia mencoba menjadi pegawai biasa yang koruptor, tetapi malaikat tetap saja mengambil anugerah tersebut, lalu menjadi anggota partai yang menipu rakyat dengan suka busuk, menjadi menteri yang menyalahkan jabatan, menjadi suami yang senang bermain dengan pelacur, hingga singkat kata tak satu pun kejahatan yang dilakukannya bisa membuat malaikat mengambil anugerah nasionalis itu padanya. Sampai kemudian Jamal berpikir untuk menjadi lebih jahat dari semua itu, yaitu dengan menjadi orang komunis:

Pada suatu hari dia mendapat ilham untuk menjadi orang komunis. Bukankah orang komunis itu sama sekali bukan seorang nasionalis, malahan adalah kaki-tangan asing, agen-agen Kremlin. Jika dia menjadi seorang nasionalis lalu menjadi komunis, pasti dia akan dimurkai oleh dewata. Dia minta berhenti jadi menteri, keluar dari partainya, dan masuk menjadi orang komunis. Bermalam-malam ditunggunya malaikat turun untuk

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Hal. 102-103.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.* Hal. 108.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Hal. 111.

mencabut anugrah dewata, akan tetapi malaikat terus tidak memperlihatkan dirinya pada si Jamal.¹⁹

Cerita ini pada satu sisi mencoba meninjau kembali makna menjadi nasionalis, sekaligus menertawakan birokrasi pemerintah yang tidak peduli dengan nasionalisme. Di sisi lain, dalam mengajak kita memikirkan kembali apa itu nasionalisme, cerita ini memasukkan stigma negatif terhadap komunis sebagai bagian dari kejahatan paling tinggi dalam kehidupan manusia.

Selain 5 cerita yang secara langsung menunjukkan stigma negatif terhadap Komunisme, PKI, dan Soekarno, ada 2 cerita simbolik yang dapat memperkuat stigma yang diberikan pada cerita sebelumnya. Seperti cerita yang berjudul ‘Kuburan Keramat’ yang mengisahkan tentang masyarakat desa yang sangat percaya pada kuburan keramat dan tak boleh dipindahkan karena kalau dipindahkan akan menyebabkan kutukan. Tetapi ternyata kuburan itu cuma kosong belaka sehingga masyarakat pun merasa selama ini tertipu. Selain itu, cerpen berjudul ‘Mengapa Kerbau Tak Suka Berbicara’ bercerita tentang kerbau yang tiba-tiba bisa berbicara dan mencemooh para pemimpin yang hanya bisa pidato saja. Kedua cerita ini, meskipun dapat mandiri sebagai cerpen yang secara spesifik berhubungan dengan Soekarno, tetapi karena berada dalam buku cerita ini, maka kisah yang digambarkan oleh Mochtar dalam kedua cerpen tersebut dapat dibaca sebagai simbolisasi kepemimpinan Soekarno yang dimistifikasikan tapi ternyata tidak memberikan apa-apa, karena perubahannya sebatas retorika berpidato saja.

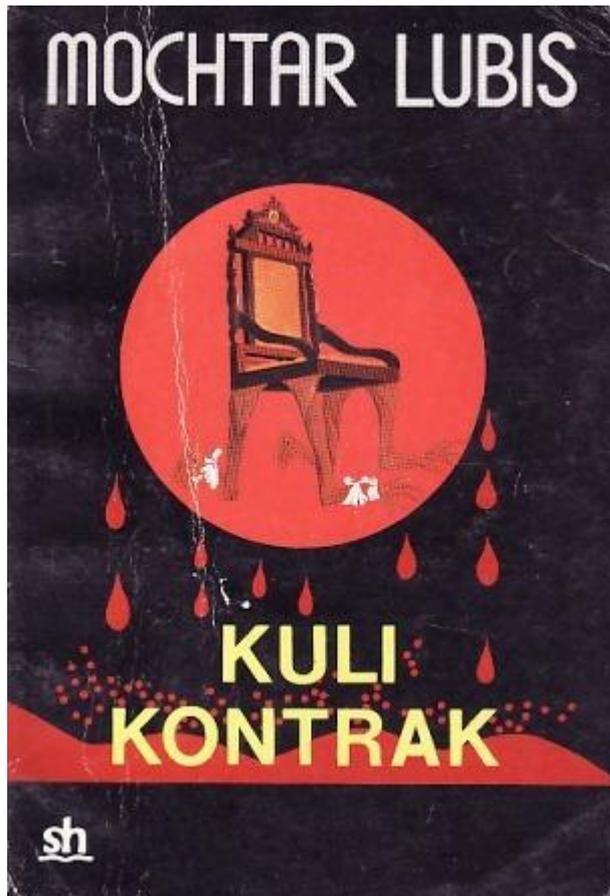
Selain itu, ada 3 cerita pendek realis yang menggambarkan sikap perlawanan rakyat bersalah terhadap pemerintah. Cerita ‘Kuli Kontrak’ bercerita tentang perlawanan kuli kontrak di zaman Belanda yang kemudian perlawanan tersebut membuat kuli itu harus menerima hukuman cambuk. Cerita ‘Traktor’ bercerita tentang tokoh Ismail yang menghadang traktor, sebagai tindakan melawan penggusuran yang dilakukan oleh petugas keamanan di rumahnya. Cerita ‘Peraturan’ bercerita tentang seorang tahanan yang mengekik petugas penjara karena tahanan tersebut merasa diperlakukan tidak manusiawi dan setiap kali melakukan protes, petugas penjara selalu berkata ‘saya hanya mengikuti peraturan’ dan ‘saya hanya menjalankan perintah.’ Ketiga cerita pendek tersebut sama-sama menggambarkan sikap perlawanan terhadap aturan, hukum, ancaman, dan seterusnya, yang dibuat penguasa bila itu sudah tidak sejalan lagi dengan kemanusiaan. Meskipun tak secara jelas merujuk pada kepemimpinan Soekarno, tetapi setidaknya ketiga cerita dalam bagian ini menjadi legitimasi tematik sekaligus keniscayaan untuk melakukan perlawanan, sebagaimana yang dicontohkan Mochtar Lubis terhadap pemerintahan Soekarno yang dinilainya otoriter dan tidak lagi manusiawi.

Sementara itu, 8 cerita lainnya memang tidak ada hubungan sama sekali dengan tematik anti komunisme, PKI, atau Soekarno sekali pun. Cerita bagian ini adalah cerita bergaya realis dengan latar di berbagai tempat, seperti di Meksiko, Jepang, Australia, dan beberapa tempat di Indonesia. Cerita-cerita tersebut bisa saja dipisahkan dari tendensi politik Mochtar Lubis dalam buku ini, tetapi hal tersebut hanya akan mencabut karya sastra dari latar sosial-politiknya, sehingga keberadaan 8 cerita ini (*Semua Bisa Dibeli, La Bandida, Sinyo Brandi, Bintang Malam Jadi Redup, Cincin Berlian, Rumah Jati, Jibakutai, Soal Warna*) memang dapat dibaca sebagai usaha menempatkan sikap-anti-komunisme di antara kisah manusia sehari-hari, yang implikasi politis dari pilihan estetis tersebut adalah tertanamnya sikap anti-komunisme sebagai sikap yang sudah sewajarnya, manusiawi, sebagaimana sikap ingin pergi berpetualangan, memiliki kekasih, kegemaran pada binatang, dan seterusnya.

Lebih lanjut, lukisan sampul depan buku *Kuli Kontrak* juga menjadi bagian dari usaha memperkuat stigma tersebut, tapi dengan cara dan intensitas yang berbeda. Dalam setiap cerita dalam buku itu tak ada satu pun cerita yang mencoba menggambarkan peristiwa berdarah pada tahun 1965, maka bagian yang sama pentingnya dari tragedi itu justru disampaikan melalui sampul depan buku tersebut, yaitu lukisan karya But Muchtar.²⁰

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Hal. 163.

²⁰ Dalam website Indonesian Visual Art Archive (IVAA), ivaa-online.org, diakses 15 Agustus 2015, But Muchtar dideskripsikan sebagai berikut, sekaligus bisa dilihat posisinya sebagai seniman di masa Orde Baru: But Muchtar lahir di Bandung, 20 Desember 1930. But dibesarkan di tengah lingkungan keluarga Banten yang taat dan kebelanda-belandaan. Tahun 1952 - 1959 menyelesaikan pendidikan di Departemen Seni Rupa, Fakultas Teknik, Universitas Indonesia di Bandung (ITB). Di ITB But menjadi murid dari Ries Mulder. Setelah lulus dari ITB, But melanjutkan sekolah di Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, R.I. USA (1960-1961), Art Students League of New York, N.Y., USA (1961), Sculpture Center of New York, N.Y., USA (1961-1962), Bedi-Rasi Art Foundry, New York, N.Y., USA (1962), Research Fellow, Massachusetts Institut of Technology, USA (1962-1963). Sepulang dari luar negeri, berbagai karir jabatan telah dilimpahkan kepadanya, antara lain: Ketua Departemen Seni Rupa ITB (1975-1977), Sekretaris ITB bidang Komunikasi dan Kebudayaan (1977-1980), Sekretaris Rektor Bidang Komunikasi dan Kebudayaan, ITB (1980-1984), dan sejak tahun 1984 menjabat Rektor Institut Seni Indonesia. Terlibat aktif dalam berbagai kegiatan, baik nasional maupun internasional, antara lain: sebagai juri sayembara Arsitektur Gedung Kotamadya Bandung (1979), Panitia Juri Sayembara Monumen Proklamator RI, Jakarta (1980), Ketua Design Canter Pavilion Indonesia, EXPO'86, Vancouver, Canada (1985). Sejak tahun 1954, karya-karyanya sudah dipamerkan. Tidak saja di Bandung, Jakarta atau Surabaya, melainkan juga di Kuala Lumpur, Singapura, Bangkok, New Delhi, London, Ithaca, New York dan Rio de Janeiro. Sumbangan karya patung monumentalnya di Jakarta antara lain: Relief Kayu di Wisma Bahari, Tanjung Priok (1964), Relief Metal di Gedung DPR/MPR, Jakarta (1970), Relief Metal di Gedung DPA, Jakarta (1982). But Mochtar meninggal 31 Juni 1993



Keberadaan lukisan tersebut sebagai sampul buku *Kuli Kontrak*, secara langsung dapat direlasikan dengan tragedi itu, karena adanya simbol kursi dan darah, tapi tentu simbol tersebut bisa bermakna ganda, apakah kursi tersebut representasi dari kekuasaan Soekarno, yang dikaitkan oleh Soeharto, dan dilanjutkan oleh Mochtar Lubis, sebagai bagian dari G30S/PKI? Atau lukisan itu justru representasi kekuasaan Soeharto yang dicapai melalui tragedi berdarah itu, atau Gerakan Satu Oktober?²¹

Meskipun ada kemungkinan bahwa lukisan tersebut merepresentasikan dua versi sejarah yang berbeda dari tragedi 1965 tersebut, tetapi kalau keberadaan lukisan tersebut tetap dibaca sebagai bagian strategi tekstual buku *Kuli Kontrak*, maka tentu lukisan tersebut tak hanya sebatas ditafsirkan, tetapi justru dapat dijelaskan bahwa karya But Muchtar itu menjadi bagian dari usaha Mochtar Lubis mempertahankan stigma terhadap Komunisme, begitu juga PKI dan Soekarno, terutama stigma yang menyatakan bahwa tragedi G30S disebabkan oleh PKI, sebab dalam sejarah versi Orde Baru, pembunuhan jenderal dilakukan oleh PKI tak hanya dijadikan kebenaran absolut, tetapi juga energi utama dalam membangun standar moral negara.

Selain diperkuat oleh lukisan pada sampul depan, cerita-cerita dalam *Kuli Kontrak* juga didukung oleh endorsement dari beberapa tokoh sastra, yaitu Sutardji Calzoum Bachri dan Drs. Harijadi S. Hartowardjojo. Kedua tokoh ini merupakan tokoh penting saat buku tersebut dipublikasikan. Meskipun pengalaman intelektual Mochtar Lubis lebih luas dari kedua orang itu, namun mereka berdua adalah generasi baru, yang nanti akan menggantikan peran Mochtar Lubis sebagai intelektual publik, yang tentu sebagai generasi baru dalam aktivitas intelektual di Indonesia, kedua tokoh itu mempunyai posisi yang tak kalah pentingnya dengan Mochtar Lubis sendiri.

Meskipun komentar kedua tokoh tersebut tidak secara khusus berhubungan dengan sikap anti-Komunisme, ataupun kebencian terhadap PKI, maupun Soekarno, tetapi esensi dari komentarnya mendukung stigma negatif yang dipertahankan oleh Mochtar Lubis. Berikut komentar Sutardji Calzoum Bachri, sebagaimana tercantum pada sampul bagian belakang:

“... Mochtar Lubis bukanlah seorang master of style. Ia bukan seorang Ernest Hemingway, John Updike, atau Andre Gide. Ia lebih mengasyikkan dirinya pada isi, pada tema yang ingin disampaikannya, sehingga cerita dalam kumpulan ini banyak yang bersifat karikatural, humoristis, dan simbolika...temanya selalu ada kaitannya dengan relevansi

²¹ Dalam *Dalih Pembunuhan Massal*, John Rossa menjelaskan bahwa G30S yang ditambahkan ‘PKI’ adalah usaha Orde Baru untuk menunjukkan bahwa peristiwa 30 September didalangi oleh PKI, sementara sebagai bentuk perlawanan terhadap itu, Soekarno menyebut Gestok, Gerakan Satu Oktober, sebagai bentuk respon keterlibatan Soeharto dalam pembunuhan yang lebih besar, namun karena kekuatan legitimasi Orde Baru, perlawanan Soekarno dilemahkan.

sosial. Mochtar mengkritik para pemimpin palsu, melukiskan orang-orang kecil yang lugu, yang menderita dan kelaparan...”

Sebagaimana yang disampaikan Sutardji melalui komentar singkatnya, Mochtar Lubis memang mengkritik pemimpin yang dianggapnya palsu, yaitu Soekarno, dengan membuat kontradiksi dengan kondisi rakyat yang miskin, tapi seberapa pun tendensi politiknya sangat kuat dalam beberapa cerita pendek, hal itu tak berarti Mochtar menjadi seorang yang melupakan teknik cerita.

Sebagaimana yang dibahas sebelumnya, Mochtar Lubis justru sangat peduli dengan bentuk, atau dengan teknik cerita yang dipakainya, untuk menyampaikan serta mendukung propaganda anti-Komunisme. Bentuk realis, simbolik, satire, dan alegori yang digunakan oleh Mochtar Lubis justru menunjukkan bahwa ia seorang yang ahli dalam bentuk tersebut karena bentuk-bentuk tersebut memang seringkali dipakai, bahkan oleh berbagai pengarang dunia, untuk tujuan politik yang lebih jelas, atau sebagai respon terhadap kondisi politik tertentu, bila dibandingkan misalnya dengan karya-karya yang abstrak, seperti karya Putu Wijaya sebagaimana yang disebutkan dalam komentar Drs. Harijadi S. Hartowidjojo:

“...Faktor sosiallah yang selalu tampak menonjol dalam cerpen-cerpen ini. Faktor sosial itu diusahakannya selalu realistis. Tidak seperti cerpen-cerpen Putu Wijaya misalnya, yang abstrak. Beberapa cerpen merupakan kritik terhadap kondisi dan situasi sosial pada masa Orde Lama sampai mulainya Orde Baru...”

Cerita abstrak bukan berarti tidak mempunyai tendensi politik tertentu, tetapi karya yang seperti itu mempunyai hubungan yang tidak sama dengan kondisi politik Indonesia saat itu dibanding dengan bentuk karya Mochtar Lubis. Dengan dipilihnya bentuk realis, satire, simbolik, dan alegoris oleh Mochtar Lubis, usahanya mempertahankan reduksi yang dilakukan oleh Orde Baru lebih mudah dilakukan, dan yang paling penting fungsinya, sikap anti-Komunisme yang ditekankan dalam buku *Kuli Kontrak* dapat menjadi suatu hal yang lumrah dalam kehidupan masyarakat, sebagaimana yang dikatakan oleh Drs. Harijadi sendiri bahwa faktor sosial dalam cerita Mochtar Lubis, apalagi yang berhubungan dengan anti-komunisme, selalu diusahakan tampak realistis karena memang Mochtar Lubis, melalui buku itu, berusaha menjadikan anti-Komunisme sebagai common sense atau sesuatu yang tak harus digugat lagi. Komentar singkat dari Drs. Harijadi itu, sebagaimana komentar Sutardji, meskipun tidak secara terang-terangan mendukung propaganda anti-Komunisme, namun implikasi dari komentar mereka mendukung tindakan politis Mochtar Lubis dalam menjadikan sikap anti-Komunisme, begitu PKI dan Soekarno sebagaimana yang ditampilkan dalam buku itu, sebagai tindakan karakterisasi masyarakat Indonesia.

Basis Politik dari *Kuli Kontrak*

Tindakan anti-Komunisme Mochtar Lubis beserta kebenciannya terhadap PKI, serta Soekarno memang tak hanya dalam cerita pendek, tetapi juga dalam tulisan non-sastra, terutama di koran *Indonesia Raya*. Selain itu, dalam aktivitas intelektualnya, ia juga menunjukkan kerja anti-Komunisme. Artinya, Mochtar Lubis adalah pengarang yang konsisten antara karya dan posisinya sebagai intelektual anti-Komunisme. Bahkan, sebagaimana yang dikatakan David T. Hill, Mochtar Lubis tak mempunyai pertimbangan kemanusiaan saat berhubungan dengan Komunisme:

Sikap Mochtar yang tidak luwes dalam garis keras antikomunisnya juga mengecewakan beberapa orang...Sikap Mochtar Lubis yang tak kenal kompromi terhadap PKI mengakibatkan rasa pilu lebih lanjut di antara para penggemar mudanya selagi mereka masih menilai kembali masalah hak asasi manusia...²² Bulan Agustus 1969, Arief Budiman dan saudara kandung Soe Hok Gie, yang punya kontak dengan Amnesty Internasional, mendesak agar diberikan amnesti bagi tahanan golongan C, yaitu mereka yang oleh pemerintah digolongkan sebagai yang tingkat keterlibatannya paling rendah dan tidak perlu diadili. Mochtar tidak simpatik.²³

Dalam tulisan di *Indonesia Raya*, Mochtar Lubis beberapa kali menyampaikan pandangannya tentang Komunisme dan PKI:

Kami tidak meragukan sedikit pun kesungguhan beberapa pengarang yang menolak pelarangan pertunjukan film-film Soviet oleh Kedutaan Besar Soviet Rusia di Jakarta...Kita di Indonesia terlibat dalam peperangan menghadapi kaum komunis. Bangsa kita menghadapi komunis buka baru ketika pecah peristiwa Gestapu saja, yang menjerat para jenderal ke dalam sumur Lubang Buaya. Sebagai bangsa yang merdeka, konfrontasi menghadapi kaum komunis telah dimulai secara terbuka dengan pemberontakan PKI di Madiun...Komunisme adalah suatu paham totaliter...Mereka memakai segala rupa alat yang dapat menolong mereka mencapai tujuan-tujuan mereka—sebelum penguasaan fisik, maka

²² Lihat David. T. Hill, *Jurnalisme dan Politik di Indonesia: Biografi Kritis Mochtar Lubis (1922-2004) Sebagai Pemimpin Redaksi dan Pengarang*, Buku Obor: Jakarta, Juli 2011. Hal. 131.

²³ *Ibid.* Hal. 132

terlebih dahulu penguasaan pikiran dan jiwa orang...Kita tak usah ragu-ragu menghadapi berbagai rupa taktik yang dipergunakan orang komunis.²⁴ Taktik PKI di Indonesia mirip sekali dengan apa yang dilakukan orang-orang Rusia di Yugoslavia dulu. Mereka mau infiltrasi ke mana-mana, ke dalam partai-partai politik yang lain, ke dalam pemerintahan, angkatan perang, polisi, lapangan kebudayaan, dan sebagainya....Tetaplah waspada terhadap PKI!²⁵

Dari pandangannya tersebut, setidaknya kita dapat melihat reduksi Mochtar Lubis terhadap Komunisme dan PKI, reduksi yang juga diproduksi oleh pemerintahan Orde Baru. Dengan kata lain, baik Mochtar Lubis ataupun Orde Baru, sama-sama tak mau membedakan antara Komunisme sebagai ideologi dan PKI serta partai komunis lain di dunia sebagai salah satu bentuk implementasi ideologi tersebut.

Meskipun begitu, pandangan Mochtar Lubis terhadap Soekarno secara khusus, pada kondisi tertentu, tetap menunjukkan sikap sebagai seorang humanis, tapi tetap tidak melepaskan stigma negatif terhadapnya, sebagaimana yang dituliskannya di *Indonesia Raya*, 19 Juni 1970, jauh sebelum buku *Kuli Kontrak* dipublikasikan:

Kini Soekarno menghadapi kegawatan dalam perkembangan berbagai penyakit yang telah diterimanya selama ini. Harian ini adalah salah satu penentang berbagai rupa politiknya di masa lampau. Kami juga amat tajam keras mengkritik tindakan-tindakan pribadinya yang ternyata di masa lampau telah banyak merusak sistem nilai-nilai yang baik di tanah air kita. Malahan pertentangan antara harian ini dengan Soekarno di masa dia berkuasa penuh telah menyebabkan Presiden Soekarno dengan cara kekesaran menutup penerbitan surat kabar ini dan memenjarakan pemimpin redaksinya tanpa suatu proses hukum.²⁶

Pandangan di atas selalu dipertahankan oleh Mochtar Lubis ketika bicara tentang Soekarno, karena pengalaman dipenjarakan oleh rezim Soekarno menjadi basis dari tindakan politiknya di kemudian hari. Meskipun begitu, masih dalam tulisan yang sama, Mochtar Lubis menunjukkan perhatiannya kepada Soekarno:

Namun, di saat dia kini menderita sakit yang gawat, kami mintakan kepada pemerintah perhatian khusus pada perawatannya. Jika perlu, agar Soekarno dikirim ke luar negeri untuk dirawat dengan baik. Juga kami mintakan pertimbangan khusus dari Presiden Soeharto sendiri untuk memungkinkan istrinya, Ratna Sari Dewi, membawa anaknya yang belum pernah dilihatnya, menemui Soekarno dalam waktu singkat. Pemerintah kita yang baru hendaknya bersikap dengan rasa kemanusiaan yang lebih besar dari rezim Soekarno, yang di mana dulu tidak cakap bersikap demikian. Hal ini akan menambah besar gengsi prestise pemerintah Soeharto dan sesuai pula dengan rasa kemanusiaan kita.

Meskipun Mochtar Lubis berusaha mengajak pemerintah Soeharto untuk menggunakan pertimbangan kemanusiaan terhadap Soekarno, tetapi tetap saja usaha tersebut tidak benar-benar untuk kepentingan kemanusiaan seutuhnya, melainkan justru untuk kepentingan politik pencitraan Orde Baru. Dengan kata lain, usaha menunjukkan stigma negatif dan pertimbangan kemanusiaan oleh Mochtar Lubis terhadap Soekarno sama palsunya, yaitu untuk tujuan politik pemerintahan Orde Baru semata. Bahkan sikap pemerintah Orde Baru terhadap Soekarno pun sama halnya dengan pandangan Mochtar Lubis. Agus Sudibyo menuliskan bahwa ada banyak indikasi yang menunjukkan bahwa rejim Orde-Baru mempunyai sikap yang dualisme terhadap Soekarno, tapi tetap dengan motif politik tertentu:

Soeharto secara perlahan-lahan mengeleminir dampak-dampak dari setiap keputusan politik yang diambilnya. Hal ini dapat terlihat dari sikap rejim Orde Baru terhadap momentum kematian Soekarno. Teks pidato pemerintah dibuat sedapat mungkin seimbang terhadap kebaikan dan keburukan Bung Karno, upacara pemakaman dilaksanakan sesingkat mungkin, dan tempat pemakaman dipilih dengan pertimbangan utama agar tidak menimbulkan masalah baru di kemudian hari. Dengan kata lain, Soeharto berusaha untuk sekaligus menghormati dan mengontrol pengaruh Bung Karno.²⁷

Hubungan Mochtar Lubis dengan Orde Baru sebenarnya tak hanya karena kesamaan paradigma tentang komunisme, tetapi antara keduanya sama-sama mengambil kesempatan dari peristiwa G30S sebagai awal untuk mendirikan Orde Baru dan membiarkan pembunuhan atas berjuta-juta rakyat Indonesia, dan tak pernah berhenti menyebarkan propaganda anti-Komunisme di Indonesia. Meskipun dalam berbagai tulisan, Mochtar Lubis tetap memberikan kritik terhadap Orde Baru sepanjang Orde Baru, bahkan semenjak pemerintah Soeharto tersebut dimulai, ia mendapat kesempatan untuk berkuasa secara intelektual,

²⁴ Lihat *Tajuk-tajuk Mochtar Lubis di Harian Indonesia Raya: Politik Dalam Negeri dan Masalah Nasional* (Yayasan Obor, 1997), disunting oleh Atmakusumah dan Sri Rumiati Atmakusumah. Hal. 59

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.* 169.

²⁷ Lihat buku *Citra Bung Karno: Analisa Berita Pers Orde Baru* (Penerbit Bigraf Publishing, 1999) karya Agus Sudibyo, terutama pada sub-bab *Desoekarnoisasi*. Hal. 130.

terutama dalam bidang bisnis, jurnalisme, dan kesenian, yang mana hal tersebut tak hanya mempengaruhi corak kehidupan intelektual hari ini, tetapi juga pemertahanan stigma negatif tersebut dalam masyarakat umum, dan juga sebagian tokoh Indonesia hari ini yang mana pandangan intelektual mereka dibangun oleh propaganda anti-komunis Orde Baru.

Penutup

Propaganda anti-Komunisme yang dilakukan oleh Orde Baru tidak dalam strategi menunjukkan kelemahan Komunisme sebagai suatu ideologi, sehingga katakanlah ideologi Pancasila yang digunakan Orde Baru sebagai lawan Komunisme, mempunyai kelebihan tersendiri. Orde Baru justru mereduksi kegagalan praktik politik Komunisme sebagai suatu kegagalan ideologi itu sendiri, sehingga setiap perjuangan Komunisme dilenyapkan oleh negara, maka anti-Komunisme pun menjadi standar moral negara Indonesia.

Mochtar Lubis memang tidak menjadi bagian dari pemerintah Orde Baru, ia bahkan pihak non-partai, meskipun mendukung perubahan sistim kepartaian di Indonesia, bahkan dalam mendukung pemerintahan Orde Baru, ia tetap menjaga sikap kritis terhadap pemerintah itu. Bahkan propaganda yang dilakukannya adalah dengan mempertahankan model propaganda yang diproduksi Orde Baru. Ia mereproduksi setiap reduksi anti-komunisme Orde Baru. Dengan kata lain, ia secara aktif mempertahankan setiap reduksi anti-Komunisme, sebagaimana yang diproduksi oleh Orde Baru menjadi suatu standar moral kebangsaan dan kenegaraan. Sebagaimana pemerintah Orde Baru, ia pun tak mempunyai pertimbangan kemanusiaan terhadap korban peristiwa 1965, meskipun secara kontradiktif di saat bersamaan ia menyerukan kebebasan berpikir, demokrasi, dan kebebasan berpendapat, atau keadilan bagi masyarakat yang sebenarnya juga diperjuangkan oleh Komunisme. Ketika menulis tentang kesejahteraan rakyat, di harian *Indonesia Raya* Mochtar Lubis menulis pendapat yang berusaha memberikan stigma negatif terhadap komunis, tetapi justru ia sedang menunjukkan alasan kemunculan Komunisme itu sendiri:

Komunis hanya sungguh-sungguh dapat ditundukkan jika iklim bagi perkembangan benih-benihnya ditiadakan sama sekali...Hanya dengan terbinanya keadilan sosial yang merata, kemakmuran ekonomi yang adil, barulah ruang hidup bagi Komunisme dapat dihapuskan....Dalam masyarakat di mana rakyat menikmati jaminan kebebasan hak-hak asasi manusianya, hukum berlaku adil bagi semua orang, birokrasi bekerja untuk kepentingan-kepentingan masyarakat, dan bagi semua orang terbuka ruang kreatif untuk mengembangkan diri, maka kaum komunis tak akan menemukan tanah subur bagi kegiatan-kegiatan subversifnya.²⁸

Mochtar Lubis benar ketika mengatakan bahwa gerakan Komunisme tak akan ada dalam masyarakat sudah sejahtera. Karena memang akar munculnya Komunisme adalah ketidakadilan sosial yang diproduksi oleh sistim kapitalisme, yang dalam konteks Indonesia pertamakali disebabkan oleh kapitalisme-kolonialisme Belanda.²⁹ Namun, pandangan tersebut tidak berarti bahwa Mochtar Lubis mendukung esensi perjuangan Komunisme sebagai perjuangan melawan ketidakadilan kapitalisme, ia justru mereduksi esensi tersebut dengan menjadikan stigma negatif terhadap PKI sebagai kegagalan Komunisme.

Kontradiksi tersebut terjadi karena Mochtar Lubis tidak membedakan antara Komunisme sebagai *Ide Murni tentang Kesetaraan* dan Komunisme sebagai *Eksperimen Politik*.³⁰ Martin Suryajaya memberikan penjelasan yang substansial mengenai perbedaan antara Komunisme sebagai *ide murni* tentang kesetaraan dan Komunisme sebagai *praktik politik* oleh institusi tertentu. Keruntuhan Uni Soviet seringkali dianggap sebagai kegagalan Komunisme sebagai *Ide Murni*. Padahal ketika Uni Soviet runtuh, yang gagal justru Komunisme sebagai *Praktik Politik*, yang tidak berhasil adalah *Negara Komunis* atau pelembagaan Komunisme secara permanen dalam sosok Negara. Sedangkan sebagai *Ide Murni tentang Kesetaraan* tidak gagal, karena setiap perjuangan yang dilakukan oleh manusia adalah perjuangan melawan Ketidakesetaraan; konsekuensinya, ketika ada perjuangan yang memperjuangkan Kesetaraan, maka sesungguhnya saat itu hipotesis Komunisme sedang mengemuka. Artinya, Komunisme akan tetap ada dan sudah ada semenjak dulu, bahkan jauh sebelum Karl Marx lahir: Ide yang diperjuangkan pemberontakan budak Roma yang dipimpin oleh Spartakus atau gerakan petani Jerman yang diorganisasikan oleh Thomas Munzer bisa disebut Ide Komunisme, meskipun perjuangan tersebut tidak disebut sebagai perjuangan Komunisme. Artinya, ketika sebuah Ide gagal secara eksternal (dalam implementasinya), maka hal tersebut tidak berarti bahwa *Ide* itu sendiri yang gagal secara internal.³¹

Akhir kata, menjadikan karya sastra sebagai alat propaganda politik sebenarnya bukanlah hal yang tidak boleh dilakukan oleh sastrawan, sebab setiap karya sastra akan tetap mempunyai implikasi politik tertentu, meskipun implikasi tersebut bisa terjadi secara tidak langsung. Mengenai hubungan antara sastra dan propaganda politik, praktik yang dilakukan oleh Mochtar Lubis adalah contoh yang menarik, setidaknya, sebagai pertimbangan kritis bagi sastrawan sesudahnya, terutama hari ini, dalam menjadikan karya sastra sebagai propaganda politik. Mochtar Lubis sudah mencoba beberapa strategi dalam menyebarkan

²⁸ Lihat *Tajuk-tajuk Mochtar Lubis di Harian Indonesia Raya: Politik Dalam Negeri dan Masalah Nasional* (Yayasan Obor, 1997), disunting oleh Atmakusumah dan Sri Rumiati Atmakusumah. Hal. 218.

²⁹ Lebih mendalam, baca buku *Kemunculan Komunisme Indonesia* (Penerbit Komunitas Bambu, 2010) yang ditulis oleh Ruth McVey.

³⁰ Lebih mendalam, baca *Communist Hypotesis* karya Alan Badiou (Verso Book, 2010).

³¹ Lihat *Alan Badiou dan Masa Depan Bagi Marxisme* karya Martin Suryajaya, Resist Book, 2011. Hal. 220-5

propaganda anti-Komunisme, terutama melalui cerita bergaya realis, yang mengarahkan Komunisme dan komunis sebagai ideologi dan orang yang biadab, yang mana implikasi penggunaan teknik tersebut adalah diposisikannya anti-Komunisme sebagai standar moral masyarakat, atau sesuatu yang tidak boleh dipertanyakan lagi.

Implikasi dari buku *Kuli Kontrak*, pertama, kemampuan propaganda politik estetikanya dalam melanggengkan cara berpikir masyarakat hari ini yang anti-intelektual dalam membicarakan Komunisme. Dengan kata lain, bila hari kita berharap bahwa rekonsiliasi terhadap korban peristiwa 1965 sekaligus pembacaan terhadap Komunisme akan dilakukan secara intelektual, maka buku *Kuli Kontrak* tak akan membantu untuk membangkitkan kesadaran tentang perlunya memikirkan kembali hal tersebut. Kedua, karena aspek propaganda politiknya sangat kentara, terutama pada lima cerita pendek di dalamnya, maka Mochtar Lubis sebenarnya sedang memposisikan pembaca karyanya sebagai pembaca yang pasif, hanya sebagai objek dari ide politiknya, sehingga kemungkinan bagi pembacanya untuk menjadi pembaca yang aktif menjadi tidak ada. Dengan kata lain, karena pembacanya berada di posisi sebagai objek dari propaganda politiknya, buku *Kuli Kontrak* karya Mochtar Lubis tidak berpotensi menciptakan demokrasi, kebebasan berpikir, dan menjadi kreatif, sebagaimana yang sering disampaikannya, terutama ketika rezim Orde Baru mulai berkuasa***

Plane of Immanence of the Romance Films in Indonesia: Deleuzian Cinema Critics

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Abstract

This research is aimed to analyze how love is narrated in Indonesian movie industry during new order and after. By applying Gilles Deleuze's theory of cinema, researcher will be focusing on the development of movement-image and time-image from some selected movies. This is done in order to answer the question: does the concept growing in Indonesian romance films/movies belong to the same plane of immanence as Indonesian's political censorship concept? After finding out the answer of that question, the truth about the changes in Indonesia after the new order collapses will be revealed

Keywords: *Cinema critics, Deleuze, New Order, Plane of Immanence*

Introduction

World is a place to live for many objects that relate to each other and create unlimited amount and variety of realities. Then, this will make the world and everything in it become something enigmatic that is very interesting to analyze. For instance, there are philosophers, scientists, and artists who try to take a deeper look on the realities from their own point of views. Later on, they will create some concepts that can be used to explain a reality in a different way.

In the era called as postmodernism, there is someone named Deleuze who says that those three groups are apparently making themselves as realities because they are also interacting with other object relations that create realities in their studies, too. Furthermore, Deleuze also states that they also create a virtual theory, in which they are trying to make a reality becomes actual and can be seen clearly. According to him, an idea about reality is not a reality itself. It is because the other realities have already become a study of the three groups mentioned above. Therefore, Deleuze focuses his study on seeing how the three groups develop, especially, their concepts.

If these three groups focus on the idea or concept, Deleuze says that that idea and concept are not the main focus because they are still descended from some other things and most importantly, the *genus*. Eventually, Deleuze starts working on his study by analyzing the history of philosophy. Later on, he finds out that actually there are no new concepts in philosophy, all of them are rhizomatic. Deleuze even states that idea is something that divides philosophy, art, and science and makes differences between them. It will mean something else if there is already a *genus* for that idea; those three different fields will be no different. In this case, Deleuze tries to diminish boundaries (distinction).

Deleuze says that an idea is created in space and time. This space and time cannot be described as emptiness because in space and time there are some movements. These movements are resulted from the relation between objects; while in time there is speed of those objects in a relation. Thus, space and time are needed in creating ideas.

In this research, the researcher wants to see how the genesis of ideas used in romance movies during and after the new order. To find out the genesis of an idea, the researcher will apply the theory of cinema by Deleuze. This theory will help the researcher to see the images of the selected movies. These images will be classified based on their category, movement-image and time-image.

Everything in this world needs a process of creation. This also happens when a director wants to make a movie. First, he should make a script and edit it, too. Then he has to select the cast to play the characters, and many other things that should be done. Moreover, when the production process has been finished and the movie is ready to release, the director still needs to do some censoring process and so on. The Censor Department itself belongs to the government; it means that every movie delivered to the audience has a political element. It is possible because the government and their censoring authority decide which movie is good enough for the vast society.

Therefore, the movies watched by the society share some ideas with the censor department owned by the government. Then, by seeing the plane of immanence in those movies, the plane of Indonesian political censorship during and after the new order will be revealed

The romance movies that will be analyzed by the researcher are the most popular ones. They are *Kejar Daku Kau Kutangkap* (1986) by Chaerul Umam; *Gita Cinta dari SMA* (1979) by Arizal; *Ada Apa dengan Cinta* (2001) by Rudi Soedjarwo; and *Ketika Cinta Bertasbih* (2009) by Chaerul Umam.

Philosophy of Cinema

From his experience on history of philosophy, Deleuze refuses an opinion about the autonomy of an idea or concept as a background of a Being. Apparently, Deleuze disagrees that a concept is an essence that creates being into existence. Concept, according to Deleuze, will not materialize without plane. In talking about concepts and plane of immanence in his book *What is Philosophy* Deleuze re-explains the difference between them. It says that the plane envelops infinite movement that pass back and forth through it, but concepts are the infinite speeds of finite movements that in each case pass only through their own components (1994: 36). It can be seen that plane is related to movement; while concepts are related to speed. These two terms cannot be explained literally. One must be careful in giving a movement a meaning; this term does not only mean to move, in which the process can be witnessed by human's senses, but it is more than that. Even a book on a table is a movement in quantum level that moves along with the earth, rotating the sun. If plane of immanence is said to be the place where movements happen, it means that it is related to space. Then, the concepts themselves can be said that they are related to speed. Speed in here has the same meaning as duration; this will be easier to explain by using an analogy of a glass of water. If there is a glass of water, with some sugar and coffee, and then a spoon in it, they do not mean anything; they are just some open objects put together into a glass. Those objects will altogether make a meaning if one starts to stir the spoon until those objects are mixed and becomes a glass of coffee. The stirring spoon is what it is called as duration which relates to time. In conclusion, Deleuze's thinking on plane of immanence and concepts is all about space and time.

In his study about history of philosophy, Deleuze sees speed as something that is very influencing in the development of philosophy. The first one is speed of chaos, of the dark depth where everything is constantly differentiating, into which the philosopher plunges to re-emerge, giving a shape to the inchoate (1994: 42). The second, speed of the plane of immanence which is marked as a sieve stretched over the chaos, by which the philosopher decides, pre-philosophically, what is worthy of thought (1994: 43). The last one is speed of the concepts which the philosopher populate and structures the plane (1994: 41). By seeing many of works of philosophy that become his objects, Deleuze concludes that there is no philosopher that gets through the speed of chaos anymore; all of it is rhizomatic, in which it keeps repeating and reliving what has existed before.

Deleuze is not only working on philosophy but also art, one of them is cinema. Deleuze has a special way to treat cinema based on what he had thought about it. The image appears in cinema is more complex than the image appears in another type of art, like painting, architecture, even image in music. By that, Deleuze positioning the cinema director into a special position that is not sufficient to compare the directors of the cinema with painters, architects, or even musicians. They must be compared with thinkers (1997: 25). It makes the Deleuzian cinema critics becomes different, and it labels as philosophy of cinema.

The cinema, for instance, produces two types of images, they are images that move and that move in time. Deleuze called these two types of images as movement-image and time-image (Rodowick, 2010:34). To make a difference between the two types, Deleuze stated that the time of the narrative condenses around the body of the protagonist. The protagonist's movement ensure that the classical form of narrative is linear and singular. The last and the most important thing on how to notice movement-image is the rules of continuity editing ensuring that the narrative focusen on their physical movement through space.

The second types of image in the cinema besides the movement-image, is the time-image. This type of image is the one which is stated as image which moves in time. Deleuze gives characteristics of this time-image as an image which provides a direct image of time. The spectator can see the passing of time in itself, without mediating influence of the protagonist's body (Martin-Jones, 2006: 27). It means that the narrative of the cinema lies in the time itself. If the movement-image is shown as linear then time-image is characterized as something discontinuous. The protagonist of the time-image becomes dislocated from the linear continuity of spatialised time (Deleuze, 1997: 60). Based on Rodowick understanding in reading Deleuze, the two types of image have different plane of immanence because both of them have different way in treating time and truth.

The love that is heading toward the future

After watching and analyzing the movies, the researcher finds that love is still controlled by the movement of the protagonists. The development of the love narrative in the movies is still defined by the relations of the protagonist with other objects or characters. It can be found in the way how love comes after a conflict between them which leads to the raising of intention in the relation between protagonist and the character that will be their lover. For example in *Ada Apa Dengan Cinta*, the protagonist named Cinta starts her love story with Rangga with the help of another object which is a poem. Rangga wins the poem contest; it is unusual because the contest is always won by Cinta. The conflict is built by the relation between the protagonist and poem, then it will lead to another level. The love narrative is rolling in order to keep Cinta and Rangga closer to each other. Now, Rangga's most favorite book entitled 'AKU' helps building the love story. The book is a central point and ever become the focus of the camera eye with certain zooming applied to lead the spectator to see it clearly. When the book is gone and turns out that it

is taken by Cinta and then she decides to return it to Rangga, this book eventually helps the protagonist to end the conflict and make them even closer.

The same thing also happens in *Kejar Daku Kau Kutangkap* where the protagonist named Ramadan meets Mona with the help of another object; a camera that he uses to take a picture of volleyball match for a newspaper. Mona's picture, which is published in the newspaper, becomes the conflict itself. Mona thinks that it is illegal to publish her picture without her permission so she decides to charge Ramadan. Ramadan tries to apologize to Mona by sending her a red rose. It does not only end the conflict but also makes them fall in love with each other. It is different from *Gita Cinta Dari SMA* there is no conflict happening to start the love narrative. It is started by the relation of protagonist with other characters (their classmates) to make the two main characters (Ratna and Galih) get closer.

Next, to make the love narrative keep expanding in the romance movie, there is a formula showing that the love between the characters must be strong. That is when the love between the two characters is growing; the pressure will come to test the strength of their love. Usually, it comes from the relation of the protagonist with other characters. It is shown in *Ada Apa Dengan Cinta* the obstacle comes from the relation of the protagonist (Cinta) with her best friends. Cinta had already made a promise to them that she will always be ready for them whenever they need her. In fact, after Cinta meets Rangga, she somehow has forgotten her promise. She feels guilty when one of her friends almost dies just because she cannot be there to help her friend and choose to go with Rangga instead.

Different story happens in *Gita Cinta Dari SMA*, the obstacle comes from the family of female protagonist (Ratna). Her family does not allow her to have relationship with Galih because her family has chosen another man for her. Furthermore, a unique story happens in *Kejar Daku Kau Kutangkap*; the conflict comes from the relation of protagonist with another character and it affects their psychology, so it seems like the conflict comes from within. As a newly married couple, Ramadan and Mona face confusion; so they ask for advice from their most trusted persons. Ramadan asks to his uncle, while Ramona asks to her best friend. The advices from their closest persons have a great impact which test their love life.

It is true that conflict is the one that makes the narrative keep rolling; but, there will be no conflict if there is no relation between protagonist and other characters. The appearance of time-image also none in here, because the moving of the protagonist is the only thing that keeps the story going. It is crystal clear that the images in those movies are the movement-image since the love narrative keeps moving linear and forward.

The patience of love

The research about *Ketika Cinta Bertasbih* has a special concern from the researcher since the narrative is not simple. This is the romance movie about Azam and Anna but there are so many secondary narratives which are told separately. The researcher thinks that it is the indication of a time-image because it like a labyrinth.

Next, the researcher focuses more on how Azam and Anna build relation with other characters around them. From the beginning of the story to the middle of the film, Azam and Anna are both good believers of Islam, even when Azam wants to ask Anna to marry him, he does not go to see Anna, but her family. They see each other accidentally like it is something beyond the moving characters to make it. The researcher then watches the movie again to decide whether it is time-image or not.

However when the researcher watches it again, she finds that although there are so many secondary narratives told in the movie, it finally will lead to the story of Azam and Anna. It is not the same as the character of time-image stated by Deleuze as the labyrinth. Deleuze's labyrinth has no center and will never ever meet in the center or in another way; it is the labyrinth with no heart. The last is about Azam and Anna's first meeting. They have seen each other accidentally; they meet for the very first time on a bus when Anna wants to buy some books, while Azam wants to buy soy beans. Actually, it is similar with the other three movies stated above; all main characters meet by accident. As in *Kejar Daku Kau Kutangkap*, Ramadan accidentally meets Ramona while doing his work as a reporter. However, the sense in *Ketika Cinta Bertasbih* is a little bit different because after the first meeting and the spectator have to wait and be patient to see the characters meet again; meanwhile each character is telling their own story. So there is no time-image appearing here, the protagonist's movement is still the most important element to keep the story going.

Conclusion

From the explanation above, it can be seen images that appear in all four movies are movement-image since the love narrative will only develop through the movement of protagonist's body. Time has no control here, time only swirls on the protagonist body anytime she/he moves forward in linear form. Time itself divided into two, namely Aeon and Chronos. In movement-image, time is like Aeon so it only moves forward and linear. In conclusion, the movies from New Order era until now share the same plane of immanence. As the movies are connected with the act of censorship by the government, it can also be seen that there is no difference on the censorship since New Order until this time

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Pramoedya Ananta Toer and Levy Balgos dela Cruz: A Comparative Analysis

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Abstract

Suharto became the president of Indonesia after the failed coup d'etat during Soekarno's term in 1965. In his political strategy dubbed as the “New Order”, there has been a widespread arrest and extra-judicial killings of Left sympathizers and those suspected of being in connection with groups that desires social change. PramoedyaAnantaToer was one of the authors that witnessed and has been victimized in this particular period of Indonesia's history. This can be put in parallel to the experiences of one Filipino/Tagalog writer by the name of LevyBalgosdela Cruz who is also a politically engaged writer and was also a political prisoner during Ferdinand Marcos' “BagongLipunan” (New Society). This paper aims to analyze the chosen published works of both writers and put them in their socio-historical context. Only those works of PramoedyaAnantaToer that are translated into English and Filipino/Tagalog will be used as resource material in the scope of this analysis.

Keywords: *PramoedyaAnantaToer, Levy Balgos dela Cruz, Fiction , Short story, New Order, New Society*

Introduction

This paper aims to analyze two short stories written by two different authors. The author will try to capture the concepts and ideas found within these works particularly those that have to do with social change and connect them to their respective historical context, while investigating the stand or views of the writer who became involved or engaged in the role of literature in a neo-colonial country. Franz Fanon discussed this sort of idea in the following lines,

“The colonized man who writes for his people ought to use the past with the intention of the future, as an invention to action and a basis for hope. But to ensure that hope and to give form, he must take part in action and throw himself body and soul into national struggle. You may speak everything under the sun; but when you decide to speak of that unique thing in man's life that is represented by the fact of opening up new horizons, by bringing light to your of your own country, and by raising yourself and your people of their feet, then you must collaborate on the physical plane.” (Fanon,1963, 232)

The short stories “*A Letter to a Friend from the Country*” by Pramoedya AnantaToer and “*An Immortal Poem*” by Levy Balgosdela Cruz will be the springboard from which this study will be launched. Published interviews and criticisms of the two authors will be of great help for this study so as to clarify their stands as writers who experienced violence under a dictatorial regime. With this being said, the connection between these two writers can be grasped in relation to the discourses being discussed.

After the war: Indonesia and Philipines Situation

Southeast Asia has been an important highway to global trading (Perry, 1989). The imperialist countries know this which is why they kept a strong presence in the said area in both economic and political aspect. There is also a widespread presence of cause-oriented movements in South East Asia to expose and oppose the unjust ruling of the colonizers. Both Indonesia and the Philippines were involved in World War II.

After the Second World War, the Dutch attempted to regain control of the East Indies but failed due to the pressures coming from the United States of America. The Netherlands gave sovereignty to the said lands by 1949 which gave birth to the Republic of Indonesia. Indonesia will be ruled by a Nationalist leader by the name of Sukarno for fifteen years. But the economic situation of the country won't be prosperous during this period. And in October 15, 1965 there will be a failed coup attempt to overthrow Sukarno. This will be the start of Suharto's rise to power which will be later known as the “New Order”. Thousands of civilians and suspected communist or communist sympathizers was arrested, imprisoned, and executed without due process of law.

The U.S. on the other hand will be able to keep its presence in the Philippines even after the war. With the majority of its infrastructures in shambles and the huge financial crisis it is in, the Philippine

government faced multiple uprisings coming from the worker and peasant sectors. It was during this time when Ferdinand Marcos will be elected into power during his first term in 1965. During these times, protest and mass action is widespread to express the discontent in the worsening economic crisis and condemn the rampant corruption all over the archipelago. It was in 21, September, 1972 when Marcos declared Martial Law to create order and implement his political programs such as “the green revolution”, and “The New Society”. There will be a wide scale arrest/abduction, persecution, and execution of leaders who criticize the dictatorial government and those who are suspected to be affiliated with leftist groups.

Pramoedya AnantaToer

Pramoedya Ananta Toer is one of the prominent authors of Angkatan 45 in Indonesian literary history. He was born on 6 February 1926 in the rural town of Blora. His father was a nationalist school teacher and his mother was a daughter of a spiritual healer. His father’s post as a school teacher in the Nationalist founded private school *Budi Utomo* caused them to experience financial difficulties. As a youth, Pramoedya took different jobs to help his family in their financial struggles. He became a member of different political and cultural organizations, including *Lekra* (Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat, the People’s Cultural Institute), an organization which is closely related to the P.K.I. (Partido Komunista Indonesias). On 1957, he became popular in that organization and was elected to the central executive, and later on in the succeeding reorganization of *Lekra* he became a head of the Literature Institute (Aveling, 1975). This organization believes that “the artist/ writer had a task and responsibility which was service to society and more especially to the *rakyat* of which was he formed a part”. (Teeuw, 1967)

He was actively engaged in the political discourses of his time. Benedict Anderson’s described Pram’s political record was unique. He was first imprisoned by the Dutch in 1948-49 as an nationalist revolutionary, then by Sukarno Regime in 1959-60 for publicly defending the Chinese minorities, and finally by Suharto dictatorship “New Order” on 1966-78 for his vocal leadership of the Left Intelligentsia from the late 1950s until 1965. All of his literary works are all prohibited, and students who circulate them clandestinely have incurred long prison sentences. As Teeuw explained in his note about Toer,

“ . . . a short survey in his life. This will be useful, not only because this story is so revealing for the socio-political and socio-psychological developments in Indonesia during the period under discussion, but especially because Pramudya’s work has such a strong biographical strain that it sometimes reads biography than fiction...In any case, the positive side of this flat characterization is that human problems can be posed with unambiguous clarity. The cries and slogans which sometimes appear, especially in the dialogues, are, after all, only an extreme expression of that enthusiastic involvement which is in itself legitimate and fascinating and is precisely what makes Pramudya such a great writer.”(Teeuw, 1967. 165-180)

This view is relevant in gauging the value and in the reading of Pramoedya Ananta Toer’s works. He published a lot of articles, speeches, researches, short stories, novels, and a number of translations of foreign authors work. It can be seen with the help of this contextualization how his political involvement directly affects his literary writings. Pram belongs to the generation of writers who are directly involved, with a clear and distinct stand, with the complex issue of his time. Or as C. W. Watson puts it,

“ . . . Angkatan ’45 consisted of those who had not had the opportunity of university or tertiary education of any sort and in some cases were brought up in the traditional educational milieu or in the Taman Siswa schools that had been established specially to counter Dutch educational influence. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that what they chose to write about and the attitudes in their writing differ considerably from earlier other

This kind of writing which is concerned to describe the wretchedness of life as it is lived by the majority; the insecurity, the disgusting physical conditions, the misery, and bestiality to which people are reduced by their struggle and their absence of any light or joy in their lives. There had to be an objective diagnosis before the correct social medicine could be prescribed. It is this clear commitment, I think, which explains the response of Pramoedya and his fellow writers to the contemporary American fiction of that era. Besides, the difference in class origins of Pramoedya and the Pudjangga Baru writers which goes a long way to explaining the formers’ *saevaindignatio* and the compassion in his writings, the exigencies created by occupation and revolution had forced the intellectuals into much closer association with their countrymen than the earlier writers ever experienced. . . his milieu, and his circle of friends and his experiences were quite unlike the refined intellectual environment of Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana and his fellow writers who, although they professed a common identity with the aspirations of nationalism, were nevertheless prevented by their social position from appreciating the experiences and emotions thrown up by the revolution. But the range and the depth of Pramoedya’s descriptive writing is

clearly superior...The reason why one subscribes to realism as opposed to naturalism is surely because the latter is too uncritical and defines no stance in relation to the situations it describes...It should select, comment on and explain.” (Watson, C.W. 2001. X-XII)

One of the interesting short stories that he published and was later translated to English is the short story entitled, “A Letter to a Friend from the Country”. This work was published in 1976 under the collection with the title of “From Surabaya to Armageddon: An Indonesian Short Stories”. The narration is in the first person point of view. Upon reading the said work, it is very much obvious that the persona is that of a writer that is politically engaged. He compared the writer who is without organization or community with the same interest that he has about the city to a water buffalo. His descriptions are ripe with sarcasm about how the citizens of the city simply bears with their lack of choices and are desperate to just survive their day to day affairs, content with merely making ends meet. The toiling of the workers towards the commodification of their bodies or the exploitation of women just to reach the said “bright future” or the “dreams” of an individual. From the physical characteristics of the city or the center of power, he was able to describe the masked illusion of reality. Despite having a pessimistic tone of his criticism about city life or center of trade and power of the state, he stands as firm and strong in his conviction regarding the concept of revolution as catalyst of social change.

“I believe that the Revolution must create a new homogeneous race which will use its power to create a new homogeneous race which will use its power creatively and not waste it before it reaches the masses. Throughout I have emphasized the need to place the power in the hands of responsible people. There are only few of them and their voices have been drowned by various political agitations, though God knows the time is not ripe for that sort of thing.” (Toer, 1976. 76)

The violence of the state is exposed and in maintaining this “order”, social ills and injustices are made to be more widespread. The main protagonist clearly articulates his disposition in such happenings.

“We writers are little more than an underground force, an unofficial opposition. Officially, we are writers, unofficially we starve. Yet we starve. Yet we speak out with everything that is in us, automatically subscribing to only one morality. Which is why, when we lose, we lose completely.” (Toer, 1976. 75)

Toer’s believes that the role of the writer was vital in creating a consciousness that would suit to a more just and better society.

Levy Balgos dela Cruz

He was born in 28, May 1940 in Tondo, Manila. He completed his secondary education at Torres High School, Tondo Manila. His grandfather was a nationalist union leader, communist, and a guerilla commander of a peasant insurrection after the World War II. He belongs to the generation of First Quarter Storm, where the series of protest and mass actions on 1970’s were conducted before the declaration of Martial Law by Ferdinand Marcos. He founded the theater group Tanghalang Bayan and served as the group’s playwright and director. He worked for the nationalist movement, spending most of his time up in the Cordilleras (Barrios, 1994). He was one of the many victims of the state’s harassment when Martial Law was declared under the “New Society” of Marcos’ regime. He experienced being tortured and imprisonment without trial on 1972.

He wrote various poetries, short stories, novellas, and plays that tackle social ills and directly opposed the American imperialism or the neo-colonization of the Philippines. Some of his works have been published at the popular/mainstream magazine and press, while the others are published in an underground literary journal and clandestinely produced by his political organization where he belongs.

During the 1970’s, PAKSA (Panulat Para sa Kaunlarang Sambayanan; Writing for the Progress of the People). This organization believes that the writer should write in their native language and their writings should serve for the interest of the masses. This organization was relevant to the Philippine literary history. It was clearly stated in their manifesto on their 2, April, 1972 demonstration.

“Because the literature was part of culture, and the writer/author was a vanguard of a society, one of our responsibilities that shouldn’t be neglected was to continuously create/write a literature that would represent, engage and uplifting the advocacy of the oppressed people, literature that would cleanse the rotten society, a pro-masses literature that would create and established a undisputable revolutionary forces that would destroy the oppressive American Imperialism- towards to national democracy.” (PAKSA, 1992)

He had a first short story anthology entitled *BukalngTubig at Apoy* (Well of Water and Fire) arranged by MAINSTREAM: People's Art, Literature, and Education Resource Center and published by LINANG Movement for Cultivating of Revolutionary Literature at Art on 1989 at the country side. It is clearly stated by the publisher's note of their intent for this project,

"The scene, experiences at feelings that portrayed by the stories are based on the personal life of the authors' political involvement in the national-democratic movement in the city and country-side, same as the experiences of the thousands populace that propagating the revolutionary change in the Philippines...."(LINANG,1989. viii)

The anthology tackles the time of the First Quarter Storm up until the first few months of the US-Aquino regime. It focuses on the experiences and stories of the people who are involved in the social issues the directly addresses and discusses the armed struggle happening in the countryside. The spaces/setting wherein the story unfolds is divided between the countryside and the city. The struggle that looks up to the national democratic movement is the main theme of the anthology. According to Datuin,

"The highlight contradiction in *BukalngTubig at Apoy* (Well of Water and Fire) by Levy Balgos dela Cruz was inside the consciousness of the character. In writings, the author sensitively narrated not just the objective experiences even also the subjective and psychological level of his characters. He gave a space for doubtfulness, suffering, and the laughter of the characters was came from peti-bourgoise origin. . . . He was getting-out to the typical portrayal of the revolutionary that was determined. . . Although, the authors said that revolution was hard enough, it is also an occasion to be celebrated for the truth; this is good because the sacrifices will triumph. He emphasise the contradictions at conflicts in society, but in the process, it was unavoidable for him to galvanize his own contradiction." (Datuin, 1990. 25)

It can be fairly said that the narration within this anthology is very much grounded. The reader is given a different kind of dish in comparison to what is being served by the mainstream media such as what is to be found in popular books and movies. The criticisms found within his stories are sharp and precise especially in relation to social systems operating within the story and even in relation to what is happening in the Philippines. There is a certain readership that is targeted in this type of writings by Levi Balgos dela Cruz. His stories are also nonconformist in relation to the prevalent culture of his time and the hegemonic consciousness of the middle to ruling class. Despite his sharpness of criticism, the craftsmanship of his story writing is undeniable. His views and stands are dressed as stories and other fictional writings. The characters of "Well of Water and Fire" are situated in a space wherein they can move and operate without the ominous presence of the state. Although with some limitations, Levi excelled in strengthening and solidifying the narrative and histories of those involved in national change. Progressive and revolutionary narratives are formed within the ranks of the masses that unwaveringly contribute and aspire for a much more prosperous future. The main character in the last story of this collection reflects about his past and present. An artist/writer, it is obvious that the main character in the said story is aware of his personal contradiction and social issues around him. It can be seen that he is directly involved in a nationalist movement. While drinking beer and watching a cultural presentation he recalls his comrades in the countryside and his former comrades in the city. This short story is almost like a documentary in the sense that it contains actual references from actual events and places in history such as the slaying of the martyr leader of the Cordilleras by the name of MacliingDulag; the active participation of the different cultural organization in the efforts to overthrow the Marcos dictatorship; the multiple political abductions and killings; the armed struggle of the guerillas in the countryside; the commercialization and commodification of the works various artists and writers after the declaration of the Martial law; the repetitive reference to EmmanLacaba whom the military killed in the countryside; and the direct involvement of the artists in the establishments and institutions; and their moving away from the advocacy to help in the people's struggle. The short story ends with a question from the main character which goes, "Do they want to be a great musician in their entire life, or like "Emman", do they want to choose to be an Immortal song?"

This question is directed towards the reader, whether he is a writer, artist, or not. It brings into light what literature or art in general should seek to aim in the face of a neo-colonial state where injustice and exploitation is commonplace.

Concept of Labor and Capital

In the short story Letter to a Friend of a Country he remarkably discussed about a concept of capital. In this quotation,

"Today, we have trishaws which combines the horse and driver and save the the cost of hay. In Jakarta men are willing to be horses for the sake of money. (I grant your town has these vehicles too: the provinces have always imitated the degeneracy of the

capital)...girls are search for position, find one, forget about it preferring pleasure instead, then start to line up each night outside the whorehouse. The men have more difficulty in finding work and eventually become horses. In a few months they are crammed with muscles, they eat rough food. The roads give them their full freedom. If there is ever any danger, they can leap onto the footpath and let the trickshaw go where it will, unlike old coaches. A few years and they invalids, with over-developed hearts, and they are thrown back to their villages like rubbish. They have frittered away by their earnings on pleasure, when they are dead they stay dead...Men aggressively searching for money. A cat knows how to eat meat, the arrogant know how to manipulate power. These are the darker aspects of capital. I don't know what brighter ones are, although I wait for some divine relation of them. If you want to save yourself disappointment in life, discount everything you are told by twenty percent. Including what I say. I know you are patriot, for you have not been corrupted by the capital.” (1976, 75).

An Immortal Poem by Levy Balgosdela Cruz, there is also a short description on almost the same concept as Pramoedya Ananta Toer described/discussed,

“The real earth is the world of the workers (proletariat) that their blood and strength was consumed thoroughly by the machines of the factory owned by capitalist, their whole life was at stake for only a penny of low wages and for the growth of capital of a vulgar capitalist. The world of the peasants digging their own grave in the middle of the crops of the huge hacienda's of the landlords.” (1989, 304)

On Karl Marx writings, labor-power (labor force) of the workers was to be sold to the capitalist in exchange for money.

“The exchange of commodity in value of commodity estimated in money is called its price. Wage therefore are only a special name for the price of labor-power (labor force), and are usually called the price of labor; it is the special name for the price of this peculiar commodity, which has no other repository than human flesh and blood. (Marx, 1847)

Interestingly, the idea of Karl Marx was closely related to the concept on what and how these two authors described the situation of the workers and peasants on their story. Both stories emphasizing, discussed that the body and labor-power (labor force) of the unprivileged class was their way to survive or rather their capital. Toer describes it in his story how it happens while Balgosdela Cruz stated it directly in his piece. This would make us clear that these two writers have an understanding on how the worker's/ peasants were exploited.

Epistolary and Soliloquy of an Revolutionist for Whom?

Pramoedya Ananta Toer literary piece was just like a letter while Levy Balgosdela Cruz work was just a note of a soliloquy. It was undeniably that both writers were almost the same on their perspective on the writer's vital role in the process of decolonization of mind of the people in a country where foreign controls and domination existed economically and politically. These two writers have a remarkable character, they are often and actively participating in various political and cultural activities. Through these, they are both experiencing the violence of their oppressive and repressive state of their country. In relation to this, Thiong'o had an idea,

“A neo-colonial state regime is, by its very character, a repressive machine. Its very being, in its refusal to break with international and national structures of exploitation, inequality and oppression, gradually isolates it from its people. Its real power base resides not in the people but in imperialism and in the police and the army. To maintain itself it shuts all venues of democratic expression. All democratic organizations are outlawed or else brought under the ruler, in which case they are emptied of any democratic life. . . Any democratic expression in the area of culture becomes a threat to such regime's very peculiar brand of culture: the culture of silence and fear run and directed from the police cells and torture chambers.” (1993, 81)

It explains why the writer/artist should be out loud for their views and opinions. If no one can't do this, the culture of silence and fear would dominate the entire populace. The writer/artist would take the responsibility and be part of the people's struggle along with the oppressed. They should be in a forefront on this conflict and contradiction. If that is the case, the writer and artist is always a threat to the status quo, because the art that they produce is a non-conformist, subversive and always transgresses on what is prevalent hegemonic order and standards. The authorities see and treat these characters that synonymous

to criminals.¹ That is reason, why the socially committed artist was always been experiencing harassment and violence from their state.

On the other hand, concern and topic of the two short stories that was analyzing was well related to each other. Although they live in a different context, the struggle of the writers was almost the same. Both writers, firmly believes that writing and literature was closely related to their praxis. This was also prove that the struggle of the oppressed people of other country, especially in the underdeveloped/ Third world countries was interconnected. The national struggle of a oppressed class was a global struggle.

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¹ Goytisolo, Juan. On Literature Considered as Criminal Activity. 1992

Joshua Oppenheimer’s *The Look Of Silence*: A Cinematic Look at the Banality of Evil

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Abstract

Questions have been raised by many filmmakers over the years as to whether the 1965 coup in Indonesia was the handiwork of the Indonesian Communist Party. German documentary filmmaker, Joshua Oppenheimer, who has previously made *The Act of Killing* on the same subject, poses the question again with a new documentary. But this time, he takes a cinematic approach by fully utilising the language of film to create a solemn and meditative work. He focuses on the faces and the silence of the individuals involved, in an effort to probe their minds. The individuals are some of the surviving killers as well as the brother and family of one of those who were killed. Oppenheimer also places emphasis on landscape as character. In the area of the killings, the landscape stands as a silent witness to the horrors perpetrated there. The demonisation of the communists continues till today in Indonesia, as it does in Malaysia as well as Singapore. The millennium saw revisionist histories surfacing that explored the blatant demonisation and vilification of communists. Films with a creative approach began to be made by young people who explored what had transpired, in an effort to foreground the truth.

Keywords: *cinematic apparatus, creative treatment of actuality, language of film, cinematic approach, patterning and organization, binary opposites, camera position, shot size, camera angle, gestalt, stylistics, reenactment, formalist approach, gothic images, filmic construct, power of suggestion*

Introduction

In 1968, the CIA Directorate of Intelligence noted in a report about the 1965 coup in Indonesia, that:

“In terms of the numbers killed, the anti-communist massacres in Indonesia rank as one of the worst mass murders of the 20th Century ... the Indonesian coup is certainly one of the most significant events of the 20th Century, far more significant than many other events that have received much more publicity.”

In 1965, six army generals were kidnapped in the coup, and were purportedly killed brutally by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). This led to a counter-coup by army General Suharto who subsequently deposed Sukarno as President of the Republic of Indonesia. More than five decades later, declassified information has revealed another side to the story - supporting the contention of the CIA report above: of how almost a million members of the PKI, their sympathisers as well others who were accused of being communists, were brutally massacred, imprisoned or ostracised by death squads. The complicity of foreign nations, specifically the United States, Great Britain and Australia, became evident. Their justification was to prevent the infamous Domino Theory from coming true, i.e., that the countries of Southeast Asia must not fall to the communist ‘scourge’ at any cost.

The documentary, *The Look of Silence* (2014) by Joshua Oppenheimer, is but one of many films that have looked at this infamous episode in Indonesian history. Among the other films are:

- *The Year of Living Dangerously* (Peter Weir, 1982)
- *Penumpasan Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* (Eradication of the Treason of G30S/PKI, Arifin C Noer, 1982)
- *Puisi Yang Tak Terkuburkan* (A Poet: Unconcealed Poetry, Garin Nugroho, 2000)
- *Shadow Play* (Chris Hilton, 2002)
- *40 Years of Silence: An Indonesian Tragedy* (Robert Lemelson, 2009)
- *The Act of Killing* (Joshua Oppenheimer/Christine Cynn, 2012)

The first three films were narrative features while the others were documentaries. *The Year of Living Dangerously* was a Hollywood production; *G30S/PKI* was the ‘official’ version made during the Presidency of General Suharto, and in 1984, it was made compulsory viewing in government departments. Every September 30th, the film was also screened on television and in the cinemas. In a podcast interview on the BBC World Service, Eric Sasono, an Indonesian film critic, whose university dissertation had been on *The Act of Killing*, described how it was mandatory for schoolchildren to see it, with he himself having seen it twice

(coincidentally, his father and uncle had been involved in the communist purge). *Puisi Yang Tak Terkuburkan* is a digitally-made dramatised, aesthetically-produced version of the events as seen from the perspective of those who were detained, and waiting to be killed. In the lead was an actual detainee, a poet, who had survived to tell the story. The entire film had only seven or eight shots done in long, unbroken takes. These three films were meant for the cinema, and as a result, used a dramatic structure, and therefore, were creative versions of what had transpired in 1965.

In terms of treatment, a documentary purports to show the 'reality' of something that had happened, but the very cinematic apparatus applied for the purpose determines that it will be creative in its mode of presentation. An appropriate camera position must be decided upon, the shot size and camera angle must be determined, and the lighting must be suitable. And in post-production, editing creates the right tempo and rhythm to make the film palatable for an audience, with sound and music playing no mean roles in the entire process. John Grierson, who coined the term 'documentary', and is considered the father of British and Canadian documentary films, noted that documentary was 'the creative treatment of actuality.' He believed that documentary film was not merely a report 'but could be a visual art that can convey a sense of beauty about the ordinary world.' It is this that Joshua Oppenheimer has aspired to in his film.

The Look of Silence is a finely-structured documentary film that, in its gestalt (form), looks like a narrative feature. Oppenheimer has taken a stylistic approach, i.e., with the modes of presentation being obvious (as opposed to realist cinema, which tries to hide its modes of representation). The film depicts Adi, an Indonesian ophthalmologist, who views silently, a video of Oppenheimer's earlier documentary, *The Act of Killing*. Together with Adi, we see some of the footage of interviews with those in the death squads who were involved in the mass killings. Adi's brother, Ramli, was one of those who were killed inhumanely in his village. He was stabbed, his penis cut off, and his body thrown into the nearby Snake River. We follow Adi as he journeys to interview some of the killers who are still alive. Included is his own uncle who had been assigned to guard some of those who had been taken prisoner, and waiting to be dragged away to be killed. In between, we see Adi with his aged mother who continues to live in silent grief at the death of her son. Adi's father is senile and remembers nothing, sparing him memories of the agony through God-induced amnesia. And as in a narrative film, he provides comedy relief in the film through his senility!

The Cinematic Approach in *The Look of Silence*

Oppenheimer's decision to give his film a narrative treatment is perhaps to show how today, the lines between fact and fiction have become blurred. And he is not far wrong. What happened in Indonesia in 1965 reads like something straight out of a fiction novel. In his use of stylistics, Oppenheimer tries to distance us from the horrors that were perpetrated. What actually happened is not shown but is instead described by the perpetrators in a calm manner, and in detail. Oppenheimer's camera does not move; it calmly records everything. Adi is similarly calm as he watches the video of *The Act of Killing*. There is no visible emotion on his face. The same calmness also exudes from him as he sits talking to his mother, and then with his wife. Adi's interviews with those who were directly or indirectly involved with his brother's death are similarly conducted in a calm manner. There are many instances of silence in which both the interviewed and Adi just sit and look at each other. These scenes almost seem like they are directed. Oppenheimer was lucky enough to have had these moments on camera as they contribute to the narrative style of his film. This almost Brechtian approach involves the audience, allowing them to be more objective in concluding as to what is going on in the minds of Adi, and the people he is interviewing.

At the end of the film, Adi and the television set (always having been shown separately earlier), are finally shown in proximity in a beautifully-lit two-shot, looking almost like a realist painting. It provides a closure to the film, signifying that Adi has truly come to terms with all that has happened to his brother. For the audience, however, Oppenheimer does not give the same satisfactory closure. The final scene is a repeat of the shot of the trundling trucks in the darkness of the night that was shown at the beginning of the film. Silently, the trucks carry the doomed prisoners to their death. In this shot, Oppenheimer alludes to us that the story has not ended here. There may be other such mindless massacres in Indonesia in the future because some of the killers of 1965 still stride in the corridors of power. The fear and loathing of communists still pervades among those interviewed, and it appears to be sanctioned by the State. It is for that reason that many of the Indonesians involved in the production of *The Look of Silence* and *The Act of Killing* have opted to credit themselves as 'Anonymous' in the end credits of both films to protect their identity.

Oppenheimer has consciously opted for a structured form by using the language of film in his documentary portrayal of what transpired in 1965. It is similar to what another German documentary filmmaker, Marcus Wetter, has done in his two films on Palestine, *Heart of Jenin* and *Cinema of Jenin*, but with a difference. Wetter opted for a realist approach to tell his story, Oppenheimer, instead, goes for a visibly-structured and controlled look in the style of classical narrative film with expressionistic tendencies. He consciously applies patterning and organization by using narrative devices such as ellipsis and selectivity as well as binary opposites to fit that patterning and organization. In short, Oppenheimer makes use of the art of cinema to take his documentary to a higher, more erudite level, with a very bold, exploratory approach of his subjects' minds.

The narrative structure provides contrasts to differentiate the ‘protagonists’ (the victims and their families) from the ‘antagonists’ (the killers and their families) through their character, manner and speech. The cinematographic style dramatically supports this by the use of binary opposites as found within the visuals: Adi and his mother are at times framed against lush greenery (a symbol of vibrant life); so, too, when he has a talk with his wife outside their house; there are repeated scenes of Adi’s father being bathed or shaved by both Adi and his mother; Adi and his mother share some amusing moments with Adi’s senile father. However, there is no such homely or familial scene at the houses of the former killers. In the interviews with the killers, Adi is always calm (even though his own brother had been killed violently). The killers, however, begin to get upset as the interviews wear on. The manner and character of these people is a contrast, and is distinctly different from that of Adi and his family, thus showing visually the gulf that exists between victims (the good guys), and perpetrators (the bad guys).

Two images stand out from Oppenheimer’s documentary. The first (a reenactment) early in the film, and is a night shot seen from an extreme distance. It shows the silhouettes of suspected members of the PKI being forcibly loaded onto trucks. The trucks then trundle slowly, faceless and impersonal, towards the camera. The shot is extremely long - 80 seconds in all. The other image is a static shot of a steel bridge over the Snake River into which many bodies of dead ‘communists’ had been thrown. It is a gothic image, consonant with the formalist approach taken by Oppenheimer: the bridge stands, bluish in the approaching dawn, a silent sentinel, and a witness of the atrocities committed in the name of the State and the people. The scenes are framed aesthetically, and colour-graded appropriately. They are chillingly beautiful, echoing the words of Grierson that ‘all things are beautiful, as long as you have them in the right order.’

In both the above scenes, the silence is foreboding, pregnant with the unspeakable horror that has taken place. There are other places that give the same scenic but gruesome feeling: the entrance to a paddy field is devoid of human beings; there is the characterless entrance to a small town with featureless buildings, and leafless stumps of palms standing starkly against a blank sky. It is as if the pain and suffering of those killed and the stench of death still pervades the landscape. Time will erase the memories of all that has happened, but how does one remove it from the land on which so much human blood was spilt?

The Banality of Evil

In 1992, Hannah Arendt published the book, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. It was based on a series of newspaper reports she had written on the trial of the Nazi, Adolf Eichmann, who was one of those responsible for the death of millions of Jews during World War Two. What astonished her was how banal were Eichmann’s motives in ordering the killings even though he was a key player in the meticulous planning of the killings. From that, she concluded that he was not really anti-Semitic; he did it all only for the purpose of moving up the Nazi bureaucratic grades.

This same banality can be seen in the reaction of the interviewees in *The Act of Killing* video that Adi is watching, and similarly when Adi does his own interviews. Two of the men on the video, with absolutely no sense of regret or remorse, demonstrate animatedly how they tortured and killed communists, and then kicked them into the river. At the end, they fall silent, as if they regretted what had happened. Then, one of them then says philosophically that, after all, that is what life is all about. In the next instant, their expressions undergo change, and both, with wide smiles, pose for photographs. Another death squad member (after singing a karaoke song in his living room), smilingly demonstrates how he choked the throat of a communist, ripped open his stomach and cracked his skull against a rock. Another man demonstrates how he stabbed a woman, and kicked her into the river. Another says he had cut off the head of a woman, and brought it into a shop. Still another says he killed the sister of someone who could not do it himself. Adi’s uncle, when interviewed, smiles sickeningly throughout the interview with Adi. He shows no remorse or regret at not having done anything even when his own nephew (Adi’s brother) was taken away to be killed.

Suggestion is a psychological process whereby a person’s thought and feelings are guided by another, resulting in him doing something that he will not normally do. The death squads were told that the communists had no religion, and even slept with each other’s wives (but some of the killers themselves were not averse to taking over the wives of those killed!). To the simple minds of the village folk, the (purported) behavior of the communists was evil. They readily took these cunning suggestions, in the words of Shakespeare in *The Tempest*: “...as a cat laps milk.” General Suharto, in collusion with foreign powers, manipulated the people and turned them into a mindless group. And as a group, they became automatons, driven by only a single objective - which was to kill. The army just stood by, having the villagers - and the world - believe that it was a ‘people’s struggle’.

Amir Stahan, the commander of the Snake River death squad says in Oppenheimer’s interview, that he signed a list for about 600 communists to be killed over three days and nights. Some were even buried alive. Clearly to him, the communists were not human; their lives did not have value even though many had been his neighbours, and also had families whom the other killers knew. He even has the temerity to say that he should be given a paid holiday to America because it was the Americans who taught the Indonesians to hate the communists. To Adi’s question at his house, he admits he is now well off, living in comfortable quarters, all from some of his ‘friends’ who provided it for his ‘services to the State’.

M.Y. Basirun, a former Secretary-General of Komando Aksi (Action Commandos) involved in the killings, and who is now the Speaker of the Regional Legislature, reiterates to Adi that it was ‘a people’s struggle’, and

that ‘the people hated communists.’ In this, he clearly reveals his pro-government stance. And like a true politician, he emphatically says that the people whose relatives had been victims would not have elected him to his post if they had hated him! But he soon begins to get upset at Adi’s probing questions, and starts to deliver a veiled threat: that if questions about the killings keep getting raised, ‘those things’ might happen again. Interestingly in Malaysia, the same kind of veiled threats keep surfacing in the country’s politics, with reference to the bloody May 13 riots that erupted in Kuala Lumpur in 1969. After the General Elections of that year, the rambunctious opposition party (mostly made up of Chinese) that had made enormous gains at the polls, conducted a rally in the streets of Kuala Lumpur. Their boos and jeers angered the Malays, and led to a bloody massacre involving both Malays and Chinese. This bogey of ‘May 13’ keeps getting resurrected (with the connivance of politicians), whenever non-Malays in Malaysia raise questions about socio-political issues deemed sensitive to the dominant Malay population. In a recent demonstration (on September 16, 2015), that was in support of the main ruling political party (all Malay), placards loudly condemned an opposition party (largely Chinese), with being communists.

What was most horrifying in the case of the 1965 incident in Indonesia was the drinking of the blood of victims by the killers. This was due to the local belief that the killers would go mad if they did not. This is perhaps the most significant aspect of the massacre, something truly macabre that is usually associated with demonic rituals. Two of those interviewed by Adi speak of doing so without any feelings of revulsion. I do not think any mass killings in any part of the world in history can compare to what happened in Indonesia in 1965: how a government, in a sense, ‘hypnotized’ segments of the populace to become inhuman, to kill their neighbours, friends and relatives, and leading to the drinking of their blood! It is perhaps this that is indicated as ‘significant’ by the CIA report mentioned at the beginning of this essay, that it was “one of the worst mass murders of the 20th Century...” and that “the Indonesian coup is... far more significant than many other events that have received much more publicity.”

Oppenheimer contrasts all the above with a scene of Adi walking with an old man who survived the killings. They make their way through the undergrowth leading to the Snake River. All along the way, the old man mutters prayers to the souls of the dead. He calmly tells Adi that there is no point in digging up the past, that the perpetrators of the killings will be given their just punishment by God in the afterlife. He, too, appears to be as banal as the inhumane killers despite his own suffering. However, his banality is of a different kind. It is a result of his just being a religious human being who has come to terms with all that had happened. He has made his peace with God who he believes is the real Giver and Taker of life. Through organisation and patterning of the various characters, Oppenheimer shows us that there is indeed a wide gulf between the killers and their victims. Life - in all its banalities - also has its dimensions.

The Communist as Bogeyman

In the post-War War Two period, the communists became the bogeyman for keeping the populace of some countries in check. And the significant aspect of this is that it was done so easily, especially in countries where the media is totally under the State’s control. All one had to do was accuse someone of being a communist and he would be hauled up and incarcerated, resulting in trauma and ostracisation for him and his family. The infamous McCarthy era in America is a prime example of how ordinary lives could be disrupted or destroyed due to the communist bogey being resurrected. The threat from communism was raised by every American administration using covert and overt suggestion, including working together with Hollywood to demonise those who were communists or even suspected of being communists, by making villains out of them. This was evident during the Cold War, and can be seen in films like *Guilty of Treason* (1949), *The Big Lift* (1950), and *Walk East on Beacon* (1952). In fact, in Hollywood, many creative personnel themselves became affected by McCarthyism during this era. Some were blacklisted, others lost their jobs, with at least one of them committing suicide. In an infamous incident, noted film director, Elia Kazan, appeared before the House Committee of Un-American Activities, and named eight of his friends who had been members of the American Communist Party together with him in the 1930s.

This also happened in Malaya (later Malaysia). In 1945, the British who had abandoned the country when the Japanese army invaded in 1941, returned unashamedly after the war, thinking that the populace would welcome them wholeheartedly. They did not expect the resistance from the Malayan Communist Party (MCP), and nationalist Malay leftist parties. The MCP was the first Malayan party to demand independence for Malaya. This was the reason for the leftist parties to work with them even though their ideologies were disparate. Though the British had given arms to members of the MCP during the War, and fought the Japanese alongside them, the MCP was now their enemy. With the collusion of the right-wing parties (and to safeguard British economic interests), the British banned the MCP and the left-wing parties. This led to the armed struggle dubbed the Emergency that lasted from 1948 to 1960. Physical warfare (police and army), and psychological warfare (newspapers, radio and film), was mobilised to the hilt, and branded the MCP and the left-wing parties as terrorists. In the documentary films of the Malayan Film Unit that had been set up by the British in 1946, the Malayan people were depicted as a ‘united’ nation working together to uplift their social and economic status. General Sir Gerald Templer who led the fight against the communists from 1952 to 1954 was officially accorded the image of a hero in every film that he appeared. (Reenacted) scenes of the communists’ supposed atrocities, actual scenes of the bombing of communist hideouts in the jungle, and communist surrenders were continually shown to the public in cinemas and mobile units. These films were, in every sense of the word, examples of ‘the creative

treatment of actuality’. And they worked. The ordinary man was completely brainwashed, and subsequently looked upon the communists as Public Enemy Number 1.

This (creative) power of suggestion utilised by the British in Malaya was similar to what would be later used in Indonesia in 1965. The effects of this method were enumerated to me in an interview with the Secretary-General of one the left-wing parties, Wan Khazim Wan Din, whose father had been jailed by the British. Wan Khazim told me that the Malay right-wing party that collaborated with the British went around the villages, and told the simple country folk that the Malay left-wing parties had abandoned their Muslim religion, and had become communists. Relatives stopped coming to Wan Khazim’s house. Even his own grandfather believed the stories, and herded Wan Khazim out of his house. Unable to stand the situation in his village, Wan Khazim left for Singapore and found work at the film studios of the Shaw Brothers. Wan Khazim was but one of the many whose lives and those of their families were disrupted.

The communist bogey gets resurrected every now and then to make Malaysians remember ‘the evil communist terrorists’. Like Indonesia’s feature film, *Penumpasan Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI*, officially-sanctioned films such as *Bukit Kepong* (Kepong Hill, 1995) based on an actual incident about a communist attack on a police station in a remote village, are regularly screened on television. Both these films were technically-polished with excellent photography and art direction. The filmic construct gave the films credibility, thereby presenting a semblance of the ‘truth’ being told. In *Bukit Kepong*, the policemen defending the station all die in the shootout, and they are proclaimed as ‘Malay heroes’, even though they were policemen on the payroll of the British. Films about the communists are banned even though no communists are even shown, as in Amir Muhammad’s *The Last Communist* (2006). The same fate befell Fahmi Reza’s *10 Years before Independence* (2007) which was a revisionist history that included interviews with the left-wing independence fighters. This film, too, became a victim of State intervention when a screening of the film at a State-sponsored university was cancelled at the eleventh hour. Muhammad’s next film, *Radio Days* (2007) was also banned even though it showed the communists, now aged and infirm, living peacefully in the south of Thailand. Both *The Last Communist* and *Radio Days* appear to be plotless and seem to have a lack in their structure. But Amir Muhammad has consciously used many red herrings. The blissful life and normal activity of people set within peaceful landscapes that he portrays cleverly debunks the image of the ‘evil’ communists.

In limbo until now is the feature film, *The New Village* (2013). It was alleged to be promoting the communists because it portrayed the MCP and the Malayan People Anti-Japanese Army as independence fighters. The film has not been banned but there also does not seem to be any official proclamation forthcoming. The film’s trailer shows it to be a well-made film with excellent production values. Obviously, the powers-that-be see any positive depiction of the communists as being incongruent with the ‘national fiction’ that they have created. It is certainly true that the victors (re)write history. But Fate, however, had the last laugh as far as Malaysia was concerned. The leader of the MCP, Chin Peng, died on September the 16th, a date that coincides with the formation of Malaysia. So, in a sense, when the event is celebrated, it is also a remembrance of the passing of Chin Peng.

In the Singapore of the 1970s and 80s, the communist bogey was also brought to the fore under the premiership of Lee Kuan Yew. Lee’s emphasis was on economic success at the expense of politics. And so Lee brooked no opposition. He arrested his political opponents under the Internal Security Act (ISA) that allowed detention without trial. Martyn See made *Zahari’s 17 Years* (2006), a film on Said Zahari, editor-in-chief of a Malay newspaper, who was detained under the ISA for seventeen years after being accused of being a communist. A recent documentary, *Tracing the Conspiracy: Part 1* (2015), made by Jason Soo, a young Singaporean, chronicled how 22 people had been arrested, some of them social workers, under the ISA, and accused of being involved in a Marxist conspiracy to turn Singapore into a communist state. The film was screened at the Freedom Film Festival held in Petaling Jaya, Malaysia, in September, 2015. After the screening, five of the surviving detainees who were in attendance, described the torture and coercion they underwent during their incarceration which subsequently led to their ‘confessing’ on live television that they were, in fact, communists, and had been planning to ‘overthrow’ the government.

Conclusion

In Joshua Oppenheimer’s *The Look of Silence*, there is a present-day scene of a teacher in a classroom who tells his students about the ‘evil’ communists who killed the generals during the 1965 coup. In a clever use of shots and juxtaposition during editing, Oppenheimer uses the art of cinema to show the audience that the students do not really believe what the teacher is telling them. Some students appear bored or are seen to be listless. They disinterestedly, mouth and complete the teacher’s words that he purposely leaves hanging so as to have the students give closure to it. Using the power of suggestion, the image of the communists as the enemy is ingrained into students at an early age. In Malaya, the struggle of the Malayan Communist Party and the sacrifices of the Malay leftist parties are not mentioned in history books. What is continuously emphasised are the killings that occurred due to the forced Emergency that was declared by the British. What is never highlighted is the even more brutal and higher number of killings and atrocities committed by the Japanese forces during the occupation of Malaya between 1941 and 1945.

In *The Look of Silence*, Adi knows that he cannot reveal the name of his village even when asked by those he interviewed. Many of them are still in power. Fear and loathing of the communists is still rife among the populace of Indonesia. Even Adi’s mother and wife are concerned about his safety. As in a

narrative film, Oppenheimer builds tension in some of the interviews with the killers. Adi is accused by one interviewee of being 'political' with his questions and that he could be one of 'them'. The sons of a woman who is being interviewed start to become aggressive when their aged mother becomes upset with Adi's line of questioning. Adi is cautious in his approach. And he is not alone. Many Indonesians working on the production of Oppenheimer's *The Act of Killing* and *The Look of Silence* wanted to be credited only as 'Anonymous' for fear of reprisals by those who still believed that the PKI was behind the killing of the six generals in 1965.

It all sounds like fiction to those who have not experienced or were part of "one of the mass murders in the 20th century". It was a "significant event" where humans drank the blood of their victims, and could nonchalantly say that it tasted 'sweet-salty'! In this, Oppenheimer is telling us that truth is certainly stranger than fiction. And that is why he approached *The Look of Silence* in a highly cinematic manner. By opting for static camera shots, appropriate art direction, solemn lighting and long takes during the interviews, Oppenheimer, in a sense, lulled the interviewees into revealing many things that had not been revealed in *The Act of Killing*, and which they might not have revealed in a normal interview. Adi, too, played his part well, and like a professional actor, he calmly observes the killers during moments of pause during the interviews. As in a fiction film, the protagonist and the antagonist confront each other in silence. They seem to be evenly matched, as if planning the next move in a chess game. Though Adi, the protagonist, is in the antagonist's lair, he is visually depicted as being more 'heroic' and thus, dominating in the scene.

This treatment by Joshua Oppenheimer for his documentary film is what gives it its form, making the content all the more dramatic and compelling. *The Look of Silence* is truly a creative treatment of actuality', that forcefully tells us that truth can be stranger than fiction.

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Collective Indonesian Memories of the 1965 Tragedy during New Order Regime

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Abstract

The 1965 tragedy in Indonesia led to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people accused of communist associations. During the New Order regime, open discussion of these events was almost impossible. As a result, little is known about the horrors of 1965 and its aftermath. This paper attempts to describe the collective memory of the 1965 tragedy, and observe how Indonesian writers have attempted to put a voice to the suffering of their fellow countrymen. A parallel reading of literary texts and non-literary texts will be used to investigate this issue.

By closely examining several categories of significant cultural and political remembrance, this paper argues that the process of making and evoking memories of the 1965 tragedy has been highly political. Most forms of remembrance have been state-sponsored representations. These include (1) Student's text book of Indonesian National History composed by Nugroho Notosusanto in which PKI was labeled as Nation Traitors, (2) Lubang Buaya monument and Museum of the PKI Betrayal (inaugurated by Suharto in 1990), (3) Annual commemoration day of October 1st and always did the celebration day in *Lubang Buaya*; (4) A film praising Suharto entitled "*Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI*" directed by Arifin C. Noer.

Literary works created during the New Order regime, however, opened a breathing space to discuss the tragedy at a human level. Indonesian writers have performed a negating role in refuting the official version of the events of 1965. They have attempted to come to terms with the violence to which individuals were subjected by Indonesian authorities including: 1) arrest and detention people without trial, 2) physical abuse, torture, and inhuman treatment of victims, and 3) army organized massacre. The most disconcerted things for them were that how the civil society can only witness these atrocities without doing anything to intervene. I conclude convincingly that Indonesian writers have performed as 'voice of the voiceless' of the victims, in spite of the fact that they received intense pressure from authorities of the repressive regime.

Introduction

The bloody revolution that swept through Indonesia starting from 1965¹ was one of the fiercest which has been made Indonesian New Order regime as one of this century's worst mass murders.² From October 1, 1965, Soeharto and his military machine reign of violence, terror, fighting, fear, and brutality over PKI or communist followers and turned the country into an anti-communist fever society and start their effort to create a model of 'Pancasila'³ way of life. The human costs of the revolution were horrific. Between mid-October 1965 and mid-January 1966, Army-directed massacres claimed somewhere between five hundred thousand and one million lives. Hundreds of thousands of other of its leaders and affiliates were imprisoned and many of these were also tortured (Anderson, 1996: 1).

The question has been what was the nature and purpose of the September 30 Movement (hereinafter G30S)? At first glance the answer to these questions seems easy enough. That night, several hundred dissident military personnel, lead by Lieutenant-Colonel Untung, commander of the palace guard, the Cakrabirawa, kidnapped and killed six influential top senior Indonesian Army Generals. Untung claimed that this movement was a preventive action designated to protect President Soekarno against the threat of an American Central Intelligence Agency backed "Council of Generals." It was believed by the Untung group that Army High Command were plotting their own reactionary *coup d' état* for Armed Forces Day on 5 October 1965 (Dommen, 1966: 144; Crouch, 1973: 1).

Since that time there has been some dispute about whether the PKI actually ordered the kidnappings and the proposal of a new presidential cabinet the next day.⁴ But whatever the truth about the source of

¹ Most Indonesian people mistakenly believe that 1965 tragedy was 'only' kidnapping and slaughtering of 6 high rank generals. The 1965 Tragedy, in fact, were a series of three large activities: (1) The D-day of 30 September Movement (G30S), (2) Post 30 September Movement, and (3) The exile on Buru Island (1969-1979). See Adam (2004).

² Bertrand Russell as quoted by Heryanto (1999: 151) suggested that in four months, five times as many people died in Indonesia as in Vietnam in twelve years' or as much as 500 times the number killed in 1989 in Tiananmen Square, Beijing.

³ Pancasila means five basic principles of Indonesia's political philosophy, which consist of religion, humanism, nationalism, democracy, and socialism.

⁴ Peter Dale Scott, "The United States and the Overthrow of Soekarno, 1965-1967" , *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 58, No. 2, (Summer, 1985), pp. 239-264 aptly described this period as 'ill-understood period'. Much of what happened can never be documented; and of the document that survives much both controversial and unverifiable. The events surrounding the coup attempt remain unclear and

Untung's orders, his desire to eliminate the anti-Communist generals fitted the sympathies of PKI leaders, and the blame for the deaths was thereafter laid on the Party leadership by their opponents and the Indonesian populace. Indonesian army under command of then Major General Soeharto, Commander of the Strategic Reserve, launching a punitive purge of the left, begin with its rivals in the army's center, thus paving the way to a long planned-elimination of the civilian left throughout Indonesia. The violence was especially brutal in Java and Bali.⁵ The real tragedy of 1965 bloodbath just began and a major turning point in Indonesia's history was been commenced. G30S failure was to inaugurate drastic realignments in the country's domestic and foreign policies, and led directly to fall of President Soekarno.⁶

More than four decade has passed since the PKI was outlawed. Although the PKI was officially gone, it is not forgotten. For most Indonesian, however, the image of PKI is nothing but notorious wicked. The New Order government was constantly on the alert for signs of the revival of the PKI or for what it seemed to represent. The New Order regime constitutes the most determining force in the identity-making of the powerless subjects, and in their everyday practices. Vigorous cultural reproduction of the trauma of the events has been created by the New Order regime. In this short paper, I discuss the process of making and evoking memories of the 1965 tragedy. This paper will chiefly discuss the complex and ambiguous discourse of the tragedy that has been already firmly planted in Indonesian collective memory. The role of Indonesian writers in dealing with the tragedy will also be discussed.

A Glimpse into History: PKI and the 1965 Tragedy

Since 1960 Soekarno launched the Nasakom means the merging of the nationalist, religious and communist to combining all political power trends in Indonesian life (Wieringa, 1992: 100-101). Obviously in Soekarno opinion, PKI deserved life in the motherland of Indonesia. Between 1959 and 1965, Indonesian politics became increasingly radical and the PKI increasingly influential. In the months prior to the coup attempt, the country was politically polarized and in desperate economic straits, a crisis reflected in rising social tensions and at times violent social unrest. In addition to Sukarno, who had assumed increasingly authoritarian powers beginning in the late 1950s, two primary political forces were jostling for power: the army and the PKI (Human Right Watch, 1989: 11).

In that time, political position of PKI was very strong. Observers convinced that PKI was the largest such party outside the communist block with some 2.5 million members and candidate members, and additional tens of thousands in various fronts (labor, peasants', youth, women, and other).⁷ The significant progress of the PKI, as Van der Kroef (1965: 357) noted it, partly because during 1961-1962 PKI made a vociferous criticism of various government policies, partly because of Indonesia's rigid martial-law policies of close supervision overall partisan activity, had become severely restricted in its operations.

PKI gained significant benefit from the anti-Malaysia 'confrontation', from which for the first time a communist-initiated tactic with its attendant symbols and ideology of anti neocolonialist and imperialist became an official Indonesian policy norm. *Manipol*, *Nasakom*, *konfrontasi*, and many other symbols and terms were all so many means for PKI and has been 'stabilize' by means of these devices was first and foremost the position of the expanding PKI (Van der Kroeff, 1965: 359-360). Since 1957, with the accelerating imposition of 'guided democracy', the preservation of this balance power between the Army (on the right), Soekarno (in the center), and the PKI (on the left) has required an atmosphere of almost continuous, real or self-induced crisis.⁸ By 1965 the Party's gains on all political fronts seemed so impressive that it appeared inevitable that Indonesia would soon be completely in Communist hands. (Thomas, 1981: 369-370). The Indonesian power structure was widely seen as an uneasy balance, especially between the Army and the Communist Party (PKI), which President Sukarno maintained to his advantage. In the end a clash between these two organizations was inevitable.

With the passage of time, the PKI had come to dominate the public stage, purveying the thoughts and slogans of the President. The growing strength of the PKI, together with what were perceived as the 'chaos-inducing' social policies of Soekarno, were interpreted as a direct threat to the Indonesian ruling elite of which the Army was the key active force (Goodfellow, 1975: 1). The political climate in Indonesia up until G30S was characterized by an 'ominous polarization of political forces around two outstanding rivals for the succession of Soekarno, i.e. the PKI and the Army (Crouch, 1973: 2-4). From Army perspective, the PKI was anti-order and therefore anti Indonesian expressions of popular will. Madiun affair in 1948, Unilateral

some participants themselves described it as an internal military affair, but the government subsequently maintained that it was exclusively the work of the PKI. The existence of a CIA sponsored 'Council of Generals' has never been proven.

⁵ Claiming that the original "coup" had been masterminded by the PKI the enormous bloodshed military had engineered possibly justified as punishment for a murderous Communist plot.

⁶ For detailed and sophisticated analysis of the complexities of the movement, see Leslie Palmier, 1971 "The 30 September Movement in Indonesia" in: *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (1971), pp. 1-20, Cambridge University Press. And Justus M. van der Kroef, 1977. "Interpretations of the 1965 Indonesian Coup: A Review of the Literature Author(s)" in *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 43, No. 4, (Winter, 1970-1971), pp. 557-577. Pacific Affairs, University of British Columbia.

⁷ Antoine C. A. Dake (1973: 320-323) and Rob Goodfellow (1995: 1-2) even noted that by August 1965, the PKI estimated that its strength consisted of approximately 20 million members and affiliates of the following: PKI membership 3.5 million, *Pemuda Rakjat* (youth) 3 million, SOBSI (unions) 3.5 million, BTI (peasants), Gerwani (women) 3 million, *Lekra* (writers and artists) 5 million, HIS (scholars) 70 thousand. Under its chairman, Dipa Nusantara Aidit, the PKI developed a vast organizational structure with 'formidable energies and a high degree of internal coherence'.

⁸ For more detailed discussion about 'konfrontasi,' the fifth Armed Forced, and balance of political power in Indonesia, see John O. Sutter, Two Faces of Konfrontasi: "Crush Malaysia" and the Gestapu" in *Asian Survey*, Vol. 6, No. 10, (Oct., 1966), pp. 523-546. University of California Press.

Actions in 1964, and creation of a fifth armed force were among others examples of those threats. In this atmosphere of mutual fear, the attempted coup of G30S took place.

As rumors of Sukarno's ill-health gained currency, every faction began to look to their defenses. Time was running out on the PKI's patient strategy. The Party had hurdled most of the obstacles placed in the way of its climb to power, but it still had to contend with its longstanding enemies, the army generals, with their formidable machine of violence. The stage for PKI was thus set for the denouement of October 1, 1965 (Mortimer, 1969: 20).

Anticommunist Campaign as a Cornerstone of the New Order Indonesia

President Soeharto rose to power in the aftermath of a failed coup attempt on September 30, 1965. Shortly after the bloody arrival of his regime of the New Order, national historiography had been subject to tight government control. New Order formulated an official foundation narrative that should be put as a base of 'official mental picture' of all Indonesian populace. This foundation narrative in question, foundation myth to put it less politely, was centered on the regime's version of events associated with what it referred to as "Gestapu"⁹ (Goodfellow, 1975: 2; Drakley, 2007: 12).

It is easy to reconstruct myth-making process, begin with rumors spread by army. For public accounts of the seven deaths, As Benedict Anderson (1987: 110) pointed out people must rely almost exclusively on the reporting of two military newspapers, *Angkatan Bersenjata* (The Armed Forces) and *Berita Yudha* (War News), and the ABRI information service that supplied them. The 'Getapu' myth, especially the '*Lubang Buaya*' (Crocodile Hole) myth, as it was aptly described by Drakeley (2007: 11) was a black propaganda campaign which sensationally and highly effectively detailed alleged crimes against humanity, against the Indonesian nation and state, against God, and against the normative Indonesian cosmic and social order. These alleged crimes occurred at a place called *Lubang Buaya* on the night of 30 September-1 October 1965. The official sensational stories plotted by the two news papers portraying PKI as evil as follow.

Angkatan Bersenjata described the deaths as "barbarous deeds in the form of tortures executed beyond the bounds of human feeling" *Perbuatan biadab berupa penganiayaan yang dilakukan diluar batas perikemanusiaan.* (*Angkatan Bertendjata*, 5 October 1965) and *Berita Yudha* wrote about corpses "covered with indications of torture. Traces of wounds all over the bodies, the results of tortures inflicted before they were shot, still covered our heroes' remains." *Bekas2 luka disekudjur tubuh akibat siksaan sebelum ditembak masih membalut tubuh2 pahlawan kita.* (*Berita Yudha*, 5 October 1965) Maj. Gen. Suharto himself was quoted as saying that "it was obvious for those of us who saw [the bodies] with our own eyes what savage tortures had been inflicted by the barbarous adventurers calling themselves 'The September 30th Movement.'" *Djelaslah bagi kita jang menjaksikan dengan mata kepala betapa kedjamnja aniaja jang telah dilakukan oleh petualang2 biadab dari apa jang dinamakan 'Gerakan 30 September.'* (Anderson, 1987: 111-114).

More sensational story was pertaining to Gerwani, as Goodfellow write,

After the arrival of the captured Generals at Halim, PKI-affiliated women's organization, Gerwani, had stripped naked performed the luscious 'Dance of the Fragrant Flowers' before PKI cadres and Airforce.... The frenzied women practiced ritual mutilation and eyes and genitals gouging, before engaging in sexually obscene acts with the spectators. Aitid himself awarded medals to the most deprived.

To make this propaganda look more convincingly, *Berita Yudha*, 4 October 1965 published "honest confession" of fifteen-year-old, three months' pregnant Djamilah, nicknamed the "Srikandi of Lubang Buaya" who is reported to have confessed the following story:

There were some 500 people collected there, 100 of whom were women. Small knives and razor blades were distributed. I only got a razor blade. From far we saw a short fat person entering; he was in his pajamas. His hands were tied with a red cloth and red cloth was also tied over his eyes. Our leader Dan Ton ordered to beat up this person, and then they started stabbing with those small knives at his genitals. The first one, as we noticed, to beat and stab the genitals of that person was the chair of Gerwani Tandjung Priok. Then other friends followed... after that we ourselves joined in torturing that person. All the hundred women did like wise and were witnesses. (Aveling, 1975: iii; Wieringa, 2003: 80).

⁹ This term was coined by the Director of the Armed Forces news paper *Angkatan Bersenjata*, Brig-Gen Sugandhi with the intention of 'investing it with the aura of evil' (Goodfellow, 1975: 2). The acronym "Gestapu", with obvious similarity with the term "Gestapo" (itself an acronym for the infamous political police of Nazi Germany). Using selected letters it was constructed from the Indonesian for 30 September Movement (Gerakan September Tiga Puluh). (SeeDrakery, 2007; Goodfellow, 1995).

The black propaganda were completely successful and the effects were horrific, provoke and raise an anti-communist frenzy, a mindless urge to kill PKI. PKI were publicly vilified as traitors, devils, and sexual dissolute child murderers (Goodfellows, 1975: 5). Lubang Buaya myth as first disseminated warrants serious attention because of the important role it played in mobilizing and motivating the Army-civilian coalition which crushed the PKI through the mass killings and mass detentions (Drakeley, 2007: 14-15). In Indonesian collective memory, as shaped by Soeharto regime, G30S was a pretext for mass murder (Roosa, 2006: 21-33).

In 1987, however, surprised with the objective description of the autopsy reports on the bodies of the murdered Generals, Benedict Anderson concludes convincingly that there were absolutely no ghastly mutilations of eyes and genitals as had been reported in the press. He decided to translate the autopsy reports in full for the scholarly community. All the stories about torture and mutilation in Lubang Buaya complete fabrications.

Additionally there were no strong indications that PKI officially masterminded the coup. Three researchers at the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project-Ruth McVey, Frederick Bunnell, and Benedict Anderson, in their well-known document namely ‘Cornell Paper’ (January 10, 1966), entitled “A Preliminary Analysis of the October 1, 1965 Coup in Indonesia,” which seriously questioned the view that the Communists had masterminded the coup, suggesting instead that the evidence pointed to severe intra-Army conflicts as the most likely cause. (Benedict R. O’G. Anderson, 1996b). Professor W. F. Wertheim, of the University of Amsterdam, a leading specialist on modern Indonesia, has also regarded it a “highly probable” that the coup was “an internal army affair” (Van der Kroef, 1971: 557).

Making and Evoking Memory

The army successfully blamed the coup attempt on the PKI and proceeded with a campaign to eliminate communism and leftist thinking in Indonesia. Anti-communism, together with emphasis on the Five Principle of the nation (Pancasila) and the 1945 Constitution, became transcendent basis of the state (see Vickers and McGregor, 2005: 44; Wood, 2005: 123-125). The new regime emphasized the centrality of these ideas through indoctrination program that operate through educational and work-place institutions, and through media and education systems.

Heryanto (1999: 151) notes that Indonesia’s New Order authoritarianism would not have existed nor survived so well without the magical power of the discursive phantom of the ‘Communist threat’. That powerful discourse was, in turn, only possible because of the devastating 1965 mass killings that took around one million lives in less than four months, ranking it as one of the bloodiest murders in modern history.

The New Order State making and evoking memory through a campaign that depicted the army under General Soeharto as the great saviors of a nation on the brink of destruction. For the Suharto regime not only justified its rise to power in terms of suppression of the Communist movement, but deliberately maintained a sense of danger, and fuelled fears of the recurrence of the events of 1965-66, as a mechanism of social control. The term “Communist”, as Ariel Heryanto explains, became a “floating signifier” which could become attached to anyone or anything, undermining the legitimacy of their existence (Heatley, 2006). Citizens set up hyper-obedient practices, reproducing the fear of Communist threat and reflecting it back to state authorities.

The milestone of the remembrances that contributed greatly in anti-communist fever will be discussed briefly below.

Lubang Buaya Monument and the PKI Treachery Museum

Lubang Buaya Monument and the PKI Treachery Museum became cornerstones for New Order government in the making and evoking collective memory of Indonesian people. The places have become the central site for the construction of memories is an official warning about danger of resurgent communism to convince the heinous of PKI. The idea to evoke memories was raised in 1981 because of the emergence of a young generation born after 1965. Two projects emerged for which Nugroho Notosusanto¹⁰ was responsible, namely a museum and a film about the coup attempt. Museum and Monumen Pancasila Sakti, in which Nugroho personally curated includes diorama representations of the prelude to the coup attempt, the actual event and its aftermath, as well as portraits of the heroes and displays of their original blood-stained clothes and personal artifacts.

The imagination of ‘horrific episodes’ in the night of 30 September movement experienced in Lubang Buaya have been reconstructed to exclude the PKI from the nation and even from perceptions of human culture. The well itself has been turned into a marble shrine complete with a temple roof intended for the veneration of anti-communism. The museum boasts two vast stories. Models of wood and papier mache behind glass walls depict every incident in which the PKI was involved since 1945. It is the museum of the victors of 1965 and 1966, intended to create the impression of a treacherous, murderous, and

¹⁰ About the central importance of Nugroho Notosusanto and official narrative to the legitimacy of New Order regime, see Katharine E. McGregor, 2005. “Nugroho Notosusanto: The Legacy of a Historian in the Service of an Authoritarian Regime” (pp. 209-232) in Mary S. Zurbuchen (Ed.), 2005. *Beginning to Remember: The Past in the Indonesian Present*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

thieving PKI being confronted by the sincere, invincible army -the true defender of the people (Wieringa, 2003: 83-84). It also contains photographic murals, composed of pictures taken at Lubang Buaya as well as other places. The pictures of the bodies of the generals remarkably show no signs of razor-blade cuts, and there are no bloody patches around the men's genital areas. The uniforms displayed in another room also show no signs of the atrocities the young women supposedly committed at Lubang Buaya.

The monument on the same site, *Monumen Pancasila Sakti Lubang Buaya* (The Monument of the Holy Pancasila), is a large, semi-circular construction in front of a pillar and a statue of the Garuda, the national eagle, and a bas-relief presenting the story of the events leading up to the general's murders covers its massive pentagonal pedestal.¹¹ Statues of the slain generals and lieutenant in full military attire and militaristic poses are prominently displayed on a platform. Beneath the statues is a retelling of Soeharto's account of Indonesia's history since 1945. In describing the central part of the mural Saskia E. Wieringa provides an excellent social and historical overview of the slander campaign against Gerwani and the PKI in 1965, which goes some way to facilitating the ideological foundation for the New Order military rule:

The generals are being clubbed and thrown into the well. They are surrounded by representations of women. To the left three women are standing. One of them is dressed in a very sexual way and argues defiantly with a man. Next to her are two dancing women, one of whom is acting out the so-called "*tarian harum bunga*" (dance of the fragrant flower), which symbolizes the young women allegedly seducing the kidnapped generals. Above the well, another woman is leaning against a tree. She is clad in uniform trousers and a blouse, which clearly reveals her full breasts. A knife hangs on her belt. Her posture is similarly defiant. The next scene in the mural is dominated by overpowering figure of General Soeharto. Under his left arm, two women are standing, heads down, and one of them is carrying a baby. The figure of General Soeharto has turned those defiant, seductive, dangerous, and castrating women into symbols of obedience and motherhood. The last scene shows the all-powerful General and President Soeharto in front of what is presumably a courtroom. Absolute military and legal power is his (Wieringa, 2003: 84). During the New Order regime, the monument and museum were routinely included in school history tour. Not surprisingly, nothing was said about the murders of hundreds of communist's and others that followed this event.

School Text Book and Annual Ceremony

After the crackdowns of the G30S in 1965, political controls over academic life in Indonesia were among the most intrusive in the world (Human Right Watch, 1998: 15). The major organized power behind the New Order government was the armed forces.¹² As noted earlier, the major strategies were reviewed under two headings, restricting/controlling and indoctrinating.

In 1975, Department for Culture and Education published six-part official national history text *the Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*.¹³ It mandarin was Nugroho Notosusanto, who directed the military historical center (*Pusat Sejarah ABRI*) before becoming education minister in the early 1980s. The official version of the 1965 tragedy found in this authorized national history was the army's version of the course of events. The thesis is the coup attempt on the eve of October 1 was actually masterminded by the PKI, and that the army role has been the savior of the nation when it crushed by PKI. As it was accurately described by Hoadly (2005: 10-11), a continual theme is that the party had acted traitorously. Representations of the torture allegedly carried out at Lubang Buaya also replicated in school texts. The book does not make any mention of the extensive massacre, detained, torture, and purging of great number of PKI leaders and allies without trial.

During New Order regime, 1 October was renowned as the *Hari Kesaktian Pancasila* (The Supernatural Efficacy of Pancasila Day) in which Indonesia 'saved' from the treachery of PKI. This state-sponsored representation is a national holiday to commemorate the fall of the PKI, when Indonesia was saved from communism. President Soeharto used to lead a solemn ceremony at Lubang Buaya.

Film "Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI"

As it was mentioned above, Nugroho Notosusanto was also the person in charge of the film project entitled *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* ("The Treachery of the 30 September Movement/Indonesian Communist

¹¹ For detailed description about Lubang Buaya as site of memory, see Klaus H. Schreiner, 2005 "Lubang Buaya: Histories of Trauma and Sites of Memory (pp. 261-277) in Mary S. Zurbuchen (Ed.), 2005. *Beginning to Remember: The Past in the Indonesian Present*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

¹² For detailed account pertaining to the strategies of political control by army by formed BAKIN (State Intelligence Coordination Board), KOPKAMTIB (the central agency for intelligence operations), and broader to Ministry of Education., see Thomas, R. Murray, 1981. "Indonesian Education: Communist Strategies (1950-1965) and Governmental Counter Strategies (1966-1980)" in *Asian Survey*, Vol. 21, No. 3, (Mar., 1981), pp. 369-392. University of California Press.

¹³ New editions appearing in 1977, 1981-83 and 1984. In the preface to the fourth and fifth editions the minister of culture and education stated that the book had become standard work on the subject and that it should set the norms for instruction in the nation's history by providing the factual basis for school textbooks on all levels. See Anna-Greta Nilsson Hoadley, 2005. *Indonesian Literature vs. New Order Orthodoxy: The Aftermath of 1965-1966*. pp 5-11. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

Party). Although the film was made by Brigadier General Dwipayana and directed by Arifin C. Noer, the film script was based on Nugroho's historiography and he, as editor, also made final decisions on the film content (McGregor, 2005: 218).

The story of the film was official version of New Order regime about what happened in September 30 and October 1, 1965 in Jakarta. Soeharto played the central role. Some observer even asserted that Soeharto's role had been elevated to almost a 'personality cult'.¹⁴ For more than one decade (1984 to 1997) the film was shown constantly to groups of school children, and broadcast yearly on television in primetime. School children were also obligated to see it at the local cinema.

This is the regime's propaganda film of the G30S affair. During this four-hour epic "reconstruction", this film account the way Soeharto decisively took over the reins of power in the days following the coup attempt on 1 October 1965 highlighted the "treacherous" role of the PKI. The film depicting in grisly detail the kidnapping, torturing and killing of each of the army generals by vicious communists in the September 30th attempted coup. Gerwani and Pemuda Rakyat were portrayed as frenzied killers at Lubang Buaya. Gerwani also performing the "dance of fragrant flower" while torturing the generals.

The medium of film played a powerful role in the New Order era in instilling the regime's version of this history. To this day the film still has a powerfully influential propaganda in telling the official story. This film also didn't portray the mass arrests and killings. Ariel Heryanto (2006: 16) aptly described this film as a product of state terrorism.¹⁵

Against the Amnesia: The Role of Indonesian Writers

One of the most important consequences of the rise of Soeharto was the progressive militarization of Indonesian society. Under the New Order, the chief function of ABRI became internal security. As one observer of the Indonesian military stated it: Indonesia in the New Order period under President Soeharto, capitulated three distinctive and institutionalized pattern of control of the Indonesian population: *militarization, comprehensive domestic political surveillance, and intermittent but persistent state terror* (Tanter, 1990). Therefore, the vilification of the radical left in the aftermath of the coup attempt and the increasing political prominence of ABRI had important long-term consequences for art production, intellectual and academic life. One important legacy of 1965 was what Indonesia sociologist Franz Magnis-Suseno called the authorities a despicable habit of accusing dissidents and individuals involved in human rights advocacy of being infected with communism.¹⁶

In the late 1982 Keith Foulcher¹⁷, expressed his concern at the sterility of literary life in Soeharto's New Order Indonesia. Throughout most of the 1970s, creative literature in Indonesian was almost totally silent on the meaning of the events of 1965 and their aftermath in the lives of individuals, communities, and the nation. During 1970 and 1980, there were about 210 novels published in Indonesia, consisting of 60 serious novels and 150 popular novels (Sumarjo, 1981: 38). However only 4 novels (1.9%) dealing with 1965 tragedy. Again, in 1990s, Henk Maier pointed out that so complete and so pervasive was the Indonesian state's emphasis on censorship and that, according to Maier, the authors themselves were no longer aware of how much they have been muffled, "leaving the writing of explicitly offensive and confrontational poetry and prose to madman and clowns who should not be surprised when sooner or later they are arrested, punished, and shoveled away under epitaph "Communist. Like Wiji Thukul. Like Pramoedya Ananta Toer" (Maier, 1999: 257).

Individuals suspected of having leftist affiliations, including large numbers of teachers, writers, and student activists, were among roughly one million citizens imprisoned in the wake of the coup attempt. Well-known writers Pramoedya Ananta Toer and Rivai Apin were those who exile to Buru Island. Those accused of having been members of an organization banned in the mid-1960s are under constant surveillance, often face restrictions on their freedom of movement, have no right to vote, have to report regularly to the police, and are banned from holding jobs in the civil service, which includes all teachers in government schools and universities, and from became the government's chief ideological weapon against political opponents and dissenters.

In this difficult situation, however, small numbers of Indonesian writers have confronted the need to construct alternative paradigm in an effort to circumvent official perspectives.

False Consciousness

The representations of the 1965 tragedy in literature were more than mere human mimesis and more than the aesthetic remains. They have a certain attitude or range of attitude toward 'ideology,' a term that describes the ways in which texts and institutions conceal or rationalize motives of domination. Its principal current meaning can be abbreviated as "false consciousness" (Goodheart, 1997: 2). It is the text, whatever

¹⁴ See for example, Gerry van Klinken, 2001. "The Battle for History after Suharto: Beyond Sacred Dates, Great Men and Legal Milestones", in *Critical Asian Studies*, 33: 3 pp. 323-350.

¹⁵ The film begins with depicting of a peaceful atmosphere of nature: the rhythm of eternal tranquil nature. Inside a mosque, there were clean faces that became one with the morning atmosphere. They were reciting the *Subuh* prayer. Suddenly, without any clear reasons, appear a number of killers. Door were smashed, reflections of weapons flashing. Blood splashed, spurted in all directions.

¹⁶ See Human Right Watch, 1998, pp. 11-13. *Academic Freedom in Indonesia: Dismantling Soeharto-Era Barriers*. New York, Washington, London, Brussels: Human Right Watch.

¹⁷ See Keith Foulcher "Making History: Recent Indonesian Literature and the Events of 1965" in Robert Cribb (Ed. 1990) *The Indonesian Killings 1965-1966: Studies from Java and Bali*. Clayton, Victoria: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies Monash University. Pp. 101-119.

form it takes in cultural and intellectual life, that exhibit false consciousness; it is the ideology critic who discovers the truth that the text conceals.

In the specific case of Indonesia, amidst the repressive military regime, almost all Indonesian writers in fact begin to employ similar tactics. These writers set their narratives primarily within the context of the official government perception of history of 1965 tragedy.

In "A Women and Her Children", Gerson Poyk (1966) haunted by his memories of those left behind after the Coup of September 1965, undertakes a personal inventory of the victims through a parody of the personal, political, and literary spheres of exile. By chronicling the daily activities of the protagonist and her children through the use of memory, Gerson Poyk "re-presents" official line-policy that all PKI allies are deserved to die. "I have sinned against Pancasila and deserved to die. Hadijah and children do not. Forgive them" (p. 139). In this short story, we can find the dreadful effect of black propaganda of Lubang Buaya.

"One man can't stop the lava pouring out of a volcano."

"People aren't lava."

"The lava from Lubang Buaya," he replied quietly. "A strange lava, full of cause-and-effect and action-and-reaction. It was all unplanned. The holes spewed up the lava, it spread in a chain-reaction pattern like an atomic bomb. Thousands of people have died. Your husband too. I watched him die last night." (Gerson Poyk, "Perempuan dan Anak-anaknya", 1966: 140).

In "Death," Mohammad Sjoekoer (1969: 27-28), prejudice that was built by army has been spread nation wide, that should 'we' do not kill 'them', then 'they' will certainly kill 'us' even more cruelty.

"Huh!" You are all a lot of stupid fairies. We should be grateful that it's not us there. They failed. They could have taken over, then we'd be the ones to suffer. Maybe something even worse."

"They've sinned. They beat and fought everyone who wasn't on their side. Their teachings changed them into a pack of wild animals, ready to take power any way they could. And they tried to. But God is merciful. Truth and justice will always prevail at the right time. Tonight is the right time" (Mohammad Sjoekoer, "Maut", 1969: 27).

In "War and Humanity", Usamah (1969) asserts the need of being fearless without worrying to kill communist followers.

It was war and had the PKI won, what happened to Sri might have happened to me. Such things may have been necessary and common, but I couldn't watch them happen. Without the commandant, the team, the soldiers who taught the communist the same lesson they taught Sri, Mrs. Y and Dr. X, we might still be fighting the 30th September Movement (Usamah, "Perang dan Kemanusiaan", 1969: 234).

The current varieties of criticism share a mistrust of the text's explicit claims. If, for example, the text affirms a set of ideas, the critic will try to elicit the underlying motives that may compromise or contradict these ideas (Goodheart, 1997: 2). Ideological interpretation pays a particular attention to the silences and gap in discourse.

Silent Witness of the 1965 Horror

Almost all literary works that represent 1965 tragedy tell us about the particular violence with a general history of brutality and repression. Facts that people are innocence is ignoring by authorities. In Ahmad Tohari *The Dancer of Dukuh Paruk* (1885), the inhabitants of Dukuh Paruk, who do not know what has happened to them should be taken prisoner in 1966 and Dukuh Paruk should be burned down. Tohari gives a witness about their innocence.

(Sakarya, an elder or *kamitua* of Dukuh Paruk) "Wait a minute. According to you, we are the oppressed. But aren't you mistaken? We don't feel at all oppressed, really we don't. We have been living here in peace since long ago"

"That's just it. You don't know how they oppress the people. Even in the time of your forefathers the oppressors were most unjust."...

"But who were the oppressors?"

"The imperialists, capitalists, colonialists, and their accomplices. Who else?!"

"Now, that's what we don't understand. We've never known them. Your story sounds crazy to us" (Ahmad Tohari, *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk*, 1985: 117).

In "A Women and Her Children", Gerson Poyk (1966) express his objection on the perpetrators attitude that he figures out as 'animal viciousness'. Killing people without any human consideration is the effect of the 30th September Movement. Trying to protect children was also very dangerous.

"Don't be too hasty, brothers. I was trying to help the children." His voice shook before the animal viciousness which lured behind their every action.

"Who are you?" one man asked.

"K was my enemy."

"Why are you so worried about his kids?"

"My enemy was an idea and the consequences of that idea. The person was separate." (Gerson Poyk, "Perempuan dan Anak-anaknya", 1966: 144).

Kipanjikusmin (1968) in "Cain's Lamb" reports that the killings were absolutely brutal and the civil society can only witness these atrocities without doing anything to intervene.

Suddenly he began to cry hysterically. The world seemed barren. The words began to pour out. "Instead I found a hell. The whole family dead. The house reduced to rubble. Why did you do it? All right, so my father had a position in the Communist Party. Only this town could kill a whole family and burn its house as well. And the rest of you just stood by and watched." (Kipanjikusmin, "Domba Kain", 1968: 16).

The facts that mass killing was horrific without any mercy could be found in Martin Aleida's "Dark Night". We could only imagine how life turn became disaster for those who got in touch with PKI followers, even if the victim is our own family.

"The people don't discriminate at a time lie that. They have borne their anger and bitterness a long time. When it finally explodes, one cannot expect them to be rational. We can both understand that. When anger and bitterness are king, intellect goes under. They were all killed. Partini, her mother, and other children, were hiding their uncle; he was a communist. The families of communists in other areas have disappeared as well, you know. The fact that Mrs. Mulyo couldn't read and that her children knew nothing about politics made no difference. Politics is blind. They all went into the river." (Martin Aleida's "Dark Night", 1970: 39).

Here is the predicament faced by Satyagraha Hoerip in "Climax" (1966) when he was enforced to kill his brother in law.

"All right, all right," I said slowly. "But I am not convinced. I looked after him because his wife is my sister. Their children are my nieces and nephews. As long as I could do something to help them, I wasn't prepared to stand by and do nothing. It wasn't just Kuslan. He had to attack me; his position required it. He was fairly doubtful about communism, although in public he always said he was getting more and more certain." Wimbadi said nothing. "It's up to you," I continued. "If you want to ill him, I have no objection. But I won't help." (Satyagraha Hoerip, "Pada Titik Kulminasi," 1966: 75).

The black propaganda of Lubang Buaya and the description of what Gerwani done at that place have a horrific effect in killing women of PKI allies.

"It was awful, my son. They killed women too. It was said that the Gerwani had been involved in Lubang Buaya: the people showed them no mercy. I found some of their bodies on the side of the river south of Kuta. Their guts hung out; their backs were full of knife wounds, carvings of open-mouthed crocodiles." Wayan shook his head and dragged on his palm-leaf cigarette (Kipanjikusmin, "Bintang Maut", 1967: 17).

In fact, the massacre was not a spontaneous deed. Some of the mass killings were well organized by army (Kipanjikusmin, "Star of Death", 1967: 16). For army, killing of woman, especially those who were member of Gerwani, are a punitive purge because of what they did in Lubang Buaya. As Roosa (2006: 21) has pointed out, it is common in Indonesian political discourse to conflate the movement and the subsequent mass violence as if both constituted a single event.

I can still remember how the soldiers reacted. They had probably seen the mutilated corpses. Several of them came to the town hall in a truck, shooting into the air and yelling cynically: "Long live Bung Karno and the Gerwani! Long live Bung Karno and the Gerwani!" I was startled by the noise and even more surprised when they crowded into the guard house shouting "Good night!" My anxiety gradually diminished when I realized that it was the army. They asked for the usual thing: a list of names, information about the prisoners.... Sri and Mrs. Y were on the list.... I couldn't objectively report that Sri had been imprisoned and executed without even being interrogated first (Usamah, 1969. "War and Humanity").

Buru Island was one of an important prison operated by New Order regime from 1965 to 1979. In this remote island, hundred of thousands of PKI leaders and affiliates were imprisoned without trial and time limit to the term of exile. Many of them were also tortured, interrogated, and killed. Pramodya Ananta Toer, Indonesian most significant writer and one of the prisoners living in this island for 10 years (1969-1979), wrote an autobiographical prison notes, *The Mute's Soliloqui* (1995, 1997).

Following the events of 1965, I lost everything or, to be more accurate, all the illusions I had ever owned. I was a newborn child, outfitted with the only instrument a newly born

babe finds necessary for life: a voice. Thus like a child my only means of communication was my voice: my screams, cries, whimpers, and yelps.
 What would happen to me if my voice, my sole means of communication, were to be taken from me? Is it possible to take from a man his right to speak to himself? (Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Nyanyi Sunyi Seorang Bisu*, 1995: 6).

The chief purpose of literature is telling a story (Bressler, 2007:14). Literature does not define facts or bits and pieces of information, for example the world courage, rather, it shows us a courageous character acting courageously. By doing so, literature concretizes an array of human values, emotions, actions, and ideas in story form. What Indonesian writers said, however, emphasized that the practice of mass killing were a legalized form of human abuse, a violation of human rights.

Concluding Remarks

The mass killing of PKI and its affiliated organizations following the failed coup of 30 September Movement and the severe discrimination policy on job market and else where for years has left sincere sufferings to their family. It is clear that PKI was a scapegoat of Soeharto systematic social and political engineering to gain political power (Purwanto, 2001: 115).

Returning to my discussion on the distinction Indonesian writers made between literary representation and state-sponsored representation of the 1965 tragedy, I must conclude that Indonesian writers have carried out a similar range of expression based on the human perceived needs of man. However, both representations have worked towards different goals. Politically state-sponsored representations fought for a transformation of society from what they perceived it as unordered to new order society. New Order regime consolidated its power; however, it progressively tightened controls on expression. In doing so, they have deliberately created a forged history and built monument, museum and film as a powerful tools for fostering national unity. Since those state-sponsored representation were used by the New Order regime in official propaganda, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the memory of the 1965 tragedy is an endeavor caught between the push of politics and the pull of people emotion.

Literary works, as a tool of people emotion, reflect social realities of 1965 tragedy. Their imagery combines the conventions of behavior and appearance appropriate to the authorities at New Order time. The works, however, have some sensitivity to the social implications of its representational modes, to the documentary value as aspects of social history, and to the subtle interaction between social and artistic conventions.

Memory of the past is not a fixed and independent entity but a construction - the way an individual or collective remember what has happened to them or around them. I want to sum up by underlining the theory of Halbwachs (1992) that memory needs continuous feeding from collective sources. If certain memories are inconvenient or burden them, they can always oppose to them --the sense of reality inseparable from their present life. New Order ideology and anticommunism fever may never die. But that should not stop us from trying to see what we can do to fade them away.

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A Pilgrim's Story: Iwan Simatupang and Finding the Self in the Modern Indonesian Novel

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Abstract

Some important discourse in Indonesian literature is brought to light by writer Iwan Simatupang in his novel *The Pilgrim* (orig. *Ziarah*, 1969), in the evolution of the modern novel as genre. This paper is a close reading of Harry Aveling's translation of the work, tracing its political and philosophical questions for a new Indonesian self in the context of globalization, shifts in state power, and the future of the nation after the New Order. Building a world through the absurdist mode of storytelling, Simatupang writes against old myth and traditional narrative structures in literature and politics, asserting that complexity, unpredictability, and destruction are most necessary in discovering a new self—a reader as an agent of resistance, and as an intellectual stakeholder in the nation's evolving history.

Keywords: *Iwan Simatupang, Indonesian novel, absurdism, modern novel traditional narrative*

Introduction

As genre, the Indonesian novel—developed from the marriage of traditional prose narratives and European storytelling techniques—was a product of several centuries' worth of history and interaction among the Indonesian people and the growing Dutch colonial powers (Ali 262-263). As an exchange began between the two cultures, and in the introduction of structures such as the printing industry and secular education, prose from both the nation and outside influences became easily reproduced and distributed, creating a form of mediation between traditions and emergent literary trends (264-265) and the categorization of old forms of Malay literature under the labels of Western literary conventions, such as the idea of the short story or the novelette (268).

The idea of the novel as a literary genre remains young in a tradition of Indonesian storytelling, where 'long prose' might be associated with the extensive length of unwritten/orally transmitted literature, as among the Javanese (Teeuw 53). Traditional narrative forms in Indonesia harken back to a past that followed the familiar. Original long narrative prose forms were fleshed out in the *hikayat*, stories that were anchored on the meticulous ordering of plot to be performed by carriers of oral tradition (Ali 18-19); as in the telling and retelling of the *Ramayana*, the idea of named heroes falling into archetypes—particularly in expressing them to be followers of the ideals of humanity—were carried over into the later centuries, to be adapted in transit in Western techniques, where they could be categorized under certain characteristic under the genre of the novel (262-263). Situated in the literary transition that was inspired by the arrival of the West and Western techniques in creative writing, prose, beginning from the short story genre, followed the structural convention of the plot exposition, rising action, climax, and denouement, “through which writers focus on the development of the individual in relationship to an ‘emotional landscape’” (Shackford-Bradley 94).

In documenting the emergence of the novel from the 1920s to the 1940s, as precedent for the literature of the future, Teeuw states: “Contemporary society, critically viewed from a distance, is the stage on which the characters play their roles, and in their personality and their adventures the reader recognizes his potential self; their problems are his problems, the questions are his” (53). Likewise, of this unique time in the earlier works of prose leading up to the modern era, Michel Zeraffa noted that “novels seem bound up with particular moments in the history of society, and that they are concerned with the nature of our situation in history and the direction in which that situation is to move” (qtd. in Chee 99). The modern novel as genre draws from a deep sense of historicity and the Indonesian man's constant negotiation and renegotiation of self and reality, as shaped by place and time—concretely, in the search for both the self and the nation after globalization, and in the discourse of value systems across generations (Chee 100-101). A growing body of literature now encompasses the nation's development over the past two centuries, from Dutch colonization up to the rise and fall of the New Order, and tackles concerns such as the shifting of ideology, the creation and sustenance of personal and political myth, and the value of evolving systems of knowledge in the face of continuing strife.

From this modern sensibility came writer and philosopher Iwan Simatupang (1928-1970), who must be afforded a valuable place in the elevation of the genre as one storyteller who uniquely re-created, reinterpreted, and re-engaged such human concerns in his own literary worlds.

Iwan Simatupang and the letters of the past

Iwan Simatupang's legacy in his home country is that of an activist, novelist, poet, playwright, essayist, and student of anthropology and philosophy. Simatupang traveled from his birthplace in Sibolga, Northern Sumatra to Holland and Paris for his education and eventual marriage to Dutch pianist Cornelia Astrid van Geem. The novel *Ziarah*, which reflects the sense of grief that Simatupang felt upon the passing away of his wife, was completed in 1960, first published in 1969, and won the First ASEAN Literary Award for the Novel in Bangkok in 1977 (Aveling 430).

A constant search for truth that lay beneath the historical and political coding of the times was the basis of Simatupang's personal and literary life. A participant of the Indonesian Revolution against the Dutch from 1945-1949, Simatupang also prodigiously documented the changing of the times in his works, with one important reference being a collection of political letters to fellow writer Bambang Soelarto from 1964 to 1966 (*Surat-surat Politik Iwan Simatupang 1964-1966, 1986*—already posing a question of when the PKI would launch a coup by February of 1965, and later providing his own analysis of what society might become under the new regime (Aveling 431). It is here that Simatupang drew from the concerns of the earlier decades to make sense of first Indonesian president Soekarno's contributions to his people, and made some short conclusions about the future, wondering with a great sense of anxiety about what was to become of a nation so definitively shaped by its past era. In this context, Simatupang pinpointed the problems of morally decadent leadership and theatricalities in the government of Indonesian society (Simatupang 98-99, qtd. in Aveling 432), and tied this back to a cultural preference for living on the myths of the older days. The public could subsist on the illusions granted in the simplification of their political situation—grand speeches and propaganda could hearken back to the fairy tales and the other short narratives that brought comforting familiarity (Aveling 432). And that, as Simatupang implied, could prevent the future from breaking out of the past.

Simatupang assumed an agency out of his influences and his unique take on reinterpreting the Indonesian experience through the writing of his novels. In particular, he is known to have drawn from Albert Camus in his adoption of the absurdist mode and his eventual application of the absurdist techniques in his novels and in his plays. After learning about the philosophical concerns of existentialism and absurdism from his time in Paris, and having remembered the hardships of the Revolution, Simatupang crafted works of prose—in *Drought* as well as in *The Pilgrim*—as inspired by Mersault and the exposition of his consciousness (Ward 349). Simatupang would then go on to explore metaphysical concerns of his own in the integration of the personal, the political, and the philosophical in *The Pilgrim*.

The original writing cycle of *Ziarah* predates the shift in political power by five years, and yet assumes a certain sense of poignancy before and beyond such a turn of events. Upon his death in 1970, Simatupang left several questions both out in the open and in the puzzle of his prose—valuable precursors for further discourse on politics, philosophy, and negotiating the complexities of the self in the modern time. In particular, the author's gift lies in his handling of complexity—drawing his prose in circles, interweaving straight commentary and fluid narrative, and encouraging the revisitation of any character, event, or idea. The novel plays to its strengths within the absurdist mode of storytelling, against the narrative traditions of the past, and still toward the ultimate value of creatively finding truth in human experience.

The tale of the pilgrims

The titular pilgrimage of the novel begins in the backdrop of a village, where a nameless painter lives in flux after the death of a beloved wife whose name he does not know. The constant search for self-revelation in continual loss, in the swimming of a cycle of nothingness negotiated and re-negotiated in the breaking of a world of absolutes, starts with how the painter moves between grief and denial for a wife he loved, but whose funeral he did not even attend; when a passerby asks the painter whose death he mourns, he responds “no one's,” and becomes a drunkard, and weeps, and laughs, and makes fun of the senselessness, and states that he is somewhat suspended in a world where all of these actions can exist within the same continuum.

Looking for something worthwhile to do, the painter meets a cemetery overseer who offers him the job of whitewashing the cemetery's fence for five hours a day; because he undertakes this opportunity, the village society is unexplainably ruptured by the seeming ordinariness that the painter falls into. The village mayor reexamines his purpose and responsibility beyond his position in a political system that at once makes no sense and too much sense in its paradigm of endless rules, and finding no answers, eventually dies in what he interprets to be the fulfillment of his public duty. The overseer—who begins as a promising young philosopher (a former heir entitled to millions and a candidate for a Master of Arts in philosophy, cum laude), preoccupied with truth, freedom, and perfection—decides to live through his term in the cemetery after the mayor's death, as later, he asserts that the cemetery becomes the perfect place to encounter philosophy. The cemetery is where the most poignant revelations about the ‘truth’ of the human self are brought about by the concrete experience of death and the realizations about human futility. This is the beginning of the overseer's pilgrimage for metaphysical control of the world around him. The painter's journey is different; once an esteemed and highly sought-out artist who seemed all too lucky in his gambles in life—from winning at turtle races to attempting suicide by falling down a building and,

serendipitously landing on an unnamed woman that he would later claim to be his wife—he works consciously to lose things, to be lost, because he is tired of the sameness afforded by both his former glory days and his later years as a humble whitewasher.

The worlds of the painter and the overseer coincide as they begin a dialogue about how they choose to live their lives, fundamentally different and the same. All of this takes place within a narrative arc that is at times discernable and at times difficult to trace—past in medias res, in the event of the painter and the overseer meeting to arrange for the whitewashing job in the cemetery, it is only known in the middle and the end that the painter had a career as a brilliant artist, and that the overseer was a star student of philosophy under a professor who, impressed by the progress of his search for the truth in death, followed him to the cemetery as a night-watchman. This affords the prose style of the novel a certain sense of timelessness in its fluid, nonlinear chronology. The identities of the characters (some real, some hypothetical), the meaning of their exchanges, their motives, and the truth itself in the story all seem to be riddles for the reader to unlock.

The last poignant discussion between the two main characters—where some threads of the novel are finally tied—happens when the painter decides to quit his job under the overseer, arguing that the latter caused him suffering because his existence and his treasuring of his wife in the acceptance of her existence and nonexistence at the same time negated the idea of praising death as a center of new truth in life—a need to be “original” and “special” (Simatupang 115). A constant conversation that was the center of their journey ended when the painter exposed that the two engaged in “a game we consciously played, mixing truth and lies together. . . . A wise Chinese once said that we cannot definitively tell whether we are asleep, dreaming that we are awake, or the reverse” (114). The novel culminates in the overseer’s suicide—his belief in preserving self-perpetuation completed in the agency of his self-inflicted death—and the painter coming full cycle in his choice to become the new overseer, signaling the end of his and the overseer’s pilgrimages toward their selves.

Certain notes must be taken of Harry Aveling’s translation of the work, meant to introduce new readers to Simatupang in the English language. On a commentary of the translation, scholar Umar Junus is quick to point out certain flaws in the capturing of Simatupang’s original *bahasa*, as the author himself utilized a highly individual style—purposefully playing with language outside of its conventions and performing it in particular social contexts (Junus 208). One example Junus gives is *Ziarah*’s original image of *warga kota*: a better translation of the two words within the story might be “citi-zens” as opposed to “citizens,” a possible nod to Martin Heidegger’s meaningful hyphenation of “ec-stacy from “ecstasy” (210). Junus still acknowledges Aveling’s efforts in the undertaking of an admittedly difficult task, and branching off from Aveling wishes to put a premium on bringing complex characters, turns of plot, and pivots of phrase to life in Simatupang’s narrative (209).

In the world of the absurd

Many twists are afforded in the novel in terms of letting the reader fall into the pilgrimages of the two main characters, with all of the riddles and with the constant turning of philosophical beliefs. Without a fixed sense of chronology, plotting the reader any time within a span of thirty years and almost within a random perspective of any of the nameless characters, eight chapters unfold statement by statement, event by quickly enacted event. The novel reveals several things about the fluctuations in human condition and the re-negotiation of existence in a world that meticulously creates and destroys itself. There is a contrast, then, between the novel and the traditional narrative structures preceding it; the act of storytelling engages modern concerns by fighting against the simplistic archetypes of the “fairy tales” referenced by Simatupang, assuming instead the lens of the seemingly unpredictable. A digression as well from the mid-20th century trend of faithfully portraying the nation through the mode of realism, *The Pilgrim* pushes the questions of the personal and political to a new level in its prose, doing so with the adoption of absurdist techniques in storytelling—involving both concerns in the existence from which it is based (the past and future of the human self as situated in the nation) and from the placeless state—it is somewhere in between the two of these that the plot and the characters of the novel move.

Absurdism in fiction diverges from the medium of realism in its aesthetics, but in a sense, not necessarily its concerns—“the adequate presentation of the complete human personality in a work of art...Whether the character in a novel is Tom Jones, Ivan Karamazov, or Leopold Bloom, he must in some way relate to the universe around him and even beyond him” (Staley 3). Fiction in the genre of the novel, as it moved from the 19th to the 20th century in the different nations, proved “the literary genre best able to express the realities of human and ideological conflict. But more than any other literary form, it has also been more susceptible to the changing course of events and ideas in history”; a new concern in the novel genre was “a profound sense of nothingness and of the deterioration in human relationships,” not from the complete loss of values in society (4), but from a different metaphysical perspective in examining the roots of man and showing a reflection of the self and the world around it (5).

Wry humor, for example, balances some heavy commentary made by Simatupang about the ironies of political culture and the confusion left unfixed by prevalent intellectual structures: “I’ve never looked at Kant from the perspective of national determinism. Truly amazing!” says the philosophy professor, when Kant is taken out of context by an incredulous and somewhat ignorant town mayor (Simatupang 41).

The Camusian view of senselessness, the absurdity of the world, and “suicide”—in detaching the self from reason and attaching itself to hope (Staley 6)—is demonstrated in the freewheeling prose of *The Pilgrim*, as the novel also concerns itself with humanity in the totality which surrounds it, in the discourse of the characters’ philosophical enslavement and freedom. Branching off from a truth that originally showed itself in the traditional narrative of the previous times and as part of a novel that examines reality through a new lens, the painter and the overseer are truly ‘absurd men’ in the fictional world in which they operate in: “it is the absurd man who is able to recognize that his truth is not the truth (as Unamuno says). It is the absurd man too, Camus believes, who is able to stand consciously face to face with irrationality and nothingness” (Staley 6).

From death to life: New journeys

And from the constant negotiation of precepts that alternately make sense or no sense—from jumps in the narrative (years pass after the painter’s marriage to his nameless wife, and shortly after her death there appears a mysterious old woman who claims to be her mother and carries a handkerchief with the words ‘HAPPY BIRTHDAY’ written on it) to cyclical, argumentative, and self-revealing dialogue (the climax of characters being constructed and undone shown in the final conversation before the overseer dies), the novel situates two absurd men in a consciousness where truth constantly seeks a form in what appears and disappears. The experience of confusion and dismantling meaning in any tangible form—as a work of prose, in the plot and the characters constantly undoing the assumptions of the readers—yields a discourse on man and totality, life and death, politics and society, art and philosophy, and the controllable versus the futile.

It is in the following of a journey that veers away from a pointed narrative and firm archetypes that *The Pilgrim* as novel immerses the reader in the telling of a story that is at once new, jarring, and indeterminable. The act of reading then becomes a search for many answers to a riddle, or many schemes that one might use to complete a puzzle piece by piece.

Meaning might be constructed from several important sequences in the novel. One is the loss and circular obtainment of identity, which never seems fixed: over the course of the nonlinear chronology, the overseer begins as a philosopher, the painter-whitewasher embarks on a promising career as an artist; the overseer ‘loses’ himself but ‘gains’ a semblance of pride in the truth that he believes in by choosing his death and his identity among the dead (his place in the cemetery, or the highest learning point of human philosophy [Simatupang 123]); the painter, with an ‘absurd’ reason, chooses to become the overseer and shift his lens of seeking the truth past his own experiences; the professor of philosophy reverses his superior role over his brilliant student and follows him to the cemetery to become the watchman, drawn to a search for truth that transcended assumed social hierarchies of being.

Where do the characters actually become aware of ‘everything’s existence’? Death and constant ‘undoing’ seem to be most prevalent in revealing existence—“emptiness is life” (Simatupang 125). In the midst of a number of deaths happening in the novel, the overseer ponders: “‘What is life? ‘... Human culture increasingly equipped itself with tools and methods of showing man his true nature: death’ (45-46). Suicide, or the control of a person on life by having the freedom to choose to nullify it, is a common action across the chapters; on the one end, the action is problematized as a “no-solution” (73), but at the same time is enacted with finality to continue a cycle that affirmed this freedom, this choice, this hold on the truth—enacted, incidentally, by the overseer.

What are other things that bring the question of existence into light? The painter begins the story by stating that a sense of futility refreshes him, motivating him to be (5), and this comes full circle in his realization that this futility, even in non-being (in the death of his wife), just *is*—situates the human being somewhere (114). The overseer, on the other hand, in his treatment of the painter and in his part of the continuing dialogue, advocates perfection and a proof of his power, his freedom—his death, then, can be interpreted as both a victory and a loss, as a fulfillment and as a surrender.

A possible beginning and end to it all, as proposed by the professor-turned-watchman, is a form of inner truth, where “philosophy is one aspect of the totality we are part of” (Simatupang 123). In many other instances in the novel, where everyone and everything remains in a state of flux between agency and passivity—revelation happens, and transcends what of knowledge, identity, and the course of life is assumed.

The creation and deconstruction of Simatupang’s world in *The Pilgrim* opens up several intriguing questions on the philosophical life of the modern Indonesian, where the exploration of what is normal and total is now an integral part of locating the self in its unique context. This in itself is encouraged by Simatupang to be a creative process on the readers’ and writers’ part—creative in the sense that one can be afforded a new way of looking at one’s life, one’s culture, and one’s society, even within a space of existence that seems to have been built up entirely on a firm code of expectations. (Later writers like Simatupang would, in this way, rethink the legacy of the *adat*). In another opportunity to be sly and cynical about what kind of future was possible for his countrymen, Simatupang writes: “Where the future political and cultural leaders begin. Today there are ‘hippies’ or ‘provos’ or ‘crossboys’, tomorrow there are ‘presidents’ or ‘rebel leaders’ who might one day be ‘presidents’. The factory of the future...” (66). What destiny, then, could his contemporaries look forward to, given that life and character seemed to operate

from such fixed points? From where could they break off of that sense of the 'inevitable'—a trajectory of the narratives of their natives, and possibly their own to keep following?

In his own creative task of writing and involving the reader into the novel and through the absurdist mode, Aveling affirms Simatupang's accomplishment of something momentous; Simatupang presented the opportunity to have others move inside a world where they could be intellectuals, "not bystanders, but part of history," and integral parts of "what is happening to our people and nation" — participants in a form of rebellion against a past whose destiny lay in "continual creativity" (qtd. in Aveling 432).

Conclusion

Simatupang did not live very long past the coming of a new era in Indonesian society; nonetheless, he places some valuable propositions in the text of *The Pilgrim*—to lose and find the self; to destroy and recreate meaning in everyday structures; to find the values of history and the future in timelessness and placelessness.

In the contrast of traditional Indonesian narrative forms with the art of the absurd, and in the use of the latter's unique way of exposing human reality in the devices of storytelling, the author truly brought to life the myriad concepts of personal and national identity, death and life, totality, and destiny—all within a defamiliarized and yet eventually accessible mode. *The Pilgrim* is a show of mastery on Simatupang's part—playfully inventive, sharply sensitive in the language of storytelling. And as an enduring work of prose, the novel's virtue lies in its compelling invitation for the reader to begin his own senseless, fruitful pilgrimage— toward humanity; toward the self (Simatupang 126).

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The Ruling Ideology: Communism in the Life and Art of Pramoedya Ananta Toer

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Abstract

Talking about 1965 coup is talking about two strong opposing power, Government and people, and communism as the fuel that keep the fire burns. Driven by the thought of righteousness in their mind and believing that they are on the good side, they charge against each other. For those whose weapon is strength, they charge forward through demonstration. For those whose weapon is rank and solid governing power, they point their finger. For those whose weapon is deep thought and strong mind, they write. Mostly they attack ideology and believe. Writers like Pramoedya Ananta Toer is one among many writer whom victimized by the circumstances because of nothing but paper and an old typing machine. Thus, this paper will try to give reasoning on why Pram was victimized by exploring the amount of Communist's values on Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *Tetralogi Buru* and how they are represented throughout the story if any. Also, noticing the circumstance in which the books were written, which was on exile in Buru Island, this paper will also explore and discuss how it affects Pram's way of writing the books. Looking through each book, this paper found that there is no communist's value to be found in the book. Furthermore, this paper discovers that Pram's involvement in PKI itself is yet to be proven. LEKRA itself, an organization of artist that Pram once a member, is not proven to be PKI affiliated. Thus, Pram's imprisonment in Buru Island by The government is only based on a suspicion. This paper argues that Pram's imprisonment is not because of his involvement in PKI but because of his writing would result in people's awareness towards the corrupted government.

Keywords: *1965 Coup, Communism, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Tetralogi Buru, LEKRA, PKI*

Introduction

The development of Indonesian literary movement has going through some hard struggle and highly influenced by the ruling government. The soul of Indonesian art and literature is the struggle of working class people and repression of ideology. Looking back to the Indonesian history, after the Dutch and Japanese occupation period, Indonesia has gone through some shift in ideology from one that considered as "left" to what considered "right". Starting from Leninism in the rebellion of Muso 1948, Maoism carried by Aidit on 1965, and even Trotsky as in Mexico called Zapatista carried to Indonesia by Tan Malaka 1945 and all of the era mentioned above bring their own effect on Indonesian literature and art. In this paper, the era that is being highlighted is 1965. The 1965 riot is actually the peak event of years of restlessness and its notable event is the G30S/PKI or GESTAPU. The 30 September movement reaches its peak as seven high rank officers of Indonesian army were abducted and killed. There are numbers of speculation about the truth behind this event but it gave the significant effect to Indonesian literature.

Indonesian 1965 literature colored by writers reflecting the condition of Indonesian people in the middle of post-Japanese occupation period struggle where the government is on its way establishing new governance. The writers emerged around this era called the 50's generation writers. They tend to write under the realist-socialist genre. They vocalize people's voice through their own ideology. Some of them are on the side of the ruling government and some others are on the side of the ruling ideology and thus, the existence of the communist party triggered a rupture among 50's generation writers in the early 1960's.

One of the Indonesian most prominent writer of the era is Pramoedya Ananta Toer. His involvement in LEKRA (*Lembaga Keboedajaan Rakjat*) which is allegedly working under the Indonesian Communism Party (PKI) resulting in people's negative image towards him. He is one of the writer that was brought to the surface by PKI. In 1950, the Indonesia's social condition force the 50's generation's author to write and amplify their voice of frustration through their works. PKI responded and showed their interest to expand the writers' area of publication and to bring these socially unfortunate author to surface. PKI showed their attention to these writers involvement to amplify their ideology and in return will grant them a place in the society. Despite the benefits PKI had offered, all of their writings are all dictated by PKI and whether they realize it or not, as the party's spokesperson, this fact has foul their credibility as an author.

In 1965, Pramoedya and thousands of others were sent to be imprisoned in Buru Island without trial as the aftermath of G30S. PKI was accused to be the party behind this bloody event. Leader, cadres and PKI's advocates are all hunted to be arrested or even killed. For Pramoedya, the government even confiscated his house and burned all of his works that were not yet to be published. This is all happened in

the life of Pramoedya Ananta Toer and it is inevitable that it affect the way he wrote during and after this event and also the doubt about his and LEKRA's affiliation to PKI leave a trail of question on his arrest during the 1960's governance.

Pramoedya Ananta Toer and PKI

“Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power. ... [There is] a multiplicity of points of resistance: these play the role of adversary, target, support, or handle in power relations. These points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network. Hence there is no single locus of great Refusal, no soul of revolt, source of all rebellions, or pure law of the revolutionary. Instead there is a plurality of resistances, each of them a special case” (Foucault, 1990)

The quote by Michel Foucault best describes Indonesia's history. Indonesia is on struggle right from the very beginning. Started with the occupation of Indonesia's soil by the Dutch to the Japanese. But that was not it. After the war against different countries, the outsiders, Indonesian people forced to face their own the Indonesian people who considered to be the leftist which are the people who pick the side of the Indonesia's Communist Party (PKI). The president initiative to terminate the party activity leave the people divided into two opposing groups. Those who hunt and those who hunted. Indonesia's writer Pramoedya Ananta Toer was on the hunted side.

Pram's journey of critical writing started when he enlist himself as a writer on the Japanese newspaper, Domei. According to Andre Vltchek (2006) in his book based on his interview with Pram, he did not intend to enlist and work as a writer for the Japanese but his family condition makes it hard for him to not accept the opportunity. On 1944 Pram continued his study in writing in a Japanese school Tjou Sangiin. After he graduate he quit the newspaper and went back to his hometown in Blora to work as a freelance writer and several years serving the military as BKR (*Badan Keamanan Rakjat*), on January 1947 Pram work as a redactor at Sadar magazine and Balai Pustaka. During his time working as a redactor, as a writer, Pram feels a responsibility to educate Indonesian people to stand against injustice so most of his writings are critiquing the government which at the time was the Dutch and quite obviously, the Dutch captured him and 1947 until late 1949 was his first time to felt the cold bar of prison.

With the power handed over from the Dutch to Indonesian, on 1949, Pram was released. On 1956, his writing become widely known both nationally and internationally and he was invited by the Chinese literary institution to attend the funeral of Chinese influential writer Lu Sin. When he was in China, Pram learned and understand how to fight for justice and to defend the people through writing. Pram learned to transform writing into weapon. As his writings getting more attention from the world, he found himself grow in confidence and feeling stronger to fight injustice.

On 1959, Pram found an organization parallel with his mission to fight injustice. On that year, Pram joined Lekra. Lekra is an organization that said to be affiliated with PKI but this fact is yet to be proven. The chief of PKI's Central Committee Dipa Nusantara Aidit argued with Njoto regarding LEKRA's position in their party. Aidit intended to merge LEKRA and PKI, but Njoto Denied. The reason is that LEKRA is inevitably communist but, inside LEKRA, there still some people whom is not belong to the party and one of them is Pram. Until PKI and LEKRA activity were terminated by Soeharto, Aidit was never been able to merge both parties (Tempo Nasional, 2013).

According to Andre Vltchek (2006), Pram was joined LEKRA but, he never said to be joining the PKI party. Pram himself never said to a communist. When he gave a speech in Georgetown University AS, on April 1999, Pram answered that the New Order itself that judge him to be a communist "The New Order that judge me to be a communist which then being widespread by the New Order's press".

On the same year right after Pram joined LEKRA, 1959-1960's to be exact, and is the era when racial issue arouse in Indonesia. This is the era when Tionghoans people in Indonesia was being discriminated. They were hunted down and this is the result of Indonesia's anti-Tionghoa politics on 1956. The government's initiative of handing the Tionghoans' bussiness to Indonesian people leads to the set back of Tonghoans development in indonesia (Tan, 2014). As a critical writer, Pram then raised his voice, his protest to the government through writing. He published a book entitled "*Hoakiau di Indonesia*". On the same year, Pram was, again, imprisoned by Soekarno because of this book.

This is the event when the Communism side of Pram's life surfacing. According to Charles Hooper trying to list the defining characteristic of Communism, that one of the defining characteristic of Communism is class struggle. Hooper further explained that it all began as a primitive Communist society, where all members of the society depend equally on what the society produces. But then, eventually it all leads into one powerfull and whealty individuals, the bourgeois, own all properties and the means of productions, leaving workers, the proletariat, enslaved through wages. Overtime, the proletariat realize their plight and rise in a sort of movement to overthrow the bourgeois. This one defining characteristic of Communism seems to fit perfectly to this stage of Pram's life. He struggles for the Tionghoans people and trying to defend them through writing as an effort to overthrow the government who would like to turns the minority, in this case was the Tionghoans, into enslaved people.

After Pram was released from prison on 1965, Indonesia's political issue became worst. The conflict inside the body of Indonesia's military between the infantries and the generals over class gap resulting in the termination of PKI. According to Harould Crouch (1978), the conflict had been there for at

least 17 years, and finally the revolutionary council found a manifestation way when the issue of Soekarno's coup d'etat by the general council surfaces. The Indonesian army officer whom in favor of Soekarno's Socialism policy decided to make a maneuver to capture the 7 generals whom allegedly knows about this general council and bring them to Soekarno alive. But, in fact three of the seven captured general was on posthumous condition. Soeharto is the first to blame PKI for this as Col. Untung, whom act as the leader of the revolutionary council, suspected to be related personally to the special beureau of PKI.

But, the fact that PKI was behind the killing of the seven generals yet to be true. The truth of what happened is lost and never been documented. After the tragedy, the body of Indonesian army was divided into two factions which are right faction which lead by Soeharto and middle faction lead by A. Yani. Before the tragedy, either Soeharto's faction or the central faction is advocates of PKI. According to Peter Dale Scott (1985), there is suspicion that right faction was backed by the CIA to overthrow Soekarno. The mission was to capture and kill all of the general whom a loyalist to Soekarno (A. Yani and his advocates). Soeharto's Faction claim explains that on September 30th 1965, the attempt of a movement called GESTAPU (Gerakan Sepuluh November) to overthrow Soekarno by killing the seven generals was an act of assault from the leftist (PKI) to the right faction and give an excuse for the middle faction to capture the leftist and kill them. In this scenario, Soeharto placed himself as the middle as an act to gain the Indonesian people sympathy while he actually conspiring with foreign power which is the CIA or just to be clear as "the true right faction" (Read Peter Deale Scott (1985) *The United States and the Overthrow of Sukarno, 1965-1967*).

As a matter of fact, no Soeharto's advocates was targeted on this act except for A.H. Nasution. Because according to Crouch (1978) on 1959, A.H. Nasution was inspecting Soeharto as a suspect of corruption. Because of this, Soeharto was stopped to be Diponegoro regional military commander.

According to Syambodo (2011), after the event all of the PKI advocates were captured and this act continues until at least ten years after. On 1977, International Amnesty Report suggested that around a million of PKI cadres and people that allegedly involved in PKI were arrested. Between 1981 and 1990, Indonesian government estimated that around 1.6 to 1.8 million ex-inmates was in the society. There was a possibility on the mid 1970's around 100.000 persons were behind bars without any trials including Pramodya Ananta Toer.

Pram was captured on October 13th 1965 in is house by Soeharto's regime military and was moved from one prison to another. Started from Bukit Duri prison in Jakarta and transferred to Tangerang prison. The process of Pram being moved from one prison to another lasted over 4 years until he was sent to Buru concentration camp. During his time Buru, Pram managed to turn pressure into creative process and writing a novel. At first, Pram receive physical torture from the ward and was prohibited to write, but because Pram get help mostly from the foreign country including the USA, Pram finally free from torture and was allowed to write. Buru Island was the place where Pram produced his most influential and famous, both national or internationally, works. One of them is Tetralogi Buru or better known as Tetralogi Bumi Manusia.

Pramodya's Tetralogi Buru

Tetralogi Buru or Tetralogi Bumi Manusia is a name of Pram's four novels which published around the year 1980 to 1988. This quartet was banned by Indonesia's Attorney General for several years. As in Buru island pram was being bounded by the ward to do writing processes, this quartet was originally told verbally by Pram to other inmates from 1965-1979. After 14 years being in prison, Pram was released because he was proven to be innocence and having no involvement in the 30 September movement. The novels was published a year after. They were *Bumi Manusia* (1980), *Anak Semua Bangsa* (1981), *Jejak Langkah* (1985) and the last *Rumah Kaca* (1988). Unfortunately, the book was withdrawn from distribution because of the books were allegedly implicitly contains Marxism-Leninism message. This is only a suspicion made based on Pram's past. As stated by Sigmond Freud (Zainnurahman as cited in Ratna, 2013) that an artwork is a manifestation of introverted feelings and neurotic (neural activity), as a man who cannot accept the reality. In relation to the theory, Mark Tyrell stated that people's suggestibility and feelings can be powerfully influenced by the environment in which they find themselves. From those, we can infer that environment is able to influence feelings which then turn that feeling into a process of creating a literary works and this might be the reasoning on why the books were banned.

Pramodya Ananta Toer was notable for his Socialist-Realism genre. After he publish his works under this genre many other younger writer using this genre too. Socialist realism according to Khuman (2010) is the depiction of the social reality not as it is but as it should be: idealized. Socialist Realism demanded that all art must depict some aspect of man's struggle toward socialist progress for a better life. It stressed the need for the creative artist to serve the proletariat by being realistic, optimistic and heroic (Khuman, 2010). So it is important for the Socialist-Realism writer to describe as truthful as possible what is observed through the senses.

Bumi Manusia is the first book from Tetralogi Buru. The setting of *Bumi Manusia* is Surabaya during the colonialism era. The central characters of the story are Minke and Nyai Ontosoroh. Minke is a son of a regent, whom in the end did not willing to continue his father duty as a regent. He chose to live free as an independent man. Minke is a smart man. That is why he is the only local citizen whom legible to go to Dutch school. He also works as a freelance writer for S.N newspaper agency as Max tollenaar. Nyai Ontosoroh is a true native. At the age of fourteen, his father sold her to Herman Mellema as a bribery for position in

Mellema's factory. Ashamed of her identity as a mistress, Nyai learned how to read, write, farm and everything about the factory. Silently, Nyai has prepared everything, for when Herman Mellema goes back to Dutch and never returns.

In the middle of the story, Minke and Annelies live as a married couple with interference from Robert Suhoorf whom secretly adore Annelies. Suhoorf jealousy towards Minke, cause him to spread slander that Minke live at the house of a mistress and under one roof with Annelies without legal marital relationship. Bigger problem arose when Minke, Nyai and Annelies found Mr. Herman Melemma lied down dead with foamy mouth in Babah At Tjong's brothel due to long term excessive alcohol consumption.

When Hermann Melemma died, came I.R Maurits Melemma the son of Herman from his marriage to Meriam trying to claim all of Herman's belonging including the factory from Nyai and Annelies. Here comes the main problem. The struggle of native citizen against the Dutch people. Annelies managed to gain help from other native from the help of a writer although the court of her father's death still be held and Babah At Tjong imprisoned. But, the problem did not stop. Maurits also took Annelies from Minke and bring her to Netherland.

Bumi Manusia is closed by the leaving of Annelies while whispers, "Forget me, Ma.. Forget me, Mas Minke.. I left the way you left the house back then.. And I'm not going to come home not anymore" and Minke said to Nyai, "We lose, Ma" and Nyai said, "No, we managed to fought" (Toer, 1980)

From this plot we can see clearly the Socialist-Realism aspect of this novel. It is quite fulfill the criterion of Socialist Realism demanded that all art must depict some aspect of man's struggle toward socialist progress for a better life and it is represented by the struggle of Minke, Nyai and Annelies fighting for their rights and this is also a representation of proletariat fighting against the bourgeois.

The same struggle still goes to Anak Semua Bangsa or better known as Children of All Nation the second book of tetralogi Buru depicts native suffering (Javanese people) under the occupation of the Dutch. From the perspective of Minke who praise the beauty of Europe and carried away until his consciousness wakes him to look away to his own nation. The proletariat struggle in Anak Semua Bangsa represented through the glory of the bourgeois or the capital over the native farmer on sugar factory. Through his conversation with Trunodongso, a farmer whom being terrorized by the capital to hand over his land to the factory. Trunodongso already rent half his land to the factory for eighteen months yet after two years, he never got proper rent payment from the factory. Minke promise him to write this on the paper but then his efforts was denied by Nijman. Second is when Minke met Ter Haar, a Dutch journalis who told Minke about the influence of European liberalist. He told Minke about the glory of capital over the farm, transportation and mining. The sugar factory had also become a monster for its own people. Van de Putte when he became leaders of region, he made a regulation on sugar production and it turns out that he made the regulation only for his own benefits that he owns the largest sugar cane farm in Besuki, Bondowoso. One of the native traitors led by the capital spread poison to spread plague. The result was all of the native's cow found dead. This is typical Socialist Realism writer style of writing. They describe true condition of the era in the story. In this case the glory of capitalism over proletariat.

In the third book of Tetralogi Buru, *Jejak Langkah*, Minke's proletariat struggle is continued. Through Ang San Mei, Minke learned about organization. Ang whom is involved in Tionhoan's youth organization give Minke an opportunity to start the first native Indonesian organization. Moreover, Pram's intention to form the organization was encouraged by the fact that Indonesia was far behind the Indian and Tionghoan who already have their own organization to help the Native.

Minke's first attempt in starting his organization failed when his organization Syarikat Priayi collapse due to corruption by the inside man. But, Pram then stood up and started Medan Priyai the first Indonesian local newspaper with the help of Nyai Ontosoroh to provide legal needs whom married to Marais and move to France. With the help of Hendrik Frischboten, Nyai Ontosoroh's man, Medan become the tool for Indonesian to raise their voice aginst injustice. Minke also start his new organization in replacement of his Syarikat Islam. He started Syarikat Dagang Islamiyah.

Minke's decision was first challenged by Douwager, a Dutch Journalist whom in favor of anti-Nationalism. He said that the use of the word Islamiyah made the organization seems limited to one particular religion.

"But, nationalism can never be based on Religion! Religion is universal, for every nation. But nationalism is for our own nation, a fine line against others!" Said Douwager

"A foundation cannot make itself, a foundation of anything which is idealist has to be made. What is the problem to it when everyone is in favor? This is also an education towards democraton, right?" Said Minke.

"Say it sir, what I was saying was not wrong, was not it?"

"Still, sir. This is not the right time" (Toer, 593:1985)

Minke's struggle in this novel was not only a matter of outside factors. But also, inside. Pram was challeged by his friend and circumstances to gain his power to fight against injustice for his own people and nation.

The fourth book of this quartet is *Rumah Kaca*. Rumah kaca is more or less a representation of Pram's life. This book is actually where the story of the quartet reach its peak. The climax of Raden Mas

Minke's journey. In this book, Pram changed the central character of the story from Minke to Pangemanann whom actually Gubermen's agent that managed to send Minke to Ternate.

Generally, this book told us about the effort of Colonial government in monitoring Indonesian movement. Pengeman himself is an Indonesian whom works for Colonial Government. He is a man from Menado and a Frenchman took him as a son. He once go to Sorbonne for two years before he was being a first degree police officer, the highest rank for a native Indonesian. Because of his good achievement, he reach commissioner in a short period. After several years doing field works, he was transferred to do the paper works in the office of Algemeene Secretarie. His job was to supervise and control emerging Indonesian organization. This job what brought him to meet Minke. The conflict in Pangemann started when the he was promoted to become Police Commissioner Adjutant. On one side he is working as Gubermen people and on the otherside, he had to control and restrict Minke's movement, whom he consider as an honorable person.

"Nuraniku tergoncang. Apa yang harus kulakukan terhadap dia? Dia bukan penjahat, bukan pemberontak...Dia hanya terlalu mencintai bangsa tanah airnya Hindia..." (Toer 7:1988)

That inner struggle was keep going on inside Pangemanann. Two opposing power between doing what he told to and following his heart. From the beginning Pangemanann always knew that between this two problems there would be one that he must get rid of. Unfortunately, Pangemanann chose his position in the Police over everything else include the people he loves.

"Madame Pangeman has gone, I don't feel like missing. The children had gone, I also don't feel like missing. If my position in the police and my honorable in the face of the society goes extinct? (Toer, 268:1988).

"For the sake of my career, Minke, Medan's chairman had to get rid of. And for the sake of my honor, Suurhof had to get rid of" (Toer 39:1988)

But that was not the end of Pangemanann's actions. But that was not the end of Pangemanann's actions. He planned to bring into conflict native Indonesian and the Tionghoans. Started from Sukabumi to other cities in Indonesia to brought Syarikat Islam down. But, instead of cease from existence, people organizations keep growing even Indishce Partij, the first party in Indonesia was born. People's willingness to form people organizations was at its peak. The regime of that era was over the new governor change his perspective towards rebel and finally Raden Mas Minke was release from prison only to realize he had nothing left. The government took all of his asset and Syarikat Islam which he found and raised had forsaken him. Minke died in nothingness. The story seems very similar to Pram's life which contains disappointment, treason, and being forsaken.

It is now clear that Pram's *Tetralogi Buru* was written based on Socialist Realism genre. It fits the criteria that Khuman (2010) stated which is Socialist Realism demanded that all art must depict some aspect of man's struggle toward socialist progress for a better life. Parallel with Khuman, Parashar (2013) stated that Socialist Realism literature was written to glorify the meek working class and work for emancipation through revolution.

As what already being represented in Pangemann and Minke's conflict, the ruling power that driven by the ideology they believe in would try to stop any other power that tries to go on its way, this might also happened in Pram's life. The Novel Pram wrote was worried to be a trigger for people's movement to overthrow the corrupted government. Pram knows about the fact that Soeharto was playing a game during the 1965 event and Soeharto afraid that this would surfaced and ended up in people's awareness about his scenario. Because, Socialist Realism which pretty much derived from the Socialist ideology is actually an anti-thesis of Communism. According to Pujianto (2013), if Communism concerns about personal interests, Socialism concerns on peoples interest. If Communism use high wage to enslaved people, Socialism use social prosperity to make blue collar's life better. If Communism destroys farming livelihood by foreclose people's land, Socialism try to educate people to improve their work to maximize their income.

Conclusion

After looking through several stages of Pram's life, it is clearer that Pram was victimized during the event of 30th September because he was dragged by the current of PKI's termination in Soeharto's era. Although Pram was imprisoned in the era of Dutch occupation, it has nothing to do with his arrest during Soeharto's era except for his writing which always seems to be provocative. In fact he did so to raise people awareness and gain power to fight against injustice.

Pram involvement with PKI is not proven to be true. Pramoedya was indeed a part of LEKRA a group of communist writer. But, like what have been stated above, the chief of PKI's Central Committee Dipa Nusantara Aidit argued with Njoto regarding LEKRA's position in their party. Aidit intended to merge LEKRA and PKI, but Njoto Denied. The reason is that LEKRA is inevitably communist but, inside LEKRA, there still some people whom is not belong to the party and one of them is Pram. Even the vice chairman of PKI agrue that Pram is not a PKI advocates and until the end, LEKRA is still not a part of PKI.

Looking through Pram’s Tetralogi Buru, it is clear that the book has no Communist value instead the term nationalism keep being said in the novel. The Novels was written under the genre of Socialist Realism which according to Pujianto (2013) is anything that communism is not instead, his novel may cause in people’s awareness towards their rights. That they have to reclaim what was once theirs. Based on this fact, the governing people was somehow worried so they sent Pram to Prison and restrict his creative process of writing.

Finally, through this research, the author would like to suggest for future research should be done form the perspective of Nationalism towards Pram’s Tetralogi Buru.

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Rewriting History through *Buru Quartet* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer as a Form of Resistance in Soeharto's Era

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Abstract

Faced with the fact that the history of Indonesia was distorted by the leader of the New Order, Pramoedya rewrites the historical background to national awakening in Indonesia through his *Buru Quartet* (Nanda, 2013). His apparent aim is "to confront young Indonesian readers with the historical forces which had shaped their present" (Foulcher, 2009: 1). For Pramoedya, the Indonesian younger generations know nothing about their history because during Suharto's era, those in power had negated the real history of the nation. Then, he challenges the Indonesian youth because he knows rather well that only the young could play a role in changing the situation in Indonesia. Therefore, the paper focuses on Pramoedya's thoughts as a form of resistance through his *Buru Quartet: This Earth of Mankind, Child of All Nations, Footsteps, and House of Glass* (Toer, 1997).

Keywords: *History, awakening, resistance, new order.*

Introduction

Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet* is a detailed account of Indonesian history and nationalism. *Buru Quartet* has been read as the representation of a personal attempt to recreate a seminal moment in Indonesia's history. It contains four novels: *This Earth of Mankind, Child of All Nations, Footsteps, and House of Glass*. The novels have in fact achieved phenomenal success in both Indonesia and the rest of the world. The novels were at first in the form of oral literature. They were narrated by Pramoedya when he was imprisoned in Buru Island for more than 10 years. He was a victim of the former regime because of his literary works that were considered politically subversive. Thus, he became a political prisoner without any trial or defense.

Buru Quartet is a good example to analyze the functioning of a novel in terms of a historical narrative, for it deals with the history of Indonesia and there are social and political contexts, which throw light on the lives of the Indonesian people in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It depicts changes in the lives of the working classes, women, and other social and economic aspects of Indonesia. Inspired by the life of one of the pioneers of the Indonesian national awakening and journalism, Tirta Adi Suryo (Minke), Pramoedya rewrites the history of Indonesia through his *Buru Quartet*. He recounts the social and cultural life when the nation was moving from one stage to another stage as well as Minke's political strategies meant to challenge the Dutch government.

Because readers who read *Buru Quartet* are brought to the awareness of the history of the Dutch East Indies and its slow emergence as the independent state of Indonesia, Vickers then says that *Buru Quartet* is "as much as historian's novel as it is a people's history" (Reading Pramoedya 95). Unfortunately, Pramoedya does not have Indonesian young readers because *Buru Quartet* as well as his other works were banned in Indonesia until the fall of Suharto's era (1965-98). Not only were Pramoedya's works banned but his publishers, Yusuf Isak and Hasym Rahman, were also banned from publishing and writing. Since Max Lane, a second secretary in Australian embassy in Indonesia, has translated *Buru Quartet* into English, there are international readers and critics for Pramoedya's works. However, because of his translation, Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet*, Max Lane was recalled in 1981.

Under Soeharto's regime, banning novels consisting of ideas that the New Order did not want its citizens read about was very strong. One of examples was Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet*. According to attorney general *Buru Quartet* contained marxist, leninist, and other leftist ideas that it violated the law of censorship. The other reason to prohibit his *Buru Quartet* was that the repression and surveillance by the Dutch government in *Buru Quartet* suggested many parallels with the tactics of rule operating in Suharto's era. Therefore, the following subtitles talk about Pramoedya's thoughts as a form of resistance that the New Order did not like.

The Political Structures in the Dutch Colonial Period

In *Buru Quartet*, "Pramoedya provides the factual representations regarding the political structures in the Dutch colonial period" (Nanda, 2013: 83). Some of political structures along with their policies still exist in Indonesia. This is why the youth did a big demonstration in 1997. They forced Suharto

who had been the Indonesian President for 32 years to step down. During his regime, Suharto adopted the European-style state administration in the colonial times: he created centrally controlled and functionally organized bureaucracies to govern provinces or regions. He also did not allow provinces or regions to be autonomous. During Suharto's regime, corruption, collusion, and nepotism were also rampant.

At the beginning of the occupation, the Dutch adopted the administrative style based on the kingdom of Mataram in Java. They recruited the Javanese aristocrats to be regional administrators under the Dutch general governor who acted as the center ruler. The Javanese aristocrats, the “priyayis”, who ruled the region, were called “bupatis”. As Trocki points out:

[The] Dutch control had been first grafted on the top of the old ‘feudalistic’ system and over time the bupatis or regents had been transformed into bureaucrats ...” (91).

Trocki throws light on the political structures the Dutch adopted in the beginning of their occupation. He says that the Dutch recruited the Javanese upper class to be the chief administrators in a region. The Dutch also gave training to the members of the Javanese upper class (priyayis) in order that they could be professional in their job. The members, at that time, who got the training, were called as “Pangreh Pradjas.” During the colonial times, Trocki adds that “[t]he Dutch government found it necessary to post Javanese priyayi members of Pangreh Pradjas to administrative posts in Borneo and Sumatra” (94). This is because by posting “Pangreh Pradjas” to administrative posts in the other islands such as Borneo and Sumatra, the Dutch could control the vast archipelago.

Pramoedya represents the political structures through the story scene in *This Earth of Mankind*. In the story, Minke's father is promoted as the “bupati” in the region of B. His father scolds him angrily because he is a shameless boy who has polluted his family pride. His father speaks to him, “Haven't you read in the papers that tomorrow night your father is celebrating his appointment as a bupati? Bupati of B___?”(125). With regard to this matter, Minke's father reminds his son that he should keep his manner because his father is a bupati or the head of a region. For the priyayis, to become a bupati was a great achievement during the colonial times because a bupati was the highest position among the natives. To turn the kings, the regents, and the aristocrats in the archipelago into the “priyayis” and assigned them as the “bupatis” by the Dutch brought the important result: the distance between the priyayi and the ordinary people. As Vickers writes in his book *A History of Modern Indonesia*:

The most important result of the transformation caused by the policy was to distance the aristocracy from the rest of the population. The regents were meant to be lesser versions of the Central Javanese kingdom, but the subordinates of the Dutch states at the same time. (36)

For Vickers, although the priyayis could be the bupatis, the rulers of regions, they were still the subordinates of the Dutch states. The title “bupati” for the head official of a region is still used in Indonesia. However, in Indonesia the bupatis who run the administrations in the regions do not belong to the aristocracy anymore but belong to the new class set up in the post-independence era: the political leaders or elite who are from members of the political parties.

Before the Dutch occupied the vast archipelago, the king, the regents and the aristocrats had their own states. These states that were able to determine both their internal and external political structures were independent political entities. After Diponegoro (Java) War, the priyayis were absorbed into the colonial state. Since then, they transformed to be the vehicles of the Dutch to run the administrations. The Dutch wanted to recruit them because they realized that the power of their policies is strong only at the center of the state. To solve this issue, they had to send the priyayis to be the bupatis to control the administration outside the center of the state.

They chose the priyayis to run the administration of regions because they had a very strongly developed set of values and norms, which stressed status, etiquette, refinement and self-control. This is described through Minke's mother's phrase in *This Earth of Mankind*.

“That is the sign you're no longer Javanese, not paying heed to those older, those with the greater right to your respect, those who have more power.”[...] “Javanese bow down in submission to those older, more powerful; this is a way to achieve nobility of character. People must have the courage to surrender, Gus”. (130)

Minke's mother tells him how a Javanese should behave. She says that a Javanese should respect to the elders and to those who have power whether they [the elder and those in power] are wrong or not. From her explanation, it is not surprising that the Dutch could occupy Java Island for centuries and as Pramoedya says that “[t]hat's why Java was occupied by foreign powers for centuries” (quoted in Vltchek and Indira 85).

The Dutch government also employed the Javanese priyayis as the bupatis in order to be their official representative. According to Brown, the significant link between “the Dutch ruler and their various bupati was [only] taxation” (38). He further points out how the bupatis as the Dutch officials ran the administration under the Dutch colonial system.

These Dutch officials were not paid a salary; rather they have the right to keep the difference between the taxes they could extract from their regions, and the net tax to the ruler. (38)

From the view, Brown tells that the Dutch government did not pay any salary to them but they earned their income by extracting from their region after they sent the net tax to the Dutch government. In some cases, this would have put the bupati in the powerful position to grip the local people.

As a center ruler in the Indies, the Governor-General could be called as a powerful person. In a scene of *Footsteps*, Pramoedya's narrator, Minke, tells Raja Kasiruta how powerful the Governor-General in the Indies is.

I [MINKE] explained to him about Korte Veklarung and Van Heutsz's intention to unify the Indies. He would take action against all sultans, rajas, and tribal chiefs that he did not like, especially those who defied his will. There was no power that could stop him, except God Himself. I [MINKE] then told him about the exorbitante rechten, the extraordinary powers vested in the governor-general, the greatest powers vested in the hands of the greatest of the colonial officials. (326)

Historically, the Dutch general governor in the Netherlands East Indies had the extraordinary power and with his power, he had rights to do everything. For example, every governor-general killed or expelled all sultans, rajas, and tribal chiefs who took against him.

Van Heutsz who was the Dutch general governor in the Indies from 1904 to 1909 did the different things from the former general governors. In *Footsteps*, Minke explains that during the Van Heutsz period "there was no military war" (120). Instead, Van Heutsz implemented one of the Ethical Policies from the Liberal movement, which had been campaigned in Holland: "Emigration". The Ethical Policies inaugurated by Queen Wilhelmina, according to Vickers, were intended "to bring progress and prosperity to the natives, including the provision of education and other opportunities" (A History 17).

The emigration implemented by Van Heutsz was for Javanese peasants. For them [Javanese peasants], Van Heutsz promised that "transport, tools, kitchen utensils and food were provided for six months" (*Footsteps*, 121). Van Heutsz said that for the sake of human civilization, the peasants could repay in installments. Yet Minke's friend, Ter Haar, did not believe in Van Heutsz's kindness. He then sent a letter to Minke to explain behind Van Heutsz's compassion.

Sugar! ... Sugar needs land. It's all tied in with sugar. People are sent to Lampung to protect the Sunda straits. The straits are undefended while the coast is unpopulated and unoccupied. Don't think that Van Heutsz has thought of all this himself. (*Footsteps*, 122)

Ter Haar's letter to Minke throws light on Van Heutsz's strategy. Van Heutsz implemented the emigration in order that the peasants could open up the jungle and plant the sugar cane. By implementing the strategy, the Dutch could simultaneously occupy the land. From Ter Haar's point of view, the strategy is not Van Heutsz's decision but there is another force behind him.

Native Struggles

The strategies natives used to confront Dutch colonial rule are the significant aspects in the novels of *Buru Quartet*. By that time, Raden Mas Tirta Adi Suryo (Minke) had his own strategy to challenge Dutch colonial rule. To begin his struggle, he established the indigenous newspaper "Medan Priyayi" and a native organization "Syarikat Dagang Islam". Through his newspaper, people from every level in the Netherlands East Indies could express and solve their problems. In addition, with the help of the organization he has power to face the Dutch government because one native organization was equal to that of a European before Dutch law. Thus, the Dutch government would listen to the voice of the native organization.

Through his organization and newspaper, he could also spread the nationalist idea to his people from every level. These strategies to conduct anti-colonial movements are very different from his predecessor, Prince Diponegoro. In 1825, Prince Diponegoro did a rebellion called the "Javanese (Java) War" which involved the people from all levels of Javanese society in the war. He lost in battle because he did not get support from the royal and aristocratic family. According to Illeto, after this Javanese war "the Dutch and priyayi (upper class) administrators organized a parallel religious bureaucracy with prescribe roles from the regency down to the village level" (205).

After the Java war, the peasants were asked through their administrators to pay the tax whatever they had such as lands, animals, and crops. They lived in a tremendous misery that Samin, an illiterate villager from Blora led a movement. The peasants led by him started not to pay the taxes or regard payments as voluntary contributions. The movement made the Dutch frustration but finally, the Dutch could overcome his rebellion. "Samin himself", Vickers says, "was exiled to Sumatra" (43). In *Footsteps*, Minke gives his opinion about Samin and his movement. He says, "The Samin? ... but without educated leaders, they will not get anywhere" (305). Here, the strategy that Samin and his followers used to fight against the Dutch is not effective because their struggle depended on physical power. The same strategy

was also adopted by Trunodongso as the peasant character in *Child of All Nations*. He and the other peasants reject their land taken by the Dutch owner of the sugar mill. They conduct a rebellion but once again the Dutch government could overcome and the leader is arrested. Trunodongso and his family finally leave his rice field and land. The physical power to face the colonizers as the strategy adopted by Prince Diponegoro from aristocratic family, Samin from villagers or Trunodongso from peasant class was not effective during the colonial period because the Dutch had their military forces with complete mercenary armies to put down those anti-colonial movements.

Unlike their strategies to conduct anti-colonial movements, the effective strategy used by Minke (Tirto Adi Suryo) to face the Dutch was the establishment of the newspaper, “*Medan Priyayi*” and a native organization. For Shiraishi, during the Dutch colonial times “it [the “*Medan Priyayi*”] was ... the voice for all the [native] rulers, aristocrats, intellectuals, Priyayi, native merchants, officers, and the subordinated people” (132). Thus, Tirto Adi Suryo (Minke), for Pramoedya, was “not just as Bapak Pers National (Father of National Press)” but as the first Pribumi (Native) editor/publisher” (quoted in Shiraishi 131).

The Ruler’s Politics in Indonesia

As the decolonized writer, Pramoedya has not been able to remain silent while historical amnesia, endemic corruption and cultural bankruptcy around him (Nanda, 2013). Thus, he rewrites the historical resistances to colonial occupation and imperial control in his work *Buru Quartet*. In it, he includes the description of the Dutch politics which reflect in the present day. With regard to this issue, an attempt is made to discuss how the Dutch political strategy described by Pramoedya in *Buru Quartet* was used to control the natives.

In the pre-colonial period, the vast archipelago consisted of many kingdoms. The power of the kingdom came to be determined not merely by commercial wealth but by the ability to marshal large numbers that could be supported by the resources of the states itself. To extend the power, the ruler defeated its rivals in order to be its subordinates. In the effort to retain its power, the ruler exacted the tax from its subordinates.

In the Dutch colonial times, the kings, regents, and tribal heads who ruled their own states became the Dutch subordinates. For the Dutch, the collaboration with the indigenous ruling classes was necessary to run the colony effectively. To maintain the collaboration, the Dutch applied Christian Snouck Hurgronje’s Association Theory. The Association Theory is basically a system of cooption which is discussed by the de la Croix sisters, daughters of the Residents of Bojonegoro in the first novel of *Buru Quartet*, *This Earth of Mankind*.

In *Footsteps*, Minke narrates that Van Heutsz, the general governor, kept abreast of all Budi Utomo’s activities to maintain control from within. Van Heutsz took part in choosing the leader of Budi Utomo in the congress.

My hands shook as I [MINKE] read the paper he had given me—a secret document from the governor-general’s office. Van Heutsz was instructing that efforts be made to see that the Bupati of Karanganyar was chosen as the president of BO [Budi Utomo], since he would ensure that BO would remain in reliable hands. (276)

Minke throws light on the Dutch politics to maintain their power. To keep tight control the internal political matter, Van Heutsz instructed the Bupati of Karanganyar as the leader of Budi Utomo. Van Heutsz chose the Bupati of Karanganyar because he knew that the Bupati of Karanganyar was the student of Hurgronje.

As the architect of the Dutch government policy, Hurgronje never estimated the power of Islamic movement. He thought that as long as the Association Theory applied as the colonial policy, the natives could be controlled. Thus, he never recognized the development of the organization based on religion such as *Syarikat Dagang Islam* (the Islamic Trader’s Union) as a political force to question the prevailing of the colonial paradigm. Although Hurgronje had lived among Indonesians in Mecca and learnt their mentality, he never fully recognized that his subjects were fully human who gradually realized that they were exploited and they needed to free themselves from the domination of the colonial power as the process of decolonization.

To overcome those activities by *Syarikat Dagang Islam* (Islamic Trader’s Union), the Dutch had their own strategy. They alienated the potential native leaders who mobilized movements. In *Footsteps*, Pramoedya describes how the Dutch colonial power silenced the native activists’ voices.

A boring story. All stories that are not about a free and liberated life are tedious. It’s as if there is nothing else to tell about in this colony except exiling and oppressing.... Here there are people exiled in their own country. (309)

This view adds to the understanding of the Dutch politics which remain not only in the New Order regime led by Suharto but also in the present day. They who gave unauthorized opinions were brutally and immediately repressed, such repression often extending to entire family. As William Samuels writes in the “introduction” of *Mute Soliloquy* by Pramoedya:

In the months and years that followed, the New Order regime was to arrest an estimated one and a half million people. Indonesia's prisons, special detention centers and military guard posts were overflowing with political prisoners. (xix)

During Suharto dictatorship, most of the revolutionaries, and intellectuals who opposed him were sent to jail and killed. Their death actually was depended not the application of the law but on the mood of the ruler, on the degree of cynicism found among those in power. One of them was Pramoedya who was exiled and sent to Buru Island for almost fourteen years. If the international community had not monitored him, he would be dead.

Conclusion

The colonialization narrated by Pramoedya in *Buru Quartet* deals with its fundamental injustice and daily miseries, the oppressive and humiliating presence of a foreign police and army, economic exploitation, political frustration, and cultural repression. The directness and immediacy with which Pramoedya's literary voice addresses to its readers, for GoGwilt, "stand as the paradigmatic literary statement, which involves the entire twentieth century and global-historical shock of the century's experience of decolonization" (quoted in Vltchek and Rossie 13).

For more than ten years, Pramoedya was imprisoned and exiled on Buru Island. After he was released in 1979, he remained under city arrest. His voice was silenced and his books censored until after the collapse of Suharto's New Order regime in 1998. Starting in 1999, he was permitted to leave Indonesia and after thirty years, according to GoGwilt "he [for the first time] toured to the United State and Europe, hailed as a dissident voice no longer silenced" ("Foreword" of Exile 8). He was invited to attend an international conference conducted by Fordham University and organized by Chris GoGwilt (the director of Fordham's literary study program). "The purpose of the conference", GoGwilt says, "was to engage public and scholarly debate on the significance of the writer's work both for Indonesia and for world literature" (The Voice 217).

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Fenomena Kekerasan Gender di Balik sebuah Karya Sastra: Tinjauan Strukturalisme Genetik dan Feminisme

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Abstrak

Tulisan ini bertujuan mendeskripsikan peran karya sastra dalam mengungkap peristiwa tahun 1965-1966 yang terjadi di Indonesia. Dalam peristiwa yang sangat sarat dengan kekerasan, tentunya mencakup fenomena kekerasan gender. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif. Sumber data penelitian adalah beberapa karya sastra Indonesia dengan latar sosial kekerasan, terutama kekerasan terhadap perempuan yang terjadi pada peristiwa tahun 1965-1966 di Indonesia. Hasil penelitian sebagai berikut. Pertama, dalam peristiwa tahun 1965-1966 di Indonesia telah terjadi kekerasan terhadap perempuan. Kedua, Kekerasan gender mencakup kekerasan fisik, kekerasan psikis, dan kekerasan seksual. Ketiga, dalam mengungkapkan pandangan dunianya tentang kekerasan terhadap perempuan, pengarang yang merupakan warga negara Indonesia berperan sebagai juru bicara kelompok perempuan korban kekerasan gender tersebut. Keempat, sastra mampu merefleksikan atau menggambarkan kekerasan terhadap perempuan yang terjadi dalam peristiwa tahun 1965-1966 di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: peristiwa tahun 1965-1966, kekerasan gender, kekerasan fisik, psikis, dan seksual, pandangan dunia pengarang, peran karya sastra.

Pendahuluan

Tanggal 1 Oktober 1965 merupakan tonggak sejarah penting dalam kehidupan sosial masyarakat Indonesia. Enam jenderal dan seorang letnan diculik serta dibunuh dan dampak peristiwa ini di kemudian hari ditanggung jutaan orang Indonesia, bahkan sebagai bangsa secara keseluruhan. Perekonomian porak poranda, dan ketegangan antara tentara dengan PKI, Partai Komunis Indonesia, makin menjadi-jadi. Orang Indonesia membunuh sesama orang Indonesia dengan korban sampai ratusan ribu orang. Tak lama setelah aksi kelompok G30S, Jenderal Soeharto turun tangan, dia menuduh PKI mengotaki dan melakukan pembunuhan itu. Ia mengumumkan bahwa PKI harus diganyang untuk 'menyelamatkan bangsa'. Dalam langkah-langkah yang cekatan PKI dituduh atheis dan gila seks. Hal ini begitu membikin marah kalangan agama (muslim dan kristen), sehingga mereka beramai-ramai membantai tetangga sendiri (Wieringa, 2005).

Perempuan-perempuan muda yang ada di sekitar Lubang Buaya, tempat para perwira militer itu dibunuh dan ditimbun, dituduh telah mementaskan tarian cabul, bahkan merayu, memotong kemaluan serta membunuh, termasuk mencungkil mata para perwira itu. Mereka juga dituduh sebagai perempuan komunis bejad yang melacurkan diri serta memperkosa, memotong kemaluan dan merusak tubuh perwira militer begitu mereka ditembak mati oleh kelompok G30S. Secara umum propaganda atas perilaku para perempuan itu dipercaya, kemudian menggerakkan kalangan agama serta milisia kanan untuk melakukan pembunuhan massal (Wieringa, 2005).

Saat itu kaum perempuan yang tidak berdosa menjadi korban seperti ketika kalangan militer memburu seorang pemimpin Gerwani cabang Jakarta bernama Atikah dengan nama samaran Djamilah. Seorang perempuan bernama Djemilah bernasib buruk karena ia kemudian menjadi sasaran para militer tersebut. Djemilah bukanlah satu-satunya perempuan yang dituduh oleh tentara hanya karena namanya mirip dengan nama pemimpin Gerwani yang melarikan diri. Perempuan-perempuan lain yang sempat dikurung bersama Djemilah masih menuturkan dua kasus serupa, keduanya terjadi di Jawa Tengah. Djamilah pertama bunuh diri setelah diperkosa. Djamilah kedua akhirnya dibebaskan tapi lumpuh seumur hidup (Ardi, 2011:101).

Perempuan malang yang sempat protes bahwa ia bernama Djemilah bukan Djamilah ini ditangkap, dibawa ke kantor Komando Operasi Tertinggi, disiksa sampai hampir pingsan dan diperintahkan untuk menandatangani pernyataan sebagai Atikah yang selalu ditolakinya. Kemudian dia dibawa ke Korps Polisi Militer. Di sana kembali dia disiksa dengan kejam, ditelanjangi dan dihina. Beberapa kali dia akan diperkosa. Djemilah disiksa dengan begitu mengerikan sampai putus asa dan ingin mati saja. Oleh siksaan itu dia bahkan sampai nyaris gila. Akhirnya dia dijebloskan dalam penjara perempuan di Bukit Duri, tempat dia mendekam selama 14 tahun tanpa didakwa apalagi diadili (Ardi, 2011).

Kasus Djemilah ini adalah salah satu kasus dari beberapa kasus pemenjaraan orang lantaran salah identitas. Dia tidak tahu apa-apa tentang politik, dia masih muda dan tak berpengalaman. Dia tidak tahu apa itu PKI, apalagi Gerwani, tetapi selama berkali-kali diinterogasi dia dibentak-bentak sebagai 'lonte Gerwani'. Para interogator itu menggerayangi paha dan perutnya. Begitu gawatnya siksaan yang harus

ditanggungnya, keadaan ini menyebabkan bayinya tewas ketika dilahirkan. Perempuan ini dipukuli dengan berat sampai lagi-lagi dia tak sadarkan diri. Beberapa tulangnya patah, kedua kakinya luka berat dan juga patah; dari beberapa luka di tubuhnya darah mengucur, kulit rambutnya robek dari kepalanya, dia tak bisa melihat lantaran kedua matanya bengkak-bengkak (Ardi, 2011).

Kekerasan juga diderita oleh perempuan bernama Endah. Perkosaan adalah peristiwa biasa, walaupun perempuan ini melawan mati-matian. Semua tapol sudah mendapat giliran disiksa. Perempuan ini mempertahankan kesuciannya dari lima prajurit yang memeriksanya. Mukanya dicakar-cakar menggunakan sangkur begitu niat mereka hendak menggagahi ibu muda itu gagal. Kemarahannya dilimpahkan ke sekujur tubuh perempuan ini yang akhirnya bunuh diri (Ardi, 2011).

Peristiwa bersejarah yang ‘kebenarannya’ masih selalu dipertanyakan tersebut telah melahirkan banyak karya sastra yang berlatar peristiwa pasca G30S PKI tahun 1965.

Sebagai penelitian sastra, fokus penelitian adalah mengungkap fenomena kekerasan gender, khususnya kekerasan terhadap kaum perempuan yang tercermin dalam produk sastra. Sastra dapat merupakan pencerminan/penggambaran sebuah fenomena sosial yang terjadi di dalam kehidupan masyarakat. Melalui karya sastra, seorang pengarang dapat mengungkapkan problema kehidupan, dalam hal ini pengarang dapat menjadi juru bicara suatu kelompok masyarakat. Dalam penelitian ini, pengarang menjadi juru bicara kelompok perempuan yang mengalami kekerasan gender.

Untuk melihat ilustrasi kekerasan gender, khususnya kekerasan terhadap perempuan, penelitian ini difokuskan pada penggambarannya di dalam karya sastra. Seorang pengarang/novelis dianggap mampu menggambarkan secara jernih dan ekspresif makna perubahan dalam kehidupan masyarakat yang merupakan kenyataan sosial. Kehidupan sosial penulisnya juga turut melatari penciptaan sebuah karya sastra (Swingewood, 1972: 91).

Untuk menjawab sejumlah masalah dalam penelitian ini digunakan dua kerangka teori yaitu 1) teori strukturalisme genetik, dan 2) kritik sastra feminis yang digunakan sebagai pisau analisis dalam penelitian ini.

Teori strukturalisme genetik dibutuhkan untuk menjembatani keterkaitan antara kondisi sosial masyarakat yang terdapat di dalam data konkret dan kondisi sosial masyarakat yang terdapat dalam karya sastra melalui pandangan dunia si pengarang. Sedangkan teori kritik sastra feminis digunakan sebagai pisau analisis untuk merangkum berbagai kekerasan gender. Namun untuk mengungkapkan berbagai kekerasan gender yang tersebar di dalam karya sastra yang dijadikan objek penelitian, diperlukan juga pengertian atau definisi kekerasan gender, khususnya kekerasan terhadap kaum perempuan

Kekerasan Gender

Deklarasi Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa untuk Penghapusan Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan tahun 1993 menetapkan kekerasan terhadap perempuan sebagai suatu tindakan kekerasan berdasarkan gender yang membahayakan atau mengakibatkan penderitaan fisik, seksual, atau psikologi bagi kaum perempuan, termasuk juga ancaman-ancaman seperti paksaan pencabutan hak baik yang terjadi di kehidupan masyarakat maupun dalam kehidupan pribadi.

The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) defines violence against women as ‘any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life (Coomarawamy, 2008:2).

Definisi tersebut mengacu kepada kekerasan yang berdasarkan gender dengan mengakui bahwa kekerasan terhadap perempuan adalah salah satu dari mekanisme sosial yang krusial dengan memaksa perempuan pada posisi subordinat. Definisi kekerasan ini diperluas dengan memasukkan baik kejahatan fisik maupun psikis yang dilakukan terhadap perempuan baik dalam kehidupan pribadi maupun publik.

The definition refers to the gender-based roots of violence, recognizing that ‘violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men.’ It broadens the definition of violence by including both the physical and psychological harm done towards women, and if includes acts in both private and public life (Coomarawamy, 2008: 2).

UNICEF menetapkan bahwa kekerasan gender mencakup kekerasan yang dilakukan oleh pasangan intim dan anggota keluarga lain yang ditunjukkan melalui cara-cara berikut.

a) Kekerasan fisik dilakukan dengan cara menampar, menggigit, memelintir tangan, menikam, mencekik, membakar, menendang, mengancam dengan benda atau senjata, dan membunuh. Kekerasan ini juga termasuk praktik kekerasan tradisional seperti pemotongan alat kelamin perempuan dan warisan istri (pada praktiknya warisan janda yang ditinggal mati suaminya jatuh ke tangan saudara laki-laki suaminya) (Coomarawamy, 2008: 2).

b) Kekerasan seksual dilakukan dengan pemaksaan hubungan seksual melalui ancaman, intimidasi atau paksaan secara fisik, memaksa hubungan seksual yang tidak diinginkan atau memaksa hubungan dengan orang lain (Coomarawamy, 2008: 2).

c) Kekerasan psikis meliputi perlakuan dengan maksud mengintimidasi dan menyiksa/menganiaya dan menggunakan bentuk-bentuk ancaman atau perlakuan kejam/siksaan, kurungan rumah, pengawasan/penjagaan, ancaman untuk mengambil hak asuh anak-anak, perusakan barang-barang, isolasi, serangan secara lisan, dan penghinaan yang terus-menerus (Coomarawamy, 2008: 2).

d) Kekerasan ekonomi mencakup perlakuan seperti penolakan dana/uang, penolakan untuk berkontribusi secara finansial, penolakan akan makanan dan kebutuhan dasar, dan mengontrol akses perawatan kesehatan, pekerjaan, dan sebagainya (Coomarawamy, 2008: 2).

Dalam penelitian ini, kekerasan gender terhadap perempuan membahas tiga jenis kekerasan terhadap perempuan, yaitu kekerasan fisik, kekerasan psikis, dan kekerasan seksual.

Strukturalisme Genetik

Teori strukturalisme genetik dapat dimanfaatkan untuk 1) memunculkan gambaran masyarakat di dalam karya sastra yang diasumsikan sebagai perwujudan masyarakat di dunia nyata; 2) menggali lebih dalam pandangan dunia pengarang. Masyarakat yang muncul di dalam karya sastra merupakan salah satu unsur dalam struktur karya sastra. Hubungan struktur masyarakat dan struktur dalam teks menjadi bahasan utama dalam penelitian ini, yaitu untuk melihat kekerasan gender, khususnya kekerasan terhadap perempuan di dalam masyarakat nyata dan kekerasan gender yang ada di dalam karya sastra.

Menurut Lucien Goldmann (1970: 584), pendekatan strukturalisme genetik berkeyakinan bahwa karya sastra tidak semata-mata merupakan suatu struktur yang statis dan lahir dengan sendirinya. Karya sastra merupakan hasil struktur kategoris pikiran subjek pengarangnya, yang terbangun akibat interaksi antara subjek dengan situasi sosial dan ekonomi tertentu. Pengarang bukan individu yang berdiri sendiri, tetapi merupakan bagian dari suatu kelompok sosial. Karya sastra sebagai struktur bermakna, mewakili pandangan dunia (*vision du monde*) pengarang bukan sebagai individu, melainkan sebagai golongan masyarakatnya. Hubungan antara struktur sastra dan struktur masyarakat dimediasi melalui pandangan dunia atau ideologi yang diekspresikannya (Goldmann, 1977: 17). Dengan demikian, karya sastra merupakan produk budaya manusia yang tidak dapat dipahami secara utuh jika aktivitas kehidupan masyarakat tempat karya tersebut lahir diabaikan begitu saja. Hal ini akan berdampak pada hilangnya sepenggal bagian dari keseluruhan karya.

Dengan mengenal masyarakat dan kelompok-kelompok sosial yang membentuk kepribadian pengarang dapat diketahui pandangan dunianya dalam struktur karya-karya sastranya. Pandangan dunia tersebut terkait dengan kelompok sosial tempat pengarang berada, yaitu masyarakat Indonesia. Pandangan dunia pengarang diangkat melalui berbagai data konkret yang menggambarkan kehidupan sosial masyarakatnya yang menjadi sumber penulisan karyanya.

Menurut strukturalisme genetik, karya sastra merupakan sebuah struktur yang merupakan produk dari proses sejarah yang terus-menerus berlangsung. Sebagai sebuah teori, strukturalisme genetik dibangun berdasarkan sejumlah konsep dasar yang saling terkait, yaitu fakta kemanusiaan (*human facts*), subjek kolektif, struktur (*structures*), dan pandangan dunia (*world views*) (Goldmann, 1975: 8).

Fakta kemanusiaan adalah segala hasil aktivitas atau perilaku manusia baik yang verbal maupun yang fisik. Fakta tersebut dapat berupa aktivitas sosial, aktivitas politik, atau kreasi kultural seperti seni sastra (Goldmann, 1970: 563). Semua fakta kemanusiaan merupakan suatu struktur yang berarti karena fakta itu merupakan respons dari subjek kolektif atau individual untuk mengubah situasi yang ada agar cocok bagi aspirasi-aspirasi subjek itu. Fakta-fakta itu merupakan hasil usaha manusia untuk mencapai keseimbangan dalam hubungannya dengan dunia sekitarnya (Goldmann, 1981: 40). Fakta kemanusiaan bukan sesuatu yang muncul begitu saja, melainkan merupakan hasil aktivitas manusia sebagai subjeknya. Dalam hal ini perlu diperhatikan perbedaan antara subjek individual dan subjek kolektif. Subjek individual merupakan subjek fakta individual (libidinal), sedangkan subjek kolektif merupakan subjek fakta sosial (historis). Individu dengan dorongan libidonya tidak akan mampu menciptakan fakta sosial. Yang dapat menciptakannya hanya subjek transindividual (Goldmann, 1981: 97; 1970: 588–589).

Subjek transindividual bukanlah kumpulan individu-individu yang berdiri sendiri-sendiri, melainkan merupakan satu kesatuan, satu kolektivitas. Subjek ini juga menjadi subjek karya sastra karena karya sastra merupakan hasil aktivitas manusia yang objeknya alam semesta dan kelompok manusia (Goldmann, 1981: 97). Subjek kolektif atau transindividual dispesifikasikan sebagai kelas sosial dalam pengertian marxis sebab kelompok itulah yang terbukti dalam sejarah sebagai kelompok yang telah menciptakan suatu pandangan yang lengkap dan menyeluruh mengenai kehidupan dan yang telah memengaruhi perkembangan sejarah (Goldmann, 1977: 99; 1981: 41).

Goldmann mengakui adanya homologi antara struktur karya sastra dengan struktur masyarakat sebab keduanya merupakan produk dari aktivitas struktur yang sama. Hanya dengan konsep homologi hubungan dunia nyata dan dunia imajiner dalam karya sastra dapat dipahami karena kesamaan antara dunia nyata dan dunia imajiner dalam karya sastra bukan kesamaan yang substansial, melainkan struktural. Homologi, kesejajaran struktural antara struktur karya sastra dengan struktur masyarakat itu sendiri, menurut strukturalisme genetik, tidaklah bersifat langsung. Struktur karya sastra tidak terutama homolog dengan struktur masyarakat, melainkan homolog dengan pandangan dunia yang tumbuh dan berkembang dalam masyarakat itu. Pandangan dunia itulah yang pada gilirannya berhubungan langsung dengan struktur masyarakat. Kondisi struktur masyarakat dapat membuat suatu kelas yang ada dalam posisi tertentu dalam masyarakat itu membuahkannya dan mengembangkan suatu pandangan dunia yang khas (Goldmann, via Faruk, 2012: 65).

Dari uraian di atas jelas bahwa hubungan antara kehidupan masyarakat dan karya sastra tidak berkaitan dengan dua faktor realitas manusia, tetapi hanya dengan struktur mental yang disebut sebagai kesadaran empiris kelompok sosial tertentu dan dunia imajiner penulis (Goldmann, 1970: 584). Diakui adanya homologi antara struktur karya sastra dan struktur masyarakat karena keduanya merupakan produk penstrukturan yang sama, tetapi hubungan tersebut bukan hubungan determinasi langsung, melainkan dimediasi oleh pandangan dunia atau ideologi (Goldmann, 1975: 158–159). Jadi fungsi strukturalisme genetik dalam penelitian ini adalah mengungkap pandangan dunia pengarang terhadap kekerasan gender dalam karya sastra.

Pandangan dunia adalah kompleks menyeluruh dari gagasan-gagasan, aspirasi-aspirasi, dan perasaan-perasaan, yang menghubungkan secara bersama-sama anggota-anggota suatu kelompok sosial tertentu dan yang mempertentangkannya dengan kelompok-kelompok sosial yang lain (Goldmann, 1981: 112). Sebagai suatu kesadaran kolektif, pandangan dunia berkembang sebagai hasil dari situasi sosial dan ekonomi tertentu yang dihadapi oleh subjek kolektif yang memilikinya. Sebagai produk interaksi antara subjek kolektif dengan situasi sekitarnya, pandangan dunia tidak lahir dengan tiba-tiba, tetapi harus melalui proses yang panjang (Goldmann, 1981: 64–68). Menurut strukturalisme genetik, proses yang panjang itu terutama disebabkan oleh kenyataan bahwa pandangan dunia merupakan kesadaran yang tidak setiap orang memahaminya kecuali dalam momen-momen krisis sebagai ekspresi individual dalam karya-karya kultural yang besar (Goldmann, 1981: 87). Kesadaran ini adalah kesadaran yang menyatakan suatu kecenderungan kelompok ke arah suatu koherensi dan perspektif yang menyeluruh dan terpadu mengenai hubungan manusia dengan sesamanya dan dengan alam semesta (Goldmann, 1981: 111).

Strukturalisme genetik mengatakan bahwa kesadaran yang nyata itu hanya dapat muncul dengan jelas dalam situasi krisis atau hanya dapat ditangkap oleh individu yang khusus, yaitu pencipta karya-karya kultural, termasuk karya sastra. Pandangan dunia adalah sebuah pandangan dengan koherensi menyeluruh, merupakan perspektif yang koheren dan terpadu mengenai manusia, hubungan antar manusia, dan alam semesta secara keseluruhan. Karya sastra merupakan produk subjek kolektif, oleh karena itu karya sastra mempunyai struktur yang koheren dan terpadu. Goldmann memandang karya sastra sebagai produk pandangan dunia sehingga cenderung mempunyai struktur yang koheren. Sebagai struktur yang koheren, karya sastra merupakan satuan yang dibangun dari bagian-bagian yang lebih kecil. Oleh karena itu, pemahaman terhadapnya dapat dilakukan dengan konsep “keseluruhan bagian” di atas (Goldmann, 1970: 593, 595). Dia juga mengatakan bahwa pandangan dunia merupakan kesadaran kolektif yang dapat digunakan sebagai hipotesis kerja yang konseptual, suatu model, bagi pemahaman mengenai koherensi struktur teks sastra (Goldmann, 1977: 15).

Goldmann (1981:55-74) mengemukakan dua pendapat mengenai karya sastra pada umumnya. Pertama, bahwa karya sastra merupakan ekspresi pandangan dunia secara imajiner. Kedua, bahwa dalam usahanya mengekspresikan pandangan dunia itu, pengarang menciptakan semesta tokoh-tokoh, objek-objek, dan relasi-relasi secara imajiner. Ia mempunyai konsep struktur yang bersifat tematik. Yang menjadi pusat perhatiannya adalah relasi antara tokoh dengan tokoh dan tokoh dengan objek yang ada di sekitarnya. Sifat tematik dari konsep struktur ini terlihat pula pada konsepnya mengenai novel.

Pandangan dunia dalam sebuah novel merupakan pandangan dunia penulis. Dalam hal ini, penulis bukan merupakan individu yang berdiri sendiri, tetapi merupakan bagian dari suatu kelompok sosial. Dengan demikian, pandangannya merupakan pandangan kelompok sosial yang sebenarnya merupakan subjek transindividual (Goldmann, 1975). Pandangan dunia inilah yang menentukan struktur karya sastra. Dengan demikian, karya sastra dapat dipahami asalnya dan terjadinya unsur genetik dari latar belakang sosial tertentu. Pandangan dunia yang muncul dalam karya sastra adalah abstraksi, bukan fakta empiris yang akan memperoleh bentuknya dalam ilmu-ilmu sosial dan filsafat. Strukturalisme genetik bertolak dari teks, tetapi tidak berhenti hanya pada teks itu saja. Tidak hanya teks, pengarang juga sangat berperan karena pandangan dunia dalam novel yang dianalisis adalah pandangan dunia pengarangnya yang merupakan bagian dari suatu kelompok sosial (Junus, 1986: 18). Berdasarkan analisis *vision du monde* tersebut, peneliti dapat membandingkannya dengan data-data dan analisis keadaan sosial masyarakat yang bersangkutan (Goldmann, 1977: 17).

Dengan mengenal masyarakat dan kelompok-kelompok sosial yang membentuk kepribadian pengarang dapat diketahui pandangan dunianya dalam menstrukturasi karya-karya sastra. Pandangan dunia pengarang yang dimaksud di sini, sesuai yang dikatakan Goldmann (1977: 17–18), yaitu gagasan-gagasan, aspirasi-aspirasi, perasaan pengarang yang kompleks dan menyeluruh, yang menghubungkan secara bersama-sama terhadap kelompok-kelompok sosial tertentu tempat pengarang berada dan yang dapat

mempertangkannya dengan kelompok-kelompok sosial yang lain. Pandangan dunia pengarang diangkat melalui berbagai data konkret yang menggambarkan kehidupan sosial masyarakatnya yang menjadi sumber penulisan karya-karyanya.

Kritik Sastra Feminis

Penelitian ini difokuskan pada pengungkapan pandangan dunia pengarang terhadap kekerasan gender yang digambarkan dalam produk sastra. Kekerasan gender dalam penelitian ini difokuskan pada kekerasan fisik, kekerasan psikis, dan kekerasan seksual ng dilakukan laki-laki terhadap perempuan. Teori kritik sastra feminis digunakan untuk menganalisis kekerasan gender terhadap perempuan.

Feminisme sering memunculkan tema bahwa pengaruh sistem patriarkhal menyebabkan terjadinya penindasan perempuan. Kate Millet dalam bukunya *Sexual Politics* (Tong, 2008: 73) mengungkapkan bahwa ideologi patriarkhi membesar-besarkan perbedaan biologis antara laki-laki dan perempuan dan memastikan bahwa laki-laki selalu mempunyai peran yang maskulin dan dominan, sedangkan perempuan selalu mempunyai peran yang subordinat atau feminin. Ideologi ini begitu kuat hingga laki-laki biasanya mampu mendapatkan persetujuan dari perempuan yang mereka opresi. Mereka melakukan hal tersebut melalui institusi seperti akademi, gereja, dan keluarga yang masing-masing membenarkan dan menegaskan subordinasi perempuan terhadap laki-laki, yang berakibat bagi kebanyakan perempuan untuk menginternalisasi rasa inferioritas diri terhadap laki-laki. Intimidasi menurutnya ada di mana-mana di dalam budaya patriarkhi.

Millet mempopulerkan frase 'politik seksual' dan perluasan istilah 'patriarkhi'. Kata yang berdefinisi asal sebagai 'aturan yang ditetapkan oleh sesepuh laki-laki yang dominan dalam sebuah struktur keluarga tradisional' ini, diperluas maknanya menjadi 'penindasan terinstitusi atas semua perempuan yang dilakukan oleh laki-laki'. Bagi Millet, patriarkhi adalah institusi politik, dan seks adalah sebuah kategori status dengan implikasi politik. Patriarkhi adalah bentuk paling dasar dari penindasan terhadap manusia, yang akan tetap berlanjut tanpa menyisihkan penindasan dalam bentuk lain, seperti rasis, politis, dan ekonomis. Baginya, ideologi patriarkhi adalah soal representasi keliru tentang perempuan yang tersebar secara politis dan perempuan menjadi korban. Menurutnya, patriarkhi adalah sebuah sistem penindasan terinstitusi yang dilengkapi dengan cara-cara ideologis (Gamble, 2004: 43–45).

Millet dalam *Sexual Politics* mengungkapkan tiga institusi terjadinya sistem patriarkhi yang utama adalah keluarga. Awalnya, patriarkhi mengakui bahwa istri dan anak-anak merupakan milik seorang suami atau ayah. Dengan demikian, seorang suami dan ayah memiliki kekuasaan untuk melakukan kekerasan fisik, bahkan pembunuhan atau menjual (Millet, 2000: 33).

Patriarkhi adalah sebuah sistem yang diatur oleh laki-laki, yang kekuasaannya dijalankan melalui institusi sosial, politik, ekonomi, dan agama. Feminis cenderung menganggap patriarkhi sebagai sistem ahistoris dan mampu memasuki semua lini, sebuah sikap yang disimpulkan oleh Marilyn French dalam tulisannya *The War Against Women* (1992). Sementara Shulamith Firestone memandang pembentukan perempuan sebagai kelas yang lebih rendah muncul dari fungsi reproduksi mereka yang mengidentifikasi struktur keluarga biologis sebagai pusat terjadinya penindasan terhadap perempuan di bawah kekuasaan patriarkhi (Gamble, 2004: 381).

Kelompok feminis meyakini bahwa sistem seks/gender adalah penyebab utama dari opresi (penindasan) terhadap kaum perempuan seperti diungkapkan Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Dengan sudut pandang pemikiran feminis radikal, dalam buku *The Woman's Bible*, Stanton menyatakan secara jelas bahwa 'doktrin, kode, kitab suci (Injil) dan hukum (Kristen), semuanya adalah berdasarkan "gagasan ideal patriarkhal", yaitu bahwa perempuan diciptakan dengan mencontoh laki-laki, dari laki-laki, dan untuk laki-laki, makhluk yang inferior, yang tunduk pada laki-laki.' Stanton sangat menyadari bagaimana sistem seks/gender mengopresi perempuan. Bahwa sistem seks/gender adalah penyebab fundamental dari opresi terhadap perempuan kemudian diungkapkan Alison Jagger dan Paula Rothenberg (1983: 316–7) sebagai berikut: (1) bahwa perempuan, secara historis, adalah kelompok teropresi yang pertama; (2) bahwa opresi terhadap perempuan adalah paling menyebar dan ada dalam hampir di setiap masyarakat yang diketahui; (3) bahwa opresi terhadap perempuan adalah yang terdalam, yang berarti bahwa opresi ini merupakan bentuk opresi yang paling sulit dihapuskan, dan tidak dapat dihilangkan dengan perubahan sosial yang lain, misalnya dengan penghapusan masyarakat kelas; (4) bahwa opresi terhadap perempuan menyebabkan penderitaan yang paling buruk bagi korbannya, baik secara kualitatif maupun kuantitatif, meskipun penderitaan yang ditimbulkan muncul dengan tidak disadari karena adanya prasangka seksis, baik dari pihak opresor maupun dari pihak korban; (5) bahwa opresi terhadap perempuan memberikan model konseptual untuk memahami bentuk opresi yang lain.

Feminis lainnya, Gayle Rubin mengatakan bahwa sistem seks/gender adalah suatu rangkaian pengaturan yang digunakan oleh masyarakat untuk mentransformasi seksualitas biologis menjadi produk kegiatan manusia. Jadi, masyarakat patriarkhal menggunakan fakta tertentu mengenai fisiologi perempuan dan laki-laki (kromosom, anatomi, hormon) sebagai dasar untuk membangun serangkaian identitas dan perilaku 'maskulin' dan 'feminin' yang berlaku untuk memberdayakan laki-laki dan melemahkan perempuan. Dalam proses mencapai tugas ideologis ini, masyarakat patriarkhal berhasil meyakinkan dirinya sendiri bahwa konstruksi budayanya adalah 'alamiah' dan, karena itu, 'normalitas' seseorang bergantung pada kemampuannya, dihubungkan dengan jenis kelamin biologis seseorang. Feminis mengklaim bahwa gender adalah terpisah dari jenis kelamin, dan masyarakat patriarkhi menggunakan peran gender yang kaku

untuk memastikan bahwa perempuan tetap pasif (penuh kasih sayang, penurut, tanggap terhadap simpati dan persetujuan, ceria, baik, dan ramah) dan laki-laki tetap aktif (kuat, agresif, penuh rasa ingin tahu, ambisius, penuh rencana, bertanggung jawab, orisinal, dan kompetitif).

Seorang feminis radikal, Kate Millet, menyatakan bahwa akar opresi terhadap perempuan sudah terkubur dalam di dalam sistem seks/gender di dalam patriarki. Dalam bukunya *Sexual Politics* (2000), Millet berpendapat bahwa seks adalah politis, terutama karena hubungan laki-laki dan perempuan merupakan paradigma dari semua hubungan kekuasaan. Menurutnya, kendali laki-laki di dunia publik dan privat menimbulkan patriarki, maka penguasaan oleh laki-laki harus dihapuskan jika perempuan ingin mendapat kebebasan. Namun, untuk menghilangkan penguasaan oleh laki-laki, perempuan dan laki-laki harus menghapuskan gender - terutama status, peran, dan temperamen seksual- sebagaimana hal itu dibangun di bawah patriarki (Millet, 2000:25).

Metode Penelitian

Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan teknik analisis isi. Teknik analisis isi yang merujuk buku *Analisis Data kualitatif* karya Miles dan Huberman (1992:16-20) dilakukan dengan menempuh model alir, yaitu reduksi data, penyajian data, dan menarik kesimpulan atau verifikasi. Dengan menggunakan teknik analisis isi diharapkan dapat mengungkap pesan-pesan yang tersembunyi di dalam teks, dan memahami ide pokok yang terdapat dalamnya.

Penelitian kualitatif ini didesain berdasarkan metode Wiersma (1982: 82-86), yaitu: (1) menentukan fokus penelitian, (2) mengajukan pertanyaan untuk penelitian, (3) mengumpulkan data, (4) melakukan keabsahan data, (5) menganalisis, menginterpretasi temuan penelitian, dan (6) instrumen penelitian.

Tahap-tahap yang akan dijalani dalam penelitian adalah sebagai berikut: (1) membaca karya sastra dan mengidentifikasi berbagai motif cerita yang memungkinkan untuk diabstraksi sebagai kekerasan gender terhadap perempuan, (2) menganalisis relasi gender yang termuat di dalam karya-karya tersebut, (3) menganalisis kekerasan fisik yang dialami oleh kaum perempuan, (4) menganalisis kekerasan psikis sebagai dampak maraknya kekerasan gender, (5) menganalisis kekerasan seksual yang banyak terjadi di dalam rumah tahanan, (6) menganalisis pandangan dunia pengarang tentang kekerasan gender, (7) menginventarisasi semua data temuan ke dalam sebuah catatan, (8) menarik kesimpulan, dan (9) menyusun laporan penelitian

Objek dalam penelitian ini dapat dibedakan menjadi objek formal dan objek material. Objek formal penelitian ini adalah kekerasan gender, khususnya kekerasan terhadap kaum perempuan sebagai pandangan dunia pengarang yang terungkap di dalam karya sastra. Fenomena kekerasan gender ini merupakan pesan/*message* yang disampaikan pengarang melalui sebuah karya sastra. Sebagai pengarang yang mengungkapkan pandangan dunianya, mereka merupakan juru bicara dari kelompok masyarakat Indonesia, dalam hal ini pengarang menyuarakan jeritan hati kaum perempuan terhadap kekerasan gender yang menimpa mereka. Objek material dalam penelitian ini adalah karya sastra yang mengungkapkan pandangan dunia pengarang tentang kekerasan gender yang telah menyengsarakan kaum perempuan.

Data dan sumber data penelitian ditentukan secara *purposive* dan didasarkan pada kriteria-kriteria tertentu. Menurut Nasution (2007: 98), *purposive* sampling adalah sampel yang dipilih dengan cermat hingga relevan dengan disain penelitian agar dalam (pilihan) itu terdapat wakil-wakil dari segala lapisan populasi.

Di samping itu, penentuan data dan sumber data tersebut berlandaskan pula pada (1) karya sastra yang menggambarkan kekerasan gender, khususnya kekerasan terhadap perempuan yang dilakukan laki-laki; (2) karya sastra yang melatarbelakangi kehidupan pengarangnya, yaitu masyarakat Indonesia pada tahun 1965-1966 ketika terjadi peristiwa G30S PKI.

Unit data berupa kata, frase, atau kalimat yang mengandung informasi dan berkaitan dengan fenomena kekerasan gender sebagai pandangan dunia pengarang. Di samping itu, juga dikumpulkan data yang berhubungan dengan informasi yang terkait, yaitu 1) kekerasan fisik, 2) kekerasan psikis, dan 3) kekerasan seksual yang dilakukan oleh laki-laki terhadap perempuan.

Analisis data dilakukan dengan teknik deskriptif kualitatif melalui kegiatan ketegorisasi, dan inferensi. Kategorisasi digunakan untuk mengelompokkan data berdasarkan kategori yang telah ditetapkan, yaitu kekerasan fisik, kekerasan psikis, kekerasan seksual, dan pandangan dunia pengarang mengenai kekerasan gender di Indonesia pada peristiwa tahun 1965. Inferensi digunakan untuk menginterpretasikan, memahami, dan menyimpulkan hasil penelitian sesuai dengan permasalahan penelitian. Dalam penelitian ini inferensi didasarkan pada kerangka teori kritik sastra feminis dan strukturalisme genetik.

Hasil dan Pembahasan

Sebuah karya sastra dapat merupakan sebuah media bagi pengarang untuk mengungkapkan pandangan dunianya mengenai suatu fenomena sosial yang terjadi di dalam kehidupan masyarakat. Dalam konteks karya sastra sebagai struktur bermakna yang mewakili pandangan dunia (*vision du monde*) pengarangnya, penelitian ini mengungkap bagaimana pengarang bertindak sebagai juru bicara bangsa Indonesia, terutama kelompok perempuan yang mengalami kekerasan dalam peristiwa tahun 1965-1966 yang dikenal dengan peristiwa G30S PKI. Kekerasan terhadap perempuan mencakup kekerasan fisik,

kekerasan psikis, dan kekerasan seksual yang dilakukan oleh laki-laki terhadap perempuan, terutama para perempuan tahanan yang dituduh sebagai anggota Gerwani.

Keadaan ini kemudian mendorong beberapa pengarang di Indonesia untuk menyampaikan pandangan dunianya mengenai kekerasan gender yang terjadi pada tahun 1965 dan 1966. Dalam hal ini, pengarang berperan sebagai juru bicara kelompok perempuan, terutama para perempuan korban kekerasan gender, seperti kekerasan fisik, psikis, dan seksual seperti tercermin dalam sebuah karya sastra.

Para pengarang yang menyuarkan penderitaan perempuan mengungkapkan pandangan dunianya tentang kekerasan gender dalam karya-karya mereka. Mereka melukiskan sebuah potret kekerasan yang dilakukan oleh laki-laki terhadap perempuan, bangsanya sendiri. Kekerasan dimaksud mencakup kekerasan fisik, kekerasan psikis, dan kekerasan seksual.

Kekerasan Fisik

Kekerasan fisik yang dialami oleh kaum perempuan diungkapkan oleh Putu Oka Sukanta dalam karyanya "Istana Jiwa". Ia dengan lugas, bahkan dengan bahasanya yang *vurgar*, mengungkapkan kekerasan yang dialami oleh para tahanan politik perempuan di penjara-penjara sebagai berikut.

"Perasaan keibuanku mengutuk cara-cara yang digunakan pemeriksa menyiksa mereka. Ada yang rambutnya digunting, ada yang teteknya disundut rokok, memeknya diuyel-uyel sampai kesakitan menjerit-jerit." (hlm. 156)

Ia juga menceritakan bagaimana para tentara menangkap paksa para perempuan yang dituduh sebagai anggota Gerwani. Putu Oka Sukanta melihat sisi lain dari sebuah penahanan yang dialami oleh para perempuan tertuduh "....Ada untungnya juga ditahan. Aku banyak mengetahui apa yang sebenarnya terjadi dan bagaimana tentara itu melakukan penyiksaan yang tidak berperikemanusiaan itu" (hlm 157).

Kekerasan fisik terhadap perempuan juga diungkapkan Seno Gumira Ajidarma dalam karyanya "Kalatidha". Dalam karyanya ini, Seno mengungkap kekerasan terhadap perempuan dengan menampilkan kisah tragis seorang Paspampres Cakrabirawa yang tidak terlibat dalam penculikan dan pembunuhan para jenderal Angkatan Darat, namun mengalami siksaan hanya lantaran ia kenal Letkol Untung. Melalui tokoh ini, Seno menggambarkan kekerasan fisik yang sangat tidak manusiawi dilakukan oleh anggota militer terhadap seorang perempuan tahanan yang dituduh sebagai anggota Gerwani.

"Karena segala siksaan tak kan membuka mulut saya, mereka menggunakan lain cara yang tidak pernah saya bayangkan ada. Saya masih ditindih ketika pengecut lain datang membawa seorang tahanan wanita. Ia sedang hamil dan katanya ia Gerwani. Saya harus melihat bagaimana ia ditelanjangi dan kakinya dibuka paksa, agar sangkur pada bayonet bisa dimasukkan ke kemaluannya. Saya melihat sangkur itu sudah berdarah ketika darah saya naik dan suatu kekuatan luar biasa mendadak merasuki saya.... Saya berdiri dan meninju pemegang bayonet itu sampai pingsan. Wanita malang itu sudah sejak tadi pingsan" (hlm. 63).

Hal senada disampaikan oleh Triyanto Triwikromo dalam sebuah puisi dengan judul "Bunga Busuk". Dalam karyanya ini, pengarang mengungkapkan kekerasan fisik yang dialami oleh para perempuan. Mereka dibunuh dengan kejam, yaitu dengan cara dibayonet dan dijerat lehernya hingga tewas. Setelah meninggal dunia, sebagian mayat mereka dibuang ke sungai dan sebagian lagi dikuburkan secara massal seperti diungkapkannya sebagai berikut.

"Kau dapatkan juga data dan foto-foto, serta film-film dokumenter betapa setelah Oktober 1965, di sungai-sungai mengapung-apung mayat para perempuan yang dibayonet atau dijerat lehernya. Sungai jadi anyir dan amis. Sungai jadi tempat pembuangan tubuh-tubuh membusuk penuh lintah. Beberapa kuburan massal untuk gerwani juga sudah digali...(2012)

Dalam karya lainnya "Ibu Yang Anaknya Diculik Itu" Seno menceritakan bagaimana seorang anak harus menerima kenyataan bahwa ibunya yang hanya seorang pemain ludruk harus menerima kekerasan fisik. Ibu yang tidak berdosa ini harus menanggung akibat peristiwa G30S PKI. Perempuan malang ini dibunuh dan jenazahnya dibuang ke kali seperti diungkapkannya sebagai berikut. "Tapi Si Mbok juga sudah meninggal, menyusul Bapak, menyusul teman-temannya pemain ludruk yang semuanya dibantai dan mayat-mayatnya mengambang di Kali Madiun..."

Kekerasan Psikis

Dalam karyanya "Kalatidha", Seno Gumira Ajidarma mengungkapkan kekerasan psikis terhadap perempuan dengan menampilkan seorang anak perempuan yang dianggap gila oleh masyarakat setelah seluruh keluarganya—termasuk kembarannya—mati terbakar di dalam rumah yang dikepung warga. Rumah beserta isinya itu dibakar karena sang kepala keluarga dianggap sebagai aktivis PKI (hlm. 24-25). Anak

perempuan yang selamat dari musibah itu tidak bisa menerima kenyataan seperti itu. ia tak mampu menalar tindakan warga yang membakar rumah beserta keluarganya. Keadaan ini kemudian membuat anak perempuan yang tidak berdosa ini menjadi gila. Ketika anak perempuan itu tumbuh dewasa, dan ditangkap petugas rumah sakit jiwa, yang kemudian memandikannya untuk diberi seragam sebagai orang gila, ia menerimanya dengan terpaksa.

Putu Oka Sukanta dalam karyanya “Istana Jiwa” mengungkapkan bahwa dalam banyak referensi ‘resmi’ yang dikeluarkan oleh Orde Baru, Gerwani digambarkan sebagai organisasi perempuan yang memiliki peran cukup besar pada peristiwa G30. Para srikandi kiri itu disebutkan melakukan penyiksaan atas para jenderal sebelum mereka dikuburkan di sebuah sumur di daerah Lubang Buaya, Jakarta.

“Tubuh para djenderal itu telah dirusak, mata ditjungkil dan sementara itu ada yang dipotong kemaluan mereka....Sukarelawan-sukarelawan Gerwani telah bermain-main dengan para djenderal, dengan menggosok-gosokan kemaluan mereka ke kemaluan sendiri” (hlm. 81).

Gerwani sebagai sekumpulan perempuan yang memiliki ritual khusus dalam melakukan penyiksaan terhadap para jenderal itu. “Bahkan menurut sumber yang dapat dipertjaya, orang-orang Gerwani menaritari telanjang di depan korban-korban mereka, tingkah laku mereka mengingatkan kita pada upatjara kanibalisme yang dilakukan suku-suku primitif berabad-abad yang lalu. Marilah kita serahkan pada kaum wanita untuk mengadili moral kewanitaan orang-orang Gerwani yang bermoral bedjat lebih buruk dari binatang” (hlm. 82).

Dalam Istana Jiwa penggambaran tentang Gerwani berbanding terbalik dengan apa yang ditulis dalam versi Orde Baru di atas mengenai hal organisasi perempuan PKI tersebut. “Sehabis membaca koran, bola matanya seperti mau melompat keluar. Dahinya berkerut dan keringat dingin membalur tubuhnya. Air mata hangat meredam bola matanya. “Penistaan,”keluhnya” (hlm. 82).

Para korban ini ada yang terpaksa kehilangan mimpi dan berhenti berharap, kecuali terus menjalani kehidupan mereka dengan sebaik-baiknya. “Kirtani berdiri selama lebih satu jam menunggu jawaban....Tetapi cahaya bola matanya tidak bisa menyembunyikan kesedihan, kebimbangan, dan ketakutan yang mengalir bersama sel-sel darah merah di tubuhnya yang tidak gemuk juga tidak langsing” (hlm. 123)

Kekerasan psikis terhadap kaum perempuan juga ditampilkan Pudji Aswati dalam “Surat Untuk Anaku” yang mengungkapkan rasa ketakutan yang luar biasa dialami oleh seorang anak perempuan berusia 5 tahun. Dalam usia yang masih kecil, ia harus menyaksikan rumahnya dikepung oleh segerombolan pemuda dengan mengacung-acungkan golok dan clurit. Para pemuda itu menyuruh ia dan keluarganya keluar dan membakar rumahnya.

“suatu hari pada tahun 1965, segerombolan pemuda datang mengepung rumah kami sambil mengacung-acungkan golok dan clurit. Gerombolan itu berteriak-teriak menyuruh kami keluar, mereka seperti orang kesurupan, menyeramkan. Umurku 5 tahun, gadis mungil yang gemuk dan lucu, dengan kulit bersih. Aku sangat ketakutan dan menangis, berada dalam gendongan Inem, pembantu kami. Bapak tidak ada di rumah. Tiba-tiba api sudah menyala di mana-mana. Kami berdua bersembunyi di belakang almari dekat dapur. Mas Hardika, kakakku yang berumur 10 tahun, ber-usaha melindungiku dengan berdiri di depanku. Aku menggigil ketakutan dan sudah tidak bisa menangis lagi. Kakak menyuruhku berdoa. Ibu berganti pakaian lusuh agar tidak dikenali, sebelum pergi menyelamatkan diri ia menitipkan kami kepada tetangga sebelah. Untunglah tetangga kami, seorang militer berpangkat Laksamana, berhasil menyelamatkan kami. Rumah itu akhirnya terbakar habis. Sejak itu sering terbayang akan gerombolan galak dan pembakaran rumah kami. Ketika terjadi kerusuhan bulan Mei 1998 di Jakarta, kembali terbayang peristiwa itu, badanku menggigil, lemas, nafas sesak”.

Lebih lanjut, Seno Gumira Ajidarma dalam cerpennya “Rembulan Dalam Capuccino” mengungkapkan “Tidak sedikit orang yang hidup dengan kutukan betapa ibunya telah menjadi setan jalang yang memotong-motong alat kelamin lelaki sambil menyanyi dan menari, dan karena itu berhak disiksa dan diperkosa, padahal semua itu merupakan kebohongan terbesar di muka bumi. Hidup ini bisa begitu buruk bagi orang baik-baik meskipun tidak mempunyai kesalahan samasekali. Tanpa pembelaan sama sekali.² Tanpa pembelaan. Tanpa...” (hlm 4-5)

Kekerasan psikis juga ditampilkan oleh Triyanto Triwikromo dalam karyanya “Bunga Busuk” yang diterbitkan Jawa Pos. Ia mengungkapkan penderitaan yang dialami oleh seorang anak yang terus mencari ibunya. Pertama, ia harus menerima tuduhan bahwa ibunya hanyalah perempuan busuk yang menyiksa para jenderal sambil membawakan Tarian Harum Bunga dan menyanyikan lagi Genjer-genjer.

“Dari percakapan para serdadu di rumah Mayor Prakosa, kau hanya tahu mereka hanyalah gerombolan perempuan busuk yang menyilet-nyilet tubuh enam jenderal dan satu perwira. Kau bahkan mendengar dari para perempuan sepuh sebaya Maria, mereka mencungkil

mata orang-orang yang tak berdaya sambil membawakan Tarian Harum Bunga dan menyayikan lagu “Genjer-genjer”.

Kedua, ia harus menyaksikan data, foto-foto, dan film-film dokumenter yang menampilkan mayat-mayat perempuan yang dibayonet atau dijerat lehernya dibuang ke sungai-sungai. Keadaan ini membuatnya cemas luar biasa karena ia belum dapat menemukan dan mengetahui keadaan ibunya.

“Kau dapatkan juga data dan foto-foto, serta film-film dokumenter betapa setelah Oktober 1965, di sungai-sungai mengapung-apung mayat para perempuan yang dibayonet atau dijerat lehernya. Sungai jadi anyir dan amis. Sungai jadi tempat pembuangan tubuh-tubuh membusuk penuh lintah. Beberapa kuburan massal untuk gerwani juga sudah digali, tetapi kau tetap tidak menemukan jejak ibumu. Kau tidak menemukan tanda-tanda di tubuh-tubuh itu. Ya, ada tanda-tanda khusus di leher dan paha kanan ibumu sebagaimana diceritakan Maria kepadamu. Kau pun menduga segala jejak tampaknya sengaja dihapus. Beberapa tubuh memang mirip tubuh ibumu, tetapi kaki kanannya telah hilang. Kau menemukan potongan kaki itu di sebuah foto, tetapi sama sekali tidak bertahi lalat. Kau bergegas ke pusat kota dan membenamkan dirimu ke perpustakaan. Kau acak-acak lagi semua buku tentang gerwani dan komunisme. Kau membaca apa pun yang berkait dengan pembuangan mayat-mayat gerwani di sungai-sungai. Kau pandang setiap foto yang menggambarkan penggalan kuburan massal”.

Ketiga, ia akhirnya harus menerima kenyataan bahwa ibunya memang sudah meninggal dunia setelah ia melahirkan di penjara. “...Di kamp mengerikan itu dia hamil. Karena istri sang komandan kasihan pada perempuan tapol cantik ini, begitu lahir bayi itu pun diadopsi. Nama bayi gerwani itu Sekar Arum, bunga yang wangi”.

Kekerasan Seksual

Dalam sebuah tulisannya, Arie Widodo mengungkapkan fakta kekerasan seksual terhadap perempuan yang terjadi pada periode tahun 1965 dan 1966 sungguh memprihatinkan. “Dokumen tersebut mencatat ada 1.192 kasus kekerasan yang menimpa perempuan yang diduga terlibat peristiwa politik 1965 yang terjadi di Jakarta, Bali, Padang, Lampung, Palembang, Yogya, Solo, Madiun, Kalimantan Timur. Kasus kekerasan seksual terdiri dari hamil akibat perkosaan (9 kasus), kekerasan seksual (selain perkosaan dan perbukaan seks (60 kasus), pemaksaan aborsi (1 kasus), perbudakan seksual (21 kasus), perkosaan (74 kasus).

Kekerasan seksual ini digambarkan Seno Gumira Ajidarma dalam karyanya “Kalatidha” dengan menampilkan anak perempuan yang menjadi gila setelah seluruh keluarganya dibantai karena kepala keluarga dianggap aktivis PKI. Ketika anak perempuan ini tumbuh dewasa, dia ditangkap petugas rumah sakit jiwa dibawa ke rumah sakit jiwa dengan harapan ia dapat disembuhkan. Akan tetapi kenyataan berbicara lain. Di rumah sakit jiwa tersebut, perempuan ini bukan disembuhkan penyakitnya, malah ia mengalami kekerasan seksual yang dilakukan oleh para petugas dan pimpinan rumah sakit tersebut.

“Ketika si anak perempuan itu tumbuh dewasa, dan ditangkap petugas rumah sakit jiwa, yang kemudian memandikannya untuk diberi seragam sebagai orang gila, ia menerimanya dengan terpaksa. Tapi, ketika petugas rumah sakit jiwa itu sadar bahwa secara fisik perempuan itu cantik, terutama ketika mereka memandikannya, dan mereka memperkosanya secara bergiliran, termasuk pimpinan RSJ itu, lalu siapa yang pantas disebut gila? Perempuan itu atau petugas rumah sakit jiwa?”(hlm. 25).

Kekerasan seksual juga ditampilkan Triyanto Triwikromo dalam karyanya “Bunga Busuk” yang diterbitkan Jawa Pos. Ia mengungkapkan penderitaan yang dialami oleh seorang perempuan yang harus meregang nyawa setelah diperkosa dan hamil. Kemudian ia meninggal dunia setelah melahirkan seorang bayi perempuan “Di kamp mengerikan itu dia hamil. Karena istri sang komandan kasihan pada perempuan tapol cantik ini, begitu lahir bayi itu pun diadopsi. Nama bayi gerwani itu Sekar Arum, bunga yang wangi”.

Pandangan Dunia Pengarang

Seno Gumira Ajidarma dalam novelnya *Kalatidha* menggunakan perspektif seorang anak kecil yang terpesona pada kebun bambu yang berkabut. Anak kecil itu sama sekali tidak tahu-menahu tentang peristiwa 1965 itu, tapi ia dapat merasakan sendiri bagaimana nasib orang-orang yang diburu dan dibantai beramai-ramai. Ia juga tahu dari berita-berita koran yang terbit saat itu, yang berhasil dikliping oleh kakak perempuannya. Koran-koran itu, dalam penilaian tokoh utama, menggunakan bahasa yang sangat buruk dan pesan yang sangat jelas terbaca. Sadar atau tidak, media massa Indonesia saat itu telah diperalat penguasa untuk membenarkan sebuah pesta pembantaian. Dalam novel *Kalatidha*, kita bisa menangkap *message* atau pesan yang sama dengan novel-novel Seno yang lainnya, yakni pesan yang disampaikan oleh orang-orang kecil yang terpinggir, tertindas, korban kekerasan politik, dan semacamnya. Suara-suara itu tentu saja

menjadi bahan refleksi bagi pembacanya, minimal agar kebiadaban yang pernah terjadi di awal era Orde Baru tidak terulang lagi. Sedetik pun jangan!

Lebih lanjut, Seno Gumira Ajidarma dalam karyanya “Rembulan Dalam Capuccino” menyampaikan pandangan dunianya dengan bercerita “Tidak sedikit orang yang hidup dengan kutukan betapa ibunya telah menjadi setan jalang yang memotong-motong alat kelamin lelaki sambil menyanyi dan menari, dan karena itu berhak disiksa dan diperkosa, padahal semua itu merupakan kebohongan terbesar di muka bumi. Hidup ini bisa begitu buruk bagi orang baik-baik meskipun tidak mempunyai kesalahan sama sekali. Tanpa pembelaan sama sekali.² Tanpa pembelaan. Tanpa...” (hlm 4-5)

Putu Oka Sukanta dalam karyanya “Istana Jiwa”, ia mengajak pembaca mempertanyakan keterlibatan PKI dalam peristiwa Tragedi Kemanusiaan 30 September tersebut seperti diungkapkannya sebagai berikut.

“....Ini tidak mungkin perbuatan PKI. PKI punya anggota luar biasa banyaknya. Tiga juta. Bagaimana mungkin bisa seperti ini? Pasti ada perlawanan. PKI kan sudah menempuh jalan evolusi, bukan revolusi lagi. Bukan perjuangan bersenjata, tapi perjuangan parlementer. PKI punya wakilnya di parlemen, punya menteri di kabinet” (hlm. 78)

Putu Oka Sukanta juga mengajukan argumennya melalui percakapan para tokoh anggota CGMI, yaitu Yono, Didik, dan Maria sebagai berikut. “Gua punya pikiran lain Yon. Siapapun seharusnya sadar benar bahwa gerakan ini bukan dibikin oleh Partai. Kita semua tahu bahwa gerakan ini menyalahi teori Marxisme Leninisme. Gua yakin pimpinan Partai tahu ajaran pokok revolusi itu.” (hlm. 141)

Triyanto Triwikromo dalam karyanya “Bunga Busuk” menyampaikan pandangan dunianya mengenai peristiwa G30S PKI tentang pembunuhan dan penyiksaan terhadap enam jenderal dan satu perwira. Ia berharap peristiwa yang masih merupakan misteri ini dapat terungkap kebenarannya seperti disampaikannya “Akan tetapi kau bukanlah manusia bodoh yang begitu saja percaya kepada bisikan perempuan tua yang hendak sekarat. Sebagai perempuan yang memuja otak, kau kemudian keluar masuk perpustakaan dan membolak-balik buku-buku sejarah yang tampak tak pernah dibaca itu. Kau juga tidak henti-henti mencari berbagai kemungkinan jawaban persoalan yang kini membelitmu lewat situs-situs sejarah”.

Ia juga menyatakan dalam karyanya ini bahwa “sejarah memang tidak pernah memihak orang-orang kalah. Kau juga yakin sejarah tidak akan menulis kisah perempuan yang ditindas oleh serdadu, di mana pun itu”. Dalam kekerasan yang terjadi saat itu cenderung adanya upaya menghilangkan jejak seperti diungkapkannya “Kau pun menduga segala jejak tampaknya sengaja dihapus. Beberapa tubuh memang mirip tubuh ibumu, tetapi kaki kanannya telah hilang. Kau menemukan potongan kaki itu di sebuah foto, tetapi sama sekali tidak bertahi alat”.

Kesimpulan

Berdasarkan analisis kekerasan gender pada tahun 1965 dalam karya sastra, terdapat kesimpulan yang dapat ditarik sebagai berikut. Pertama, Kekerasan gender terhadap kaum perempuan merupakan sebuah fenomena sosial yang terjadi sebagai dampak peristiwa G30S PKI dengan terbunuhnya enam jenderal dan satu perwira; Kedua, Kekerasan gender terhadap perempuan mencakup kekerasan fisik, kekerasan psikis, dan kekerasan seksual; Ketiga, Pandangan dunia pengarang mengenai kekerasan gender sebagai fenomena sosial yang diderita oleh kaum perempuan terungkap dalam karyanya, dalam hal ini pengarang berperan sebagai juru bicara kelompok yang telah menjadi korban kekerasan gender.

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Psychological Disorder Experienced by Drum in the Film *Novel Tanpa Huruf R* (A Study of Psychoanalysis and Literature)

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Abstract

Film as one literary works can be a tool to gain an understanding of human behavior. Moreover, the characters of a film reflect the attitudes of human being in a reality and daily life. In order to understand psychoanalysis and the attitudes of Indonesian, this paper discuss a psychological disorder experienced by the main character, namely Drum. Drum experienced some tragic tragedies in his life. He and his parents had been evicted from their village for unclear reason, when he was a child. At the same time, His mother fell into the sea and died. In his adolescent, he lost his father because of crashed by a car. Thereafter, when he reached adulthood, his girlfriend who is a Chinese was killed in a monastery. These experiences affected his psyche. By that, he suffers mentally ill or psychological disorder. This paper attempts to reveal the psychological disorder experienced by Drum. The data is in the form of audio visual. By discussing the scenes supported by dialogues shown in the film, it concludes that Drum experiences one of anxiety disorders classes, that is posttraumatic stress disorder.

Keywords: *psychoanalysis, psychological disorder, anxiety disorder, Novel Tanpa Huruf R.*

Introduction

Study about psychoanalysis means study about human behavior. When study about psychoanalysis, we can see the key concepts offered by psychoanalysis about human experience. It means that psychoanalytic concepts have become part of daily lives. If psychoanalysis can help us better understand about human behavior, then it must certainly be able to help us understand literary works, which are about human behavior (Tyson, 2006: 11). One of the popular literary works in recent time is film. Film has become such an integral part of our culture that it seems to be the mirror in which we see ourselves reflected every day (Wedding, Boyd & Niemiec, 2010: 1). In a film we can see human behavior, as well as we can see how psychoanalytic concepts reflected in our daily lives. Films are especially important in influencing the public perception of mental illness because many people are relatively uninformed about the problems of people with mental disorders (Wedding, Boyd & Niemiec, 2010: 2).

Moreover, a film doesn't reflect all of psychoanalytic concepts. We won't find every psychoanalytic concept represented in every literary work (Tyson, 2006: 35). Our job is to see which concepts are operating in the film in such a way as to enrich our understanding of the film and yield a meaningful, coherent psychoanalytic interpretation. The discussion of this paper focuses on the psychoanalytic concepts on the film *Novel Tanpa Huruf R*, especially which are experienced by Drum.

Drum (Agastya Kandou) is the main character of the film *Novel Tanpa Huruf R* directed by Aria Kusumadewa in 2003. He is a fascinating character that suffers mental illness. The director does not provide any specific name of the illness Drum suffers from. He intentionally gave the character varying symptoms the mentally ill. In this paper, the author would like to closely examine those various symptoms and classify them into possible psychological disorders, especially anxiety disorder.

Discussion

Plot

Novel Tanpa Huruf R tells the journey of Drum's life, a man with a dark past and tortuous. Various bitter experiences suffered by him. It started when he and his parents had been evicted from their village for unclear reason. They ran to the coast and rowed a boat without any destination. His mother fell into the sea and died. That happened when Drum was a child, thus making him unable to remember his mother's face. When Drum was growing up, his father died before his eyes because of being hit by a car. Several years later, he had a girlfriend. Drum love her very much. His girlfriend is a Chinese. Bad luck turned back to Drum. The lover died after being killed in a riot. Those some tragedies made Drum stressful. He often expresses his great sorrow by complaining to God.

When he reached adulthood, Drum worked as a criminal journalists and novelist. Drum's novels usually themed standard and pulp. This is exactly what makes Air Sunyi interested in interviewing Drum to

be used as material from her thesis. It turns interviewing Drum is not easy. However, through various efforts, Air finally could meet and interview Drum.

Unfortunately Air's hope to interview Drum turned into a nightmare. As it turns out in the middle of the interview, Drum confine Air with two hands tied in bed. Drum did it because he felt face-owned Air is similar to her mother's face disappeared in the sea. Air said that the writings produced by Drum nothing more than garbage. It turns out the drum using Air's face in order to find her mother's face which has lost at sea. Air wanted to free from the kidnapping. She bit Drum's finger. After a struggle, Air could escape from Drum. At the end of the story, Drum sent a novel to Air entitled "Novel Tanpa Huruf R".

Psychological disorder

A psychological disorder is *an ongoing dysfunctional pattern of thought, emotion, and behavior that causes significant distress, and that is considered deviant in that person's culture or society* (Butcher, Mineka, & Hooley, 2007 in Carroll, 2011). People with psychological disorders are stigmatized by the people around them, resulting in shame and embarrassment, as well as prejudice and discrimination against them (Carroll, 2011: 358). Air Sunyi in this film is the symbol of the discrimination against Drum. Air Sunyi says that the Novel Drum wrote is a bad novel because it disregards human morals. Moreover, the characters in the novel have some bad characteristics, 'brainy animals' (a term that is used by Drum in his novel to characterize his characters who do not care about humans being rights).

"Saya sudah baca beberapa buku kamu. Pikiran kamu cukup tajam. Tapi buat saya, sorry, kamu mengabaikan moral. Berapa juta orang Indonesia yang menyerap pikiran kamu, dan mereka terpengaruh. Akan lahir manusia Indonesia dengan pola pikir yang sama seperti tokoh-tokoh dalam novelmu. Binatang-binatang berakal."

(I've read several of your books. Your ideas are sharp enough. But, for me, sorry, you're disregarding human morals. How many millions Indonesian people are absorbing your ideas? And they're being influenced by those ideas. There will be a generation with a same pattern of thinking like the characters in your novel. 'brainy animals'.) (Disc 2: 11.03)

Air Sunyi assumes that the content of Drum's novel can destroy the moral of Indonesian people. She also argues that Drum as the writer of the Novel should be beheaded.

"Novelmu berpotensi besar merusak moral bangsa. Bahkan aku berpendapat, penulisnya harus dipancung. Apa kamu pikir moral bangsa ini sudah rusak semua?"

(Your novel has a big potential to destroy this country morals. More than that, I really think, the writer has to be beheaded. Do you think all the morals in this country have all been destroyed?) (Disc 2: 12.40)

In the other hand, Drum couldn't accept Air Sunyi's judgement on his novel. He doesn't think that his novel disregards human morals. On the contrary, he argues that he write about moral.

"Aku justru berpikir sebaliknya. Aku menulis tentang moral. Kita harus berdiri pada dimensi nilai yang mutlak. Bebas dari dunia empiris yang selalu berubah. Kamu akan memahami fenomena itu jika kamu memiliki pikiran yang utuh, dan tidak terkotak-kotak."

(I'm thinking the other way around. I'm writing about morals. We have to stand in an exact dimension. Free from empirical world which tends to change everytime. You will understand the phenomena if you have an open mind, and not be put in a certain category.) (Disc 2: 11.39)

He opined that there is no more morals of Indonesian generation can be destroyed, because all of them have already broken.

"Masih adakah moral bangsa ini yang bisa dirusak?"

(Is there still any morals left that can be even more destroyed?) (Disc 2: 12.33)

However, Drum's thought about the broken of Indonesian's moral does not come in sudden, without any backgrounds. He thinks that way because of his experiences, seeing the attitude of people around him. The events and accidents he has experienced since he was a child and when he worked as a criminal journalist. The expulsion of him and his parents from his village (Disc 1: 05.37); his family's friend, Talang, who were killed in an interracial conflict (Disc 1: 09.08); his father's rebellion against the

government who grabbed people’s land (Disc 1: 14.00); a woman who threw a durian to another woman’s face (Disc 1: 28.40); the slaughter of a family (Disc 1: 25.25) and his girlfriend, Angel (Disc 1: 46.30). Those all experiences built Drum’s thought about ‘brainy animal’, people who do not care about other people and their human rights. That’s why Drum says,

“Sejarah seharusnya berkembang. Tetapi kehidupan di sekelilingku hanya berulang. Konflik ideology, perang antar golongan, dan perebutan kekuasaan di antara binatang-binatang berakal. Dan mereka terus melahirkan korban.”

(History should be in progress. But my life is repeated by. The same ideological conflicts, the war between different beliefs, and the power grabbings between those “brainy animals” that brings innocent victims) (Disc 1: 26.24)

“Negara tempat saya hidup, mengenal lima agama. Tapi bangsa ini bangsa yang sakit. Keadaan tidak menjadi lebih baik. Tapi malah mengembangkan kekacauan yang terjadi.”
(The country that I live, have known a few religions. But this country is a sickness country. The situation is not getting better. But it’s developing the chaos.) (Disc 1: 46.35)

The bio-psycho-social model of illness

Identifying the cause of psychological disorder suffered by Drum is identifying the bio-psycho-social model of illness. This model shows that psychological disorder can be caused by three factors. This is a way of understanding disorder that assumes that disorder is caused by biological, psychological, and social factors (Carroll, 2011: 359).

The *biological component* of the bio-psycho-social model refers to the influences on disorder that come from the functioning of the individual’s body. Particularly important are genetic characteristics that make some people more vulnerable to a disorder than others and the influence of neurotransmitters. The *psychological component* of the bio-psycho-social model refers to the influences that come from the individual, such as patterns of negative thinking and stress responses. The *social component* of the bio-psycho-social model refers to the influences on disorder due to social and cultural factors such as socioeconomic status, homelessness, abuse, and discrimination. (Carroll, 2011: 359)

Drum’s psychological disorder is not caused by biological or social component. Drum, with his violent experiences reflect that his psychological disorder is caused by psychological component. Thus, refers to the influences that come from his negative thinking about people around him whom he called as ‘brainy animal’ and his stress responses to his fate that lost people he loved.

Anxiety disorder

There are at least twenty classes of psychological disorder which is formulated by American Psychiatric Association (2013). Carroll (2011: 361) states that another difficulty in diagnosing psychological disorders is that they frequently occur together. Some people suffer from one disorder also suffer at the same time from other disorders. Yet, this paper won’t discuss the whole classification of the psychological disorder, instead, it focuses on the discussion of anxiety disorder.

Anxiety disorders include disorders that share features of excessive fear and anxiety and related behavioral disturbances. *Fear* is the emotional response to real or perceived imminent threat, whereas *anxiety* is anticipation of future threat. Obviously, these two states overlap, but they also differ, with fear more often associated with surges of autonomic arousal necessary for fight or flight, thoughts of immediate danger, and escape behaviors, and anxiety more often associated with muscle tension and vigilance in preparation for future danger and cautious or avoidant behaviors.
(American Psychiatric Association, 2013: 189)

Anxiety disorders commonly happen. We may feel anxiety when we’re facing an important event, such as an exam or job interview, or when we perceive some threat or danger, such as waking to strange sounds in the night. However, such everyday anxiety is generally occasional, mild and brief, while the anxiety felt by the person with an anxiety disorder occurs frequently, is more intense, and lasts longer—up to hours, or even days. (Rector, Bourdeau, Kitchen, & Massiah, 2008: 1).

A certain amount of anxiety is normal and necessary; it can lead someone to act on his/her concerns and protect him/her from harm. In some situations, anxiety can even be essential to the survival (Rector, Bourdeau, Kitchen, & Massiah, 2008: 4). If someone is walking in the street, then there is a car driven towards this person. He would immediately perceive danger, and coincidentally move. This normal anxiety response, called the “fight or flight” response, is what prompts you to either fight or flee from danger (Rector, Bourdeau, Kitchen, & Massiah, 2008: 4).

Whenever the fight or flight response is activated by danger, either real or imagined, it leads to changes in three “systems of functioning”: the way you think (cognitive), the way your body feels and works (physical), and the way you act (behavioural). How much these three systems change varies, depending on the person and the context. (Rector, Bourdeau, Kitchen, & Massiah, 2008: 4)

Cognitive: Attention shifts immediately and automatically to the potential threat. The effect on a person’s thinking can range from mild worry to extreme terror. *Physical:* Effects include heart palpitations or increased heart rate, shallow breathing, trembling or shaking, sweating, dizziness or lightheadedness, feeling “weak in the knees,” freezing, muscle tension, shortness of breath and nausea. *Behavioural:* People engage in certain behaviours and refrain from others as a way to protect themselves from anxiety (e.g., taking self-defence classes or avoiding certain streets after dark). (Rector, Bourdeau, Kitchen, & Massiah, 2008: 4-5)

The six main categories of anxiety disorders are *phobias*, *panic disorder* (with or without agoraphobia), *generalized anxiety disorder*, *obsessive-compulsive disorder*, *acute stress disorder* and *posttraumatic stress disorder* (American Psychiatric Association [APA], 2000 in Rector, Bourdeau, Kitchen, & Massiah, 2008: 2). From those six categories, Drum is identified experiencing posttraumatic disorder.

Posttraumatic stress disorder

Rector, Bourdeau, Kitchen, & Massiah, (2008: 11-12) based on American Psychiatric Association give a description of posttraumatic stress disorder. Posttraumatic stress disorder involves the development of characteristic symptoms following exposure to an extreme traumatic stressor. The person’s response to the event must involve intense fear, helplessness, or horror. Symptoms usually begin within three months of the trauma, although there may be a delay of months, or even years before the symptoms appear. The traumatic experience is repeatedly relived through intrusive memories, distressing dreams and flashbacks. Drum has some traumatic experiences. The expulsion of him and his parents from his village and the slaughter of a family are the most affects him. It was often shown flashback in this film. This traumatic affects when his father in a rebellion against the government. He feels fear. He hopes his father no longer oppose the government. He expresses the hope to his uncle.

“Dari dulu, bapak berurusan dengan pemerintah, keras kepala!”

(Dad has always been in conflict with the government. Stubborn!) (Disc 1: 17.15)

“Semua orang di kampung ini sudah memberikan sertifikatnya ke pemerintah. Kenapa bapak belum?”

(All of the people in this village have given their land certificates to the government. Why hasn’t my father?) (Disc 1: 17.38)

He also expresses his traumatic to his dog. He tied up his dog because he doesn’t want it killed by people. In the same time, he shares his feeling with his dog that the country is no longer give a space for him.

“Aku tahu kamu juga butuh kebebasan. Sebelumnya aku tidak pernah mengikat Sahid-Sahidku. Aku gak rela. Sayang lingkungan disini tidak memungkinkan untuk makhluk seperti kamu hidup. Sama seperti Negara ini. Ruang kebebasan untuk hidup makin sempit. Semoga kamu Sahid yang terakhir.”

(I know you need a freedom, too. Before, I never tied my Sahids. I don’t have the heart! Unfortunately, this environment doesn’t allow you to live freely. Like this country, the space to live freely is getting tight. I hope you will be my last Sahid.) (Disc 1: 29.48)

“Semua anjingku bernama Sahid. Sahidku yang pertama mati dibantai untuk dimakan. Sahidku yang kedua mati karena dibantai suatu keyakinan tertentu. Sahidku yang ketiga ya kamu. yang aku bingung, kalau kamu mati, Sahid mati atau kamu mati Sahid.”

(All my dogs are named Sahid. My first Sahid killed to be consumed by people. My second one was slaughtered because of a certain religious belief. And my third Sahid? That’s you. But what makes me confused, if you die, you are either be a ‘dead Sahid’ or ‘died as a martyr’.) (Disc 1: 42.01)

Drum express his disappointed to God because make him away from people he loved. This is shown when he lost his girlfriend, Angel, and in the end of the film.

“Sekarang giliran Angel yang kau ambil dariku, apa masih kurang yang lain? Aku bertanya kepadamu, tolong jawab!”

(This time you took Angel away from me. Don't you have enough already? I'm asking you. Please answer!) (Disc 1: 47.15)

“Ibu saya, Bapak saya, kekasih saya, bahkan anjing saya, semua yang saya miliki, semua yang saya kasih, itu semua diambil dari saya. Seringkali saya tidak terima, Papa. Seringkali hati ini berontak. Seumur hidup saya, saya tidak mengganggu orang lain. Saya tidak mau mengganggu orang lain. Tapi mengapa Tuhan mengambil kebahagiaan saya? Dan seandainya Tuhan saya gugat, apakah saya berdosa, Papa?”

(My mother, my father, my girlfriend, even my dogs, everything I own, everyone I loved, was all taken away from me. I often cannot accepted, Father. My heart is always rebellious. All my life, I never bothered people. I don't intend to bother other people. But why God takes away my happiness? Is it considered as a sin if I accuse God?) (Disc 2: 29.45)

Conclusion

Psychoanalysis can be found in everyday life because it relates to human behavior. Studying psychoanalysis can be done through analysis characters in a film. *Novel Tanpa Huruf R* is a film reflects psychological disorder experienced by the main character, Drum. His sorrows about losing people he loved his mother, his father, his girlfriend, and his dog make him suffers mentally ill. One of them is posttraumatic stress disorder which is in the umbrella of anxiety disorder.

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On Sympathizing and Ridiculing Victims of the Violent Past: Readers' Perspective on Linda Christanty's *Makan Malam* and Yusi Avianto Pareanom's *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan*

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Abstract

The aftermath from the alleged Indonesia Communist Party killings in 1965 to 1966 has been used in numerous cultural products including short stories. The tragedy in the massacre is told in different ways, using a contradictive approach, in Linda Christanty's *Makan Malam* and Yusi Avianto Pareanom's *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan*. The comedic approach in the later story arouses questions whether the mockery towards the subject of the story would establish a mockery toward the theme it carries. Having the same sense, both of the stories are analysed based on the *Sense and Intention* using Richard's theory of *Total Meaning*. The tragedy in the first short story and the comedy in the second short story are both used to highlight the same intention. Whether the subject of the stories was sympathized or ridiculed, both the tragedy and the comedy elevate the theme carried by the two short stories.

Keywords: *Makan Malam, Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan, tragedy, comedy, sense, intention*

Introduction

The killings of 1965 to 1966 took place in Java, Sumatra, and Bali was executed by the military under the command of General Soeharto. The massacre happened during 7 months period, from October 1965 to April 1966, killed 500 thousands to 1 million allegedly Indonesian Communist Party members and sympathizers at the least. It is one of the worst "domestic mass murders after World War II, rivalling cases such as in Bosnia, East Timor, China, and so on," (Anderson, 2014).

Equally the case is the fact that the purging not only impacted those who had direct affiliation with the party, but also, in the aftermath, their family. It bereaved them of the bread winner. Above all, the event eventually made them formally discriminated by the law. The obvious instance was the policy famously called 'environmental cleansing' (*bersih lingkungan*) which barred them from any governmental employment such as civil servant and other mass-influencing occupations such as statesmen and religious leaders. This rule, derived from the decree of People's Consultative Assembly (TAP) No. XXV/MPRS/1966, deprived a lot of supposedly 'environmentally unclean' people (*orang-orang 'tidak bersih lingkungan'*) from their rights. More still, even though not formally admitted as the former one but nevertheless equally obvious, was the act of marginalizing and ostracizing such people by society. In fact, the former strengthen the later. These three constitute the violation of human rights done to the family of the allegedly Indonesian Communist Party members and sympathizers.

The massacre and its aftermath tremendously violated human rights. However, it was not immediately known widely. The control the state had on mass media and the systematic indoctrination of people during the New Order regime were the reasons for this. There was an 'enforced silence', to use Geoffrey Robinson term (in Schonhardt, 2012). And yet, after the New Order regime collapsed, voices began to emerge. It was particularly apparent in their manifestation of the works of arts.

Like many other mass murder in the world, the 1965 event had been transformed into wide variety of art genre. Arguably the most famous one is film. In the light of the present moment, *The Look of Silence* (2014) is notably the most popular one. It deals with the above mention family aspect of the massacre's aftermath. Less popular is the transformation to literary works because Indonesian people largely are not readers, as indicated with different context by B. Andersen (2014). Among such works are *Makan Malam* (2004) and *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan* (2011). Collected in *Kuda Terbang Maria Pinto* and *Rumah Kopi Singa Tertawa* respectively, both short stories are written by two contemporary Indonesia writers, namely Linda Christanty and Yusi Avianto Pareanom.

The short stories deal with the topic of communist members' and sympathizers' family after the massacre. This topic is essentially a subject more fitted to tragedy. Explanation on the term 'tragedy' used in this study and the argument that the subject of family related to 1965 is tragic will be elaborated on the next section. However, the two short stories deal with tragic subject in different ways: one treats it the way a tragic subject properly treated, while the other treat it as if the subject is comic. This difference of treatment is particularly interesting since the two short stories are similar in their focus: a family deprived of father figure because of the riot in 1965. Along with the subject matter the stories deal with, and the fact that literary genre are less popular compare, for example, to film, and the difference make this study worth embarking.

The horror of the aftermath of violent past should not be taken lightly. Cultural products raising the theme of the 1965 to 1966 killings in Indonesia mostly sympathize towards the victimized character. Yet, some of them use a different take in narrating the story. This paper is written to analyse how two short stories raise similar theme using different ways in building meanings and whether ridiculing the character diminish the meaning.

To argue that both short stories have different aim this study will use the framework introduced by I. A. Richards about Total Meaning. The existence of the difference can further be enforced by borrowing terms from the western dramatic tradition, namely tragedy and comedy, specifically using the distinction made by J.A. Cuddon. Meanwhile, there has been widely accepted notion that in achieving its aim, tragedy hallows its subject, while comedy ridicules its subject.

Adapting Richard’s *Total Meaning*: From Poetry to Prose

In his book, *Practical Criticism*, Richard introduces the theory of Total Meaning. His point is that total meaning is compromised by several meanings. Even though his book specifically deals with poetry, he asserts that in every mode of communication there never only single meaning. Thus, included in this are prose piece, political speech, and any everyday utterances. Taking these into account, the short stories analysed in this paper indeed fall into the category.

Richard (1930) elaborates the total meaning into 4 basic meanings, namely *Sense*, *Feeling*, *Tone*, and *Intention*. Firstly, *Sense* is the basic meaning of all form of communication. It is the content of what is said. Words become the tools to direct hearers’ attention. They elaborate some “states of affairs” (Richard, 1930) upon which the hearers’ attention is directed. This particular meaning involves the hearers’ consideration upon the construction of meaning. Secondly, *Feeling* refers to the speaker’s, if it is in speaking, feeling about the content of he/she is saying. Thirdly, *Tone* is the speaker’s attitude toward his/her listener. Word arrangement and diction are the concrete manifestation of this. A speaker will consider these two items based on how he/she sees his relation to his/her hearers. Last, *Intention* describes the speaker’s intention in speaking the content of his/her utterances. It is “the effect h[er] is endeavouring to promote,” (Richards, 1930). It is portrayed subconsciously in the choice of words used by the speaker. These four meanings compromise the total meaning of every instance of communication, be it on verbal or non-verbal communication. This particular study focuses on the analysis based on sense and intention due to the focus on the impact the two short stories bring on the readers.

On the Tragedy and Comedy of the Subject

This study uses the term tragedy and comedy. Although both terms closely related to drama, in this study, they are not referring to any dramatic form. Instead, the terms are broaden and used to refer any piece of literature that embodies the concept of tragedy and comedy. The distinguishing line between the two is the effect that is aimed at. J. A. Cuddon’s *Dictionary of Literary Terms* (2013) provides concise insight on this. On the one hand, tragedy aimed at “pity and fear”. On the other hand, comedy aimed at laugh and merriness by “amus[ing] and divert[ing]”. Thus, every work of literature that aimed at arousing pity and fear, or at least one of them, is tragedy. In the same way, every work of literature that aimed at arousing laughter is comedy.

At the same time, tragedy and comedy also differ in their traditional subject treatment. The characters in tragedy are traditionally considered as “elevated character[s]”, whereas in comedy the characters are “low or morally defective” (Cuddon, 2013). This later difference is crucially related to the former one: characters that are likely to be pitied, or arousing sympathy, are those who are virtuous but suffer, rather than those who are morally defective and fully engaged in triviality. In tragedy, in order to achieve its aim, the virtuous character is often hallowed. Conversely, in comedy, in order to achieve the aim, the morally defective characters are more likely to be ridiculed.

Now the term *tragic* will be clarified. To do so, the noun of the adjective will be clarified first. To begin with, the term is not used to refer the adjective of the noun (*tragedy*) explained in the previous section. It is not to mean a literary work that arouses pity and fear. Instead, the term is used in this section to modify events from real life.

Many events in the human history have been termed a tragedy. For example, from the ancient Greek the most famous one is the Trojan War, while in Indonesia, the 1965-1966 event is the most famous one. The 1965-1966 event has been classified as a tragedy repeatedly. However, the aftermath of 1965, especially related to the family of communist members’ and sympathizers’ has not yet been called as a tragedy conspicuously. Thus, it is in need of clarification.

In the first chapter of *The Death of Tragedy*, Steiner established the key concepts of tragedy. There are three relevant concepts for this study. The first concept is that a tragedy contains “personal suffering” or “private anguish”. The second one is that the suffering does not come from one’s own fault. Thirdly, that suffering will never be compensated materially and justly. “Tragedy is irreparable.”

Meanwhile, relevant concept of tragedy can also be found in J. A. Cuddon’s *Dictionary of Literary Terms* (2013). Originally the Classical Greek notion of tragedy requires the suffering one to be of “king, or a queen, or a prince”, but since the 16th Century, it has greatly changed, so that “we now have grief, the

misery, the disaster, of the ordinary person.” In short, every event can be called tragedy even if the suffering belongs to ordinary person.

Bearing the concepts in my mind, the subject of communist members’ and sympathizers’ family post-1965 can be classified as a tragedy. Firstly, it contains tremendous personal suffering by many Indonesian families. Secondly, they largely are not responsible for what has been wrought upon them. Thirdly, any attempt of the government to compensate the families’ years of suffering will not be just, since from the beginning they were never responsible. Lastly, the subject is a tragedy, even though the families are not of great standings, because the notion of tragedy has altered from its original Greek notion. In short, the subject of communist members’ and sympathizers’ family post-1965 is tragic. It follows automatically that the subject is more proper to be treated as a tragedy should be. The same is true that any piece of literature dealing with the subject should aim at arousing pity and fear.

***Makan Malam and Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan* in Summary**

Makan Malam tells a sad story about the daughter (-cum-narrator) and wife of a supposedly communist party members’ who was forced into exile because of political reason in the beginning of the New Order Regime in Indonesia. The main event in the story is the return of the exiled men to his long-left and long-waiting family in Indonesia because the collapse of the regime (The wife: “*Pertanyaan itu juga yang ada di kepalaku selama lebih dari tiga puluh tahun ini.*” (“That question has been on my mind for more than thirty years.”) (p. 26). The story ends with two things: first, the man goes again because he already has a new family in Russia; second, the wife experience mental and subsequent physical collapse because of intense grief, while the daughter gradually forget the man who is never quite become her emotional (as oppose to biological) father.

Meanwhile, *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan* is a three-page amusing story about Sentot, a man who receives a kind of divine inspiration to do strange things. One of which is to stand at the east end of Kampung Karangapi, East Semarang, and swing his left foot. He will have to start at early dusk and stop at early dawn. The end of the seemingly absurd story is the death of Sentot by a mysterious shoot around the time of the total eclipse in 1983. In the context of Indonesia history, it is around the peak of *Petrus (Penembak Misterius)*. Between the beginning and end of the story the anonymous narrator fills out some information about Sentot, which together with the ending form the core of the story: that his father was arrested after the 1965 riot and gone without clear information, that his mother died in pregnancy soon after the arresting of his father out of shock, and that his wife runs away just before he starts to have the divine inspiration.

***Makan Malam and Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan*: Different Intention for an Identical Sense**

Makan Malam and *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan* have different Intention for an identical Sense will be elaborated using the framework of Total Meaning by I. A. Richard. Each story will be then classified into either tragedy or comedy. Furthermore, bearing in mind that the subject is tragic, it will then be discussed the possible reasons for the different Intention, especially focusing on the comedy, since there is a discrepancy between the tragic subject and the comic treatment. Finally, it will be argued that although differing in the Intention, both stories actually have the same purpose, namely to voice one aspects of the massacre aftermath in favour of the supposedly communist members’ and sympathizers’ family.

Both short stories have the same Sense. The similarity can be detailed as follow. First, the father are absent because of the 1965 events. In *Makan Malam* he was exiled to Russia for thirty years and got “a new life” (Christanty, 2004); while in *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan* he was arrested by the military. This absent leads to the second similarity: the mother’s mental collapse and subsequently physical collapse. In both stories, the effect leads to the death of the mother figure. Next, both stories also focus itself to the offspring. The daughter for the former, while the son for the latter. Finally, much goes on in both stories to suggest the effect of the absence of father to the offspring. However, with all the similarities, both stories treat their subject differently. The Intentions of both stories are different.

One the one hand, the effect *Makan Malam* wants to achieve is to arouse sympathy. There are two ways by which the story tries to achieve this. First, it foregrounds quietness and melancholy as the dominant atmosphere. Consider the opening line for one indication of quietness: “*Kami makan malam bersama, aku dan Ibu. Ya, makan malam saja kami bersama.*” (“We are having dinner together, mother and I. Yes, only at dinner we eat together.”) (p. 21). This line is repeated, refrain-like, with a little alteration throughout the ten-page story, reinforcing the quiet atmosphere.

The quietness is also strengthened with the spatial and temporal setting of the story. The events in the story all happens in the same time of day and place (with the exception of flashbacks): at dinner time (which is by definition happen when the night falls), suggesting more quite time than at day time when most people are at their daily activities; and at their house, located at suburb, suggesting the spatial background is without the noise and uproar of urban area. Aside from this, that there are only two characters, namely the mother and the daughter, before and after the father figure ‘comes home’ also reinforces the quietness.

Finally, the quietness is reinforced by the absence of effort in the story for humour; or rather, there is humour, but it is intentionally a dull one. The following quotation contains the only effort for humour in the story.

*Ibu malah mengambil batang kedua, membakarnya dengan api pemantik, menghisap dalam-dalam lalu mengembuskan asap lewat celah bibir dan rongga hidung. Wussss Aku tertawa kecil.
“Kenapa, honey?”
“Ibu mirip kuda nil mengendus. Air keluar dari hidung. Tapi kali ini asap,”* (p. 23)

(Instead, mother took her second cigarette, lit it with the fire from her lighter, deeply inhaled and blew the smoke through the opening between her lips and her nose. Puff I giggled.
“What’s funny, honey?”
“You look like a whiffling hippo. Instead of water, it’s smoke that came out.”)

The failure of the humour might be the case that it is not intended to be humorous. It might also be the case that the humour is in fact intended to be funny, but it is a failed humour. In any case, the fact that it is not funny contributes to the quietness of the story’s tone. If the humour succeeds, the quietness is disrupted.

More intense than the quietness is the melancholy atmosphere of the story. The opening paragraph signals the absence of the father among the mother and daughter. As has been indicated earlier, the fact that there are only two characters reinforces the quietness. However, the atmosphere alters from mere quietness to melancholy when the narrator recounts her childhood:

Ayah, kata yang ganjil. Kata yang tak kupahami ini membuatku sering menjadi bahan olok-olok teman kecil. Mereka menyebutku anak pohon bambu. [...] [Karena] dalam satu hal, aku sama seperti Mandudari, tidak punya ayah. Aku hanya hidup berdua dengan Ibu. (p. 24)

(Father, a strange word. A word I never quite understood made me a laughing stock among my childhood friends. They called me the child of bamboo. [...] [It was because] on one hand, I was like Mandudari, fatherless. I only live with mother.)

The same melancholy is found at several places. For example on this part:

Ibu tak menyimpan potret Ayah. Tetapi dia terekam di sini, Ibu menunjuk dadanya. Bahkan, untukku pun tak bisa dibagi. (p. 27)

(Mother did not keep father’s portrait. But he was in here, mother pointed at her chest. Even for me his face could not be shared.)

Another is the part when the narrator reveals that around the time of the 1965 riot her father was in Russia. Consequently, he cannot return after the riot; instead he stayed at the cold country “in a long silence”, abandoning his family out of the impossibility of condition. Finally, even the very last paragraph reinforces the melancholy of the story. Using the ‘fictional tool’ that has been repeated before, the last paragraph point to the “heart illness” the mother had:

Aku dan Ibu masih makan malam bersama. Namun kali ini aku yang memasak. Aku juga menyuapi Ibu. [...] Kami akan selalu berdua. Kesehatan Ibu makin memburuk. Ia sudah jarang berbicara padaku. Aku selalu berbicara padanya tentang bermacam hal. Minggu lalu, ia kubawa ke dokter. Sakit pada tubuh bisa diobati. Sakit pada hati sampai mati. (p. 30)

(Mother and I still had dinner together. But this time, I cooked for us. I also fed her. [...] We would always be together. Only the two of us. Mother’s health was deteriorating day by day. She rarely talked to me. But I always talked to her about many things. Last week, I took her to the doctor. Body illness could be cured; heart illness could not.)

The second way used to arouse sympathy is presenting sympathetic characters. The two main characters in the story are sympathetic. The mother character was well-off before the father exiled in Russia. She once had a maid: Bik Iyem. Also, even years after the father was gone, they still listen to high-culture music, implying that they once prosperous. After the father was exiled while the mother was pregnant, she experienced a difficult economical situation. The mother abandoned her property in the city for fear of violence by “a mob of people” at the peak of the riot. After the daughter was born, she went back to the city, while realizing that her daughter needs to be feed. To fulfil the need, she became a

woman escort, at the cost of her spiritual vitality. “*Setelah itu kehidupanku seperti berhenti, kata Ibu. Pria-pria silih-berganti*” (“After that, I live as if my life is over, mother said. Men come and go.”) (p. 27). In addition, the mother character is also realized as a woman who deeply loves the father figure. Even though he has left her for more than thirty years, she is still essentially alone, longing for him to come back. This can be concluded by noting the daughter occasional observation when her mother entered reverie, presumably thinking about her husband. All these made the mother a sympathetic character.

Likewise, the daughter is also presented to be a sympathetic character. It is mentioned that she experienced difficult early life because the society around her deem her to be unusual. First, because she had no father; second, because her mother is a prostitute, which, at least by the moral standard of Indonesian people, is an immoral profession. In addition, she is also a very sensitive and understanding daughter. For example, she is capable of concluding that more than the physical sickness, the “heart sickness” her mother experience is more acute. The following part, after the father went again, having decided not to stay after all, also exemplifies the sensitive and understanding nature of the daughter:

Kami berpelukan. Aku dan Ibu. [...] Malam itu aku tidur bersama Ibu. Aku meringkuk dalam pelukannya. Aku merasa ingin kembali memasuki rahimnya dan tinggal di sana. (p. 29)

(We cuddled. Mother and I. [...] That night I slept with mother. I hug my knee inside her arms. It felt like I wanted to re-enter her womb and stayed there.)

Had the father was never exiled in Russia because of the 1965 riots, the mother and the daughter need not experience such condition. In other words, their suffering comes not from their own mistake, but of something out of their control.

Having argued that *Makan Malam* Intention is to arouse pity or sympathy, let us turn to *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan*. Contrary to the former, the later story’s Intention is to arouse laughter. Although it tries to achieve this only by one mean: presenting the main character as a comic character, it succeeds enormously. Almost every part of the story contributes something to achieve its Intention. Consider for example this part, where the narrator informs the reader about the reaction of the family about Sentot’s weird behaviour:

Keluarga Sentot malu, upaya mereka membujukanya menghentikan askinya gagal karena ide itu secara spesifik berkata kepada Sentot bahwa keluarganya adalah sejenis kecoa atau lipan yang layak diinjak jika mendekat ke ujung jalan. (p. 157)

(Sentot’s family was ashamed, their effort to persuade him to stop his action failed because the inspiration specifically said to Sentot that his family was some kind of cockroaches or centipedes that deserved to be exterminated if they approached the street end.)

Equally important to the attainment of the Intention: the story also presents the character rather ironically. It is stated that the divine inspiration Sentot received is “quite strict” (“*cukup teguh*”), that it only gave “little compromise” (“*sedikit kelonggaran*”); however, it is obvious that the divine inspiration gave huge compromise. First, it compromises Sentot’s family if his belly needs filling. Second, it allows Sentot to stop doing his activity if someone should come and give him cigarette, especially if the brand is Dji Sam Soe or Gudang Garam Merah. Third, it allows him to rest should Sentot was not in his “prime day” (“*hari baik*”). This list of compromises is arguably the most successful mean that contribute to Sentot’s characteristic as a comic character, which ultimately contributes to the success of the Intention of the story.

In addition, there are also other inspirations that came to Sentot before the “foot swinging”. One told him to keep dancing while smiling on a party even if the music has been turned off. The very same inspiration told him to keep on dancing even when the marquees have been undone. The other made Sentot clean the sewer of Karangapi kampung all night long. All these also contribute to inspiring laughter.

Lastly, the details of Sentot’s early life and the little amount of light satire in story also help to achieve the Intention of the story. The details, or “Sentot’s gloomy story” as the narrator puts it, are: his attempt to kill his sibling; his habit of tying his genital with rubber ring before copulating with a prostitute which made him permanently ill; and the information about his brother in law who was a failed musician but had tremendous desire to spit anybody who dares to condemn his favourite progressive rock group. Equally important is the light satire that can be found on the part where the narrator informs the reader about the optimistic conjecture of people from Karangapi kampung about the disappearance of Sentot:

Beberapa orang yang pada dasarnya sangat optimistis—seperti tiap kali menjumpai bungkus rokok kosong selali yakin bakal ada uang yang terselip di sana atau saat berpuasa percaya bahwa beduk buka bakal maju setengah jam—[...]. (p. 159)

(Some people basically were very optimistic—like every time they found an empty cigarette pack, they were always certain that there would be some money studded inside, or when they were having a fast they would wish that the sun set thirty minutes earlier than usual—[...].)

On the whole, it is now established that *Makan Malam*'s Intention is to arouse pity or sympathy, which is highly related to sadness, whereas *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan*'s Intention is to arouse laughter, which is highly related to merriness. This is despite the fact that both stories have the same Sense.

The Tragedy in *Makan Malam* and the Comedy in *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan*

Taking up the points that have been established previously, i.e. the Intention, and the typical characters for both tragedy and comedy, now the stories can be categorized into either tragedy or comedy. On the one hand, the first story, as seen from its sympathetic character and prevalent atmosphere of quietness and melancholy, aims at arousing sympathy and pity. This is in line with the Intention of a tragedy as noted above. Thus, *Makan Malam* is a tragedy. On the other hand, *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan*, as also seen from its comic character, aims at arousing laughter and merriness. This is in line with the Intention of comedy. Thus, *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan* is comedy.

However, some clarification is needed related to the point stating that the character of tragedy is virtuous, elevated, or of high moral standing. While Sentot in the comedy is undoubtedly fits as “low or morally defective”, the daughter and mother in the tragedy are not clearly fitted to the criteria of tragic character. The characters in the tragedy for one thing smoke illegal substance through the eyes of Indonesian law. For another thing the mother is a prostitute, which is generally considered as far from virtuous. Here some explanations may be offered. First, the occasional smoking of illegal substance possibly to escape from the intense longing the mother feels for the father and also the lifeless live she was living. This is arguably implied when the daughter observed that, in the cloud of the substance,

Kulihat sepasang mata Ibu yang terpejam. Ibu kelihatan damai [...], seperti bayi tidur (p. 22).

(I saw the pair of mother's closed eyes. Mother seemed to be in peace [...], like a baby.)

Furthermore, the fact that the daughter is smoking the substance can be accounted as the influence of seeing her mother. Secondly, the choice of the mother to become a prostitute is not out self-indulgence. She needed money for her daughter. Moreover, after the riot, like so many other communist member's and sympathizer's family, she became poor. Furthermore, her chances of finding a job also belittled by the rule imposed upon person like her. In short, the two traits that possibly exclude the mother and the daughter as 'virtuous' person can be accounted for. They are still virtuous people. Had the riot never existed, the likely will not have the traits.

Voicing the Tragic Past with Comic Voice

As argued before, the subject of communist members' and sympathizers' family after 1965 is tragic. Thus, it is more properly treated as a tragic subject i.e. the Intention of any piece of literature dealing with the subject should be to arouse sympathy. In relation to this, *Makan Malam* already has arousing sympathy as its Intention; it does what a tragedy supposed to do. Interestingly, *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan*, since it is a comedy, has arousing laughter as its Intention, despite the fact that it deals with a tragic subject. There is then a discrepancy between the subject and the Intention. One accusation that can come out of this discrepancy is that the story ridicules and trivializes its character and Sense, a ruthless and indecent act to do. This section will 'defend' *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan* from such accusation.

Between the barrages of 'comical tools' used in the comedy, there is a part that invites the reader to sympathize with the story's Sense, especially the character. On that part, the narrator details background information about Sentot as follows: 1) His father was arrested by the military after the 1965 riot. This same fate is experienced by some other Karangapi kampong's men, together with millions of other men from Java. 2) The news of the father's being (how he dies if he dies; where he was detained if he was detained) after the arresting is forever unclear. 3) Because his mother was in late pregnancy when his father is suddenly arrested, she had a miscarriage. "*Bayi perempuannya dikubur tanpa sempat dinamai*". ("Her infant daughter is buried without a name,") (p. 158). 4) His mother then experience physical collapse for two years before her death. This insertion is parallel to the part in the tragedy which invites the reader to laugh. However, unlike the 'humorous' part in the tragedy which fails, the part in comedy succeeds, not necessarily in making Sentot a sympathetic character, but in making the reader realizes that Sentot ridiculousness is likely the effect of his father disappearance and his mother death, which are in turn the effect of the 1965 riot. What the reader laughs at, the "low and morally defective" character, is the 'product' of the 1965 tragedy. Realizing this, the reader may be moved by the atrocities of the 1965 riots exactly because it produces a laughable person like Sentot.

The insertion of the sympathetic part among the comical parts can also be explained with relation to the purpose of art, which thrives at newness. The subject of communist members' and sympathizers' family has often been presented to get the reader's sympathy. Countless works of art do this. *40 Years of Silence: An Indonesian Tragedy* is an example. *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan* breaks the convention by aiming at the reader's laugh while dealing with the tragic subject. Moreover, this tendency of breaking convention is apparent on the part of the writer. In an interview, Pareanom expresses his irritation on the convention of café setting in Indonesian short stories (in Kineruku, 2013). To respond to this 'established' convention he wrote *Rumah Kopi Singa Tertawa*, the titular story in which *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan* is collected. In that story, he breaks the convention by presenting the merriness of a café setting instead of the sentimental-romantic one. It is very plausible that in *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan* he also breaks the convention by presenting tragic subject with comic voice.

Putting the two arguments together, not only that *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan* is also voicing the tragic past in favor of the victim, it can even be argued that the way *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan* voices the subject of communist members' and sympathizers' family after 1965 is more effective than *Makan Malam*. The reason is that the later breaks the convention which gives freshness, while the former does what has been done repeatedly.

Conclusion

Even though *Makan Malam* and *Laki-Laki di Ujung Jalan* are told using different approach. As noted, the former is a tragedy and the later is a comedy. Considering that the subject is a tragic one, there is a discrepancy on the later story. This discrepancy will invite accusation that the story ridicules and trivialize its subject. However, the comedy in the later story does not diminish the tragedy which overshadows the story. As it turns out, the later story arguably does not ridicule and trivializes its subject. Instead, the commingling of comic treatment and tragic subject in the later story is a convention-breaking strategy to voice the tragic subject more loudly than *Makan Malam*, which joins many other works of art that submitting to the convention. Although differing in the aforementioned aspects, the two short stories do not differ in their ultimate aim of voicing one aspects of the 1965 riots aftermath in favour of the communist members' and sympathizers' family.

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Cerpen Berlatar Peristiwa 1965 dalam Koran *Kedaulatan Rakyat* 2012-2015

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Abstrak

Saya akan membahas tentang cerpen yang berlatar Peristiwa 1965 yang terbit dalam koran *Kedaulatan Rakyat* dalam periode 2012-2015. Terdapat sekurangnya tujuh cerpen yang saya kumpulkan yang ditulis oleh 4 pengarang. Cerpen-cerpen ini dapat memberi gambaran tentang konstruksi Peristiwa 1965 di harian yang terbesar dan tertua di Yogyakarta sekarang ini.

Keywords: sastra, sejarah, cerpen, Peristiwa 1965

Pendahuluan

Peristiwa 1965 selalu penting untuk kita diskusikan karena periode ini menyimpan banyak pertanyaan dan persoalan. Setelah tahun 1998, media massa tidak lagi merasa tabu atau khawatir dalam memuat karya-karya berlatar belakang Peristiwa 1965. Perkembangannya kemudian pembahasan tentang Peristiwa 1965 semakin banyak bermunculan di media massa tidak hanya dalam bentuk ulasan ilmiah tapi juga karya-karya sastra. Di antara karya tersebut yang cukup sering hadir berbentuk cerita pendek atau cerpen.

Dalam penelitian ini antara tahun 2012-2015, koran *Kedaulatan Rakyat* (*KR*) memuat sekurangnya ketujuh cerpen yang berlatar belakang Peristiwa 1965. Sebagian besar cerpen-cerpen ini terbit antara akhir bulan September atau Oktober. Dari pilihan waktu penerbitan cerpen-cerpen ini terlihat *KR* menyesuaikan dengan tema-tema aktual seperti halnya untuk Peristiwa 1965.

Pada saat ini masih sangat sedikit ulasan membahas karya sastra di *KR*. Salah satu dari yang sedikit itu adalah sebuah artikel ringkas dari Suwardi Endraswara terbit di *KR* yang membahas cerpen-cerpen dalam koran tersebut yang terbit antara bulan Januari sampai Agustus 2011.¹ Untuk menutupi kekosongan tersebut, saya bermaksud mengulas cerpen-cerpen berlatar Peristiwa 1965 untuk melihat dan memahami bagaimana Peristiwa tersebut dihadirkan dalam *KR*.

Makalah ini akan mendiskusikan dan menyusun ketujuh cerpen secara kronologis serta mengaitkan dengan konteks sosialnya. Penelitian ini dengan sengaja membatasi periode 2012-2015 untuk melihat bagaimana Peristiwa 1965 dihadirkan dalam masa kini. Koran *KR* sendiri dipilih sebagai koran tertua dan populer di Yogyakarta dengan oplah lebih dari 100 ribu eksemplar.

Koran *Kedaulatan Rakyat*

Koran ini didirikan oleh HM. Samawi dan Wonohito. *KR* terbit pada 27 September 1945 di Yogyakarta. Dalam edisi memperingati 70 tahun usia penerbitannya di tahun 2015, *KR* menyebutkan bahwa mereka hadir dalam suasana penuh pergolakan. Saat pusat pemerintah RI pindah ke Yogyakarta tanggal 4 Januari 1946 dan koran *KR* menjadi koran nasional.

Kondisi kota Yogyakarta makin sulit pada saat diduduki Belanda akhir tahun 1948. Para pegawai *KR* harus menyelundupkan mesin cetak ke daerah Menkuyudan dan mulai mencetak selebaran untuk ditempelkan di dalam kota Yogyakarta. Peristiwa ini terus dikenang oleh pemerintah Orde Baru dan mesin tersebut menjadi koleksi Monumen Jogja Kembali.

Di tengah krisis politik 1965, *KR* terlihat cukup jelas menunjukkan posisinya pada saat itu. Disebutkan dalam edisi ulang tahun ke-70, pada saat pemerintah Sukarno menyerukan agar *KR* mengadopsi Nasakom dalam kepegawaiannya - artinya menerima karyawan dengan latar nasionalis, agama dan komunis - pihak *KR* menolaknya. Bagi pimpinan *KR* saat itu, Samawi dan M. Wonohito, *KR* adalah koran yang independen bukan komunis. Dari pilihan-pilihan politik mereka saat itu, *KR* menyimpulkan bahwa :

“Intuisi, wawasan dan kecerdikan *KR* terlihat pada pemimpin-pemimpinnya. Sejak awal Oktober 1965 sudah menolak Dewan Revolusi yang sebenarnya diciptakan PKI untuk gerakan makar. Kesetiaan *KR* pada Pancasila dibuktikan, pada tanggal 30 September 1965, *KR* adalah satu-satunya koran di Yogyakarta yang berani memuat pidato Panglima Komando Strategis Angkatan Darat (Pangkostrad) Mayjen Soeharto yang isinya menyatakan

¹ “Cerpen *KR* Minggu, Memotret Anomalia dan Melankolia Jaman” dalam *KR*, 2011.

pemerintah yang sah telah berhasil menguasai situasi genting, dan Kudeta 30 September berhasil digalkan”.

Dalam bagian yang lain, *KR* menarik kesimpulan dengan cara sangat sederhana. Bagi mereka dengan memuat pidato Pangkostrad adalah bukti kesetiaan kepada Pancasila. Hal ini cukup mengherankan jika dibandingkan pernyataan sebelumnya bahwa *KR* sebagai koran yang independen. Namun dari edisi ini cukup jelas bahwa *KR* mendukung pihak angkatan darat pada saat itu.

Sastra Koran di *KR*

Kehadiran karya sastra berbentuk cerpen dalam koran telah berusia cukup panjang. Sastra Koran sempat menjadi pembahasan yang hangat pada pertengahan tahun 1980-an saat Ariel Heryanto mengulasnya sebagai bagian dari pemikirannya tentang Sastra Konteksual.² Saat itu Sastra Koran masih dianggap kualitasnya rendah dibandingkan sastra buku.³

Dalam ulasan Heryanto, hal yang menarik untuk dicatat adalah keluhan sastrawan pada saat itu yang menuntut kolom lebih luas di koran.⁴ Pada hari ini jumlah halaman untuk sastra semakin meningkat. Selain cerpen, karya sastra yang terbit *KR* dalam beberapa bentuk seperti puisi, cerma (cerita remaja) dan cerbung (cerita bersambung). Ketiga bentuk sastra yang pertama (cerpen, puisi dan cerma), hadir dalam edisi minggu. Untuk cerbung *KR* menerbitkannya setiap hari.

Cerpen di *KR* terbit setiap hari minggu dan biasanya berada di halaman budaya yang terletak pada bagian tengah koran bersamaan dengan puisi dan catatan budaya dari berbagai penulis. Cerpen-cerpen ini juga dilengkapi dengan ilustrasi berwarna hitam putih atau berwarna mengambil salah satu bagian dari isi cerpen. Letak cerpen di halaman tengah ini menunjukkan berita-berita sosial politik lebih utama bagi koran *KR* dan bacaan sastra (dan budaya) disuguhkan setelahnya.

Namun apakah dengan meningkatnya jumlah halaman ini berarti kualitas cerpen di *KR* juga membaik? Pada bagian selanjutnya kita akan mengulas ketujuh cerpen dari *KR* tersebut.

*Cerpen Maria Magdalena Bhoernomo, 30 September*⁵

Maria Magdalena Bhoernomo adalah seorang penulis yang cukup senior. Dia lahir di Kudus pada tanggal 23 Oktober 1962. Dalam Leksikon Sastra Indonesia menyebutkan Maria Magdalena belajar menulis secara otodidak. Dia telah menulis sejak pertengahan tahun 1980-an yang telah dimuat di berbagai media seperti *Jawa Pos*, *Surabaya post*, *Suara Karya* dan sebagainya.⁶

Cerpen ini terbit persis pada tanggal 30 September 2012 dan terdiri dari 3 bagian. Penceritaan mengalir cukup lancar dengan menggunakan sudut pandang orang pertama dari sang Anak berusia 4 tahun yang keluarganya dianggap musuh oleh PKI. Cerpen ini mengambil latar di sebuah desa yang tidak disebutkan nama ataupun tempatnya.

Di sini, Bhoernomo memulai di bagian pertama menceritakan pada suatu malam rumah Madi diserang Bardo - tetangga desanya - dengan kelompok PKI menjelang tahun 1965. Madi yang digambarkan sebagai orang yang pemberani. Dia keluar rumah dengan sebilah pedang menghadapi para penyerangnya. Malam itu Madi berhasil lolos dari keroyokan setelah berhasil membunuh beberapa penyerangnya. Dia sendiri kemudian ditangkap polisi dan dibawa ke penjara.

Bagian kedua dimulai dengan kunjungan Sang Anak dengan ibunya ke kantor polisi menjenguk sang Ayah. Madi menceritakan kepada istrinya kejadian perkelahian pada malam pengeroyokan hingga berujung kematian Bardo. Yang menarik dari bagian ini adalah penggambaran PKI yang serba buruk seperti terlihat dalam tuturan Madi:

“Kematian Bardo dan kawan-kawan harus kupertanggungjawabkan. Semoga dengan kematian mereka desa kita akan aman tenteram. Tidak lagi ada warga yang kemalingan. Tidak ada lagi perempuan yang diperkosa. Tidak ada lagi anak-anak remaja yang diajak minum tuak sampai mabuk. Mereka adalah antek-antek PKI yang sengaja menebar teror dan merusak moral!”

Penggambaran PKI ini tampaknya berasal dari Orde Baru yang melukiskan PKI dengan serba buruk. Padahal pada tahun 1960-an, kampanye PKI justru ditujukan untuk keamanan desa, perlindungan perempuan,

² Sastra kontekstual adalah pandangan yang melihat bahwa tidak ada sastra yang universal. Sastra pada dasarnya dibentuk dan dinikmati berdasarkan konteks sekitarnya. Di sini Ariel memperluas makna sastra di koran. Baginya pengertian sastra perlu diperluas tidak lagi tidak hanya soal puisi, cerpen, cerbung namun juga kolom opini atau tajuk rencana. Pandangan ini ditentang oleh Afrizal Malna. Lihat Afrizal Malna, “Koran dan Sastra yang Membela”. Dalam Ariel Heryanto, (ed.), *Perdebatan Sastra Konteksual*. Jakarta: Rajawali, 1985, h. 264-272.

³ Heryanto, “Berita, Cerita dan Derita”. Dalam Heryanto, Ariel (ed.), *Perdebatan Sastra Konteksual*. Jakarta: Rajawali, 1985, h. 152.

⁴ Heryanto, “Sastra, Koran dan Sastra Koran”, *ibid*, h. 156.

⁵ Setahun kemudian saya tidak menemukan lagi cerpen Maria dengan tema yang sama tapi sebuah cerpennya berjudul *Foto Presiden* terbit pada 1 Desember 2013. Cerpen ini menceritakan tentang seorang kusir yang menginjak foto presiden.

⁶ Korrie Layun Rampan. *Leksikon Susastra Indonesia*. Jakarta, Balai Pustaka, 2000, h. 276-277.

menolak minuman keras dan perjudian.⁷ Di sini terlihat konstruksi gambaran PKI dalam cerpen sebangun dengan penggambaran Orde Baru tentang partai tersebut.

Penggambaran ini konflik antar tetangga (Madi dan Bardo) yang digunakan dalam cerpen ini mengingatkan pada salah satu teori tentang Peristiwa 1965 menyebutkan bahwa konflik yang terjadi pada saat itu adalah konflik horisontal.⁸ Namun dalam banyak testimoni korban Peristiwa 1965 menunjukkan keterlibatan tentara yang kuat.⁹

Pada bagian terakhir isinya lebih singkat dengan hanya terdiri dari 3 paragraf. Bagian ini menggambarkan Sang Ayah yang boleh pulang ke rumah dari penjara setiap malam untuk menghabiskan “antek PKI yang bercokol di sejumlah pelosok desa lain”. Cerita ini juga agak janggal karena dalam banyak kasus justru orang yang dituduh PKI seringkali ditahan dulu dalam penjara sebelum dibunuh.

Cerpen Asmadji As Muchtar, Sepatu Hitam

Dari penelusuran saya tidak banyak mendapatkan informasi tentang Asmadji As Muchtar. Beberapa informasi singkat menyebutkan bahwa dia lahir di Pati pada tahun 1961. Asmadji As Muchtar telah menulis karya-karya fiksi sejak tahun 1975. Selain tercatat sebagai pemimpin sebuah pondok pesantren, dia juga mengajar di perguruan tinggi di Jawa Tengah.

Cerpen karya Asmadji As Muchtar ini terbit dua minggu setelah cerpen Bhoernomo yaitu tanggal 14 Oktober 2012. Dalam cerpen ini mengambil sudut pandang yang sama dengan cerpen sebelumnya yaitu seorang anak bernama Ningsih berusia 4 tahun pada bulan Oktober 1965 dengan latar belakang kehidupan di sebuah desa. Cerpen ini terdiri dari 4 bagian.

Bagian pertama berupa pengantar ayah ibu Ningsih yang turut menjadi korban Peristiwa 1965 karena menghadiri Pelantikan Pengurus Ranting PKI di rumah Pak Kades. Ayah Ibu Ningsih hanyalah petani kecil dan bukan anggota PKI. Mereka turut hadir di rumah Pak Kades karena dijanjikan mendapat pupuk dari Bupati.

Bagian kedua menceritakan pada sebuah malam rumah mereka didobrak oleh segerombol orang bersepatu hitam. Seisi rumah yang terdiri dari Ningsih, Ayah, Ibu, Nenek sangat ketakutan. Sang Nenek dan Ningsih melihat di teras depan orang-orang bersepatu hitam memenggal kepala Sang Ayah dan Ibu. Kejadian ini begitu membekas di benak Ningsih.

Bagian ketiga menceritakan kehidupan Ningsih pasca 1965. Neneknya telah meninggal dan Ningsih hidup sebatang kara di rumahnya. Ningsih dapat bertahan hidup dari sawah warisan yang disewakan setiap tahun. Trauma yang dideritanya membuat Ningsih sakit ingatan kronis yang digambarkan dramatis “Jika sedang tercekam kenangan mengerikan itu, Ningsih sering menggigil dengan wajah pucat seperti menderita demam flu yang berat”.

Dalam beberapa testimoni para korban Peristiwa 1965 memang terdapat kisah korban yang mengalami trauma mendalam. Namun dalam cerpen ini mengandung beberapa kejanggalan dalam menggambarkan trauma tersebut. Diceritakan ketakutan pada orang bersepatu hitam yang menimpa tidak hanya Ningsih tapi juga seisi desa yang sebaya dengannya. Akibatnya, panitia Pilkada yang bersepatu hitam menakutkan banyak warga desa dan akhirnya mereka tidak ikut pemilu. Penggambaran ini terlihat agak berlebihan. Seperti kita ketahui, pada masa Orde Baru, keikutsertaan dalam pemilu adalah sebuah kewajiban. Hal yang juga terasa janggal saat Ningsih menolak bersekolah karena guru-gurunya bersepatu hitam. Dalam penutup, penulis menarik kesimpulan: “Karena itulah, mengapa sampai sekarang masih banyak rakyat di negeri ini yang buta huruf dan selalu menderita dirundung kemiskinan”.

Cerpen Anita Retno Lestari, Sang Penyair

Tidak banyak informasi yang saya dapatkan tentang Anita Retno Lestari selain keterangan dia lahir di Pati pada tanggal 27 Juli 1988. Melihat tahun kelahirannya, Anita Retno Lestari dapat digolongkan sebagai penulis muda. Untuk itu karyanya ini menjadi penting karena mewakili generasinya.

Cerpen yang ditulis Anita Retno Lestari ini terbit dalam periode yang tidak biasa yaitu 19 Mei 2013. Dalam cerpen ini yang bersifat surealis latar Peristiwa 1965 menjadi ilustrasi singkat di akhir cerpen. Cerpen hanya terdiri dari satu bagian dengan sudut pandang orang pertama yang menceritakan orang kedua seorang penyair berkumis tebal bernama Nietzsche.¹⁰ Penggambaran pria berkumis tebal dan nama Nietzsche ini merujuk pada Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) filsuf asal Jerman. Referensi ke filsuf Jerman, ini hadir di sana sini dalam cerpen. Disebutkan bahwa Sang penyair ini menjual kepada “Aku” sebuah buku kumpulan puisinya yang berjudul “lelaki Pembunuh Tuhan”. Judul puisi ini mengingatkan pada ucapan Nietzsche yang terkenal “Tuhan sudah Mati”.

Pada awalnya “Aku” enggan membaca buku puisi tersebut namun akhirnya dia merasa tergerak saat membaca puisi “Lelaki Pembunuh Tuhan” yang isinya menceritakan seorang sarjana filsafat tidak mendapat

⁷ Lihat DN. Aidit. *Kaum Tani Mengganyang Setan-setan Desa (Laporan singkat tentang hasil riset mengenai keadaan kaum tani dan gerakan tani di Jawa Barat)*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pembaruan, 1964. <https://www.marxists.org/indonesia/indones/1964-AiditSetanDesa.htm> (diakses 5 Oktober 2015).

⁸ Lihat Hermawan Sulistyono. *Palu Arit di Ladang Tebu: Sejarah Pembantaian Massal yang terlupakan (1965-1966)*. Jakarta: KPG, 2000.

⁹ Untuk di Jakarta, lihat misalnya pengalaman Pramoedy Ananta Toer. Pramoedy Ananta Toer, *Surat terbuka Pramoedy Ananta Toer kepada Keith Foulcher*. <https://arusbawah20.wordpress.com/2010/08/23/surat-terbuka-pramoedy-ananta-toer-kepada-keith-foulcher/> (diakses 5 Oktober 2015).

¹⁰ Penggambaran pria berkumis tebal ini sesuai dengan Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) filsuf asal Jerman.

kerja. Tanpa dijelaskan alasannya, sang Sarjana memburu Tuhan. Alur cerita di sini agak membingungkan dan terburu-buru. Karena gagal menemukan Tuhan untuk dibunuh, akhirnya lelaki itu membunuh seekor ayam. Di sini terlihat loncatan alur logika yang tak terjelaskan.

Tokoh “Aku” kemudian tertidur dan dihantui mimpi seram. Dia membayangkan masa Orde Baru yang akan memberangus koran yang memuat puisi sejenis itu dengan tuduhan antek PKI. Sebelum selesai membaca, “Aku” jatuh tertidur. Saat terbangun dia mendengar keributan di luar rumahnya. Rupanya Sang Penyair yang tadi siang ditemuinya telah dikeroyok orang dengan tuduhan sebagai penyair kafir dan PKI karena puisinya “Lelaki Pembunuh Tuhan”.

Di sini alur juga terlihat terburu-buru dan memaksa karena tidak ada penjelasan lebih dahulu awal mula Sang Penyair dikeroyok. Meski begitu dapat kita pahami maksud yang ingin disampaikan oleh Lestari dalam penggambarannya absurditas hidup dan kekerasan yang masih berlanjut warisan kekerasan dari Orde Baru dengan melibatkan penghakiman massal kepada sastrawan.

Cerpen Asmadji As Muchtar, Bapakku juga Hilang

Cerpen kedua Asmadji AS Muchtar yang seputar 1965 ini terbit pada tanggal 29 September 2013. Cerpen terdiri dari dua bagian dengan tokoh utama “Aku”. Cerita dimulai dengan kisah hilangnya ayah si “Aku” tidak lama “Sehabis Gestapu 1965...”. Penggunaan kata “Gestapu ini terasa janggal. Istilah “Gestapu” digunakan oleh pihak Orde Baru sebagai upaya mengkaitkan peristiwa 30 September dengan Gestapo dalam sejarah Nazi Jerman. Soekarno sendiri menyebut peristiwa ini Gestok singkatan dari Gerakan Satu Oktober.¹¹

Dalam pengamatan saya, cerpen ini memiliki banyak kesamaan dengan cerpen sebelumnya *Bapakku juga Hilang*. Dalam cerpen sebelumnya latar belakang keluarga si “Aku” dengan ayah seorang petani kecil yang buta huruf dan bukan anggota partai atau ormas.

Di bagian pertama, cerpen ini menceritakan seorang santri bernama Kamal yang berteriak-berteriak seperti kerasukan setelah membunuh sejumlah petani di tengah hutan jati. Para warga desa meragukan pernyataan Kamal yang menceritakan pekerjaan pembunuhannya. Hingga kemudian Kamal meninggal dan warga tetap bertanya-tanya apa yang terjadi.

Bagian kedua dari cerpen ini menceritakan periode setelah ayah si “Aku” lama hilang. Jika dalam tokoh Ningsih trauma dengan sepatu hitam, dalam *Bapakku juga Hilang*, tokoh “Aku” trauma dengan truk berwarna hijau yang dibayangkannya dulu membawa ayahnya. Karena ketakutan bertemu dengan truk hijau ini, “Aku” tidak pernah berpergian. Untuk mendramatisir penggambaran trauma ini, Muchtar menulis sebagai berikut : ““Tadi kamu tiba-tiba menggigil sampai pingsan. Dasar wong ndesa, naik dokar saja mabuk!” ujar emak sambil memperhatikan diriku yang sudah siuman.”

Setelah “emak” meninggal, “Aku” tinggal sendirian. Seperti Ningsih di cerpen *Sepatu Hitam*, tokoh “Aku” dalam cerpen *Bapakku juga Hilang* hidup dari sawah warisan dan bantuan dari para tetangga. Pada akhir cerita, “Aku” menanyakan keberadaan ayahnya pada para tentara yang sedang membangun jembatan. Para tentara ini tidak menjawab pertanyaan “Aku” dan melihat dia dengan kasihan.

Cerpen Budi Sarjono, Pistol Purnomo

Budi Sarjono juga termasuk penulis yang cukup senior. Dia lahir di Yogyakarta pada tanggal 6 September 1953. Budi Sarjono mempelajari dunia menulis secara otodidak dan telah menghasilkan banyak karya. Tercatat Budi Sarjono telah memenangkan berbagai penghargaan.

Cerpennya yang saya ulas dari *KR* adalah yang terbit pada 26 Januari 2014. Cerpen ini terdiri hanya satu bagian dengan tokoh utama seorang pria tua bernama Purnomo. Diceritakan Purnomo adalah mantan pejuang revolusi Indonesia di wilayah Yogyakarta. Dia terdesak butuh uang karena sakit parah sehingga harus menggadaikan pistolnya ke penggadaian. Purnomo seorang diri tidak mampu mempunyai anak akibat luka mortir pada tubuhnya.

Di ruang penggadaian, Purnomo menceritakan sejarah pistolnya. Namun setelah panjang lebar bercerita, pihak penggadaian menolak barang gadai berupa pistol. Kaitan dengan Peristiwa 1965 muncul pada bagian tanya jawab antara pihak penggadaian yang heran dengan Purnomo sebagai veteran perang tidak mendapatkan pensiun. Purnomo mengatakan bahwa:

”Namaku dicoret sebagai anggota veteran perang sejak tahun 1966. Katanya aku terlibat gerakan makar. Untung aku tidak di penjara. Karena banyak temanku yang mati sia-sia di penjara. Mereka disiksa habis-habisan di penjara. Dan yang menyiksa itu, ketika kami berjuang di medan perang, baru saja lahir”.

Meski tidak disebutkan dengan jelas maksud makar yang disebutkan di sini, namun bisa diperkirakan bahwa rujukan tahun 1966 mendekati Peristiwa 1965. Kisah penyiksaan dan kematian dalam penjara juga mirip testimoni para korban Peristiwa 1965.

¹¹ Lihat Asvi Warman Adam. “Kontroversi Istilah G30S”. Dalam Asvi Warman Adam (ed.). *Membongkar Manipulasi Sejarah, Kontroversi Pelaku dan Peristiwa*. Jakarta: KPG, 2009, h. 139-141.

Pada bagian akhir digambarkan pihak penggadaian tetap tidak dapat menerima pistol Purnomo sebagai barang gadaian. Saat itu sudah sore hari dan kantor penggadaian akan segera tutup sehingga terpaksa Purnomo meninggalkan kantor penggadaian.

Di bagian penutup cerpen digambarkan dengan dramatis. Dalam kondisi sakit semakin parah, Purnomo berjalan tak tentu arah. Kemudian dia terjatuh beberapa meter dari kantor polisi. Pistol yang terbungkus kain hitam terjatuh dan isinya keluar. Orang-orang terkejut melihat pistol tersebut. Beberapa polisi di sekitar itu segera mengamankan tempat kejadian. Keesokan harinya koran-koran memberitakan aparat keamanan menangkap seorang teroris tua.

Satmoko Budi Santoso, Mbah Mo dan Bulan September

Satmoko Budi Santoso lahir di Wates pada tanggal 7 Januari 1976. Dia menempuh pendidikan teater di ISI Yogyakarta. Sejak muda, Satmoko Budi telah menulis cerpen yang diterbitkan di berbagai media massa.

Cerpennya di *KR* ini terbit pada 13 September 2015. Pada bagian awal cerpen, Satmoko Budi Santoso menggunakan gaya prosa lirik dengan memulai paragraf dengan kalimat “Setiap bulan September tiba, Mbah Mo ...”. Tokoh Mbah Mo seorang pria berusia 80-an tahun yang menjadi tokoh utama cerpen ini adalah korban Peristiwa 1965.

Penulis menggambarkan Mbah Mo sebagai pria miskin yang bekerja menjadi pemulung tanpa keluarga. Dia tinggal disebuah rumah kardus di pinggir rel kereta. Seperti cerpen lainnya, penyebab terseretnya tokoh utama karena sebab yang sederhana. Penulis menceritakan dalam masa mudanya Mbah Mo gemar menonton tarian ronggeng di alun-alun semata-mata karena dia suka melihat keindahan penari-penarinya.

Pada suatu malam, kampungnya mati lampu dan dia ditangkap dengan kasar di rumahnya. Dalam penjara Mbah Mo bersama teman-teman seusianya mengalami berbagai siksaan fisik sehingga membekas dalam ingatannya. Cerpen *Mbah Mo dan Bulan Septembebr* ini dengan jelas mengkontraskan antara pengalaman tokoh utama sebagai korban Peristiwa 1965:

“Juga di setiap bulan September tiba, Mbah Mo lebih banyak cermburu melihat anak-anak muda yang dulu ketika ia seusia segitu, lebih banyak berada di dalam penjara. Kesibukannya hanya membersihkan rumputan sekitar penjara, memijiti kawan-kawannya senasib dan menuruti kemauan sipir untuk mengurus ternak ayam, kelinci, bebek atau apa pun milik mereka. Mengurus kotoran, memberi makanan dan minuman, namun tak pernah merasakan panen...”

dengan kehidupan generasi muda masa kini:

“Maka, begitu di masa sekarang ia melihat anak-anak muda yang begitu banyak senyum di jalanan, saling berangkulan dengan pacarnya begitu mesra, rasanya Mbah Mo hanya bias merutuk kepada Tuhan”.

Pengkontraskan pengalaman antara generasi dalam cerpen ini menarik untuk dicatat karena isu ini tidak hadir dalam cerpen-cerpen lainnya di koran *KR*. Namun sayangnya dalam cerpen *Mbah Mo dan Bulan September* ini tidak menghadirkan dialog antara generasi muda dengan Mbah Mo. Akibatnya tidak ada penelusuran sudut pandang anak muda melihat kekontraskan ini. Untuk menutup cerita, di bagian akhir cerpen, penulis menggambarkan dalam penderitaannya Mbah Mo tidak merasa dendam kepada tentara. Namun dia banyak menyesali ketidaadilan Tuhan.

Cerpen Risda Nur Widia, 100 Kepala di Bawah Rembulan

Tidak banyak informasi yang saya dapatkan tentang Risda Nur Widia kecuali dia sebagai penulis berusia muda yang masih berstatus mahasiswa di sebuah universitas swasta di Yogyakarta. Dia telah menulis banyak cerpen dan pernah memenangkan sayembara penulisan sastra mahasiswa pada tahun 2013. Cerpen ini terbit pada tanggal 20 September 2015. Dibandingkan kelima karya sebelumnya, cerpen ini tersusun paling baik. Karya Nur Widia ini terdiri dari empat bagian dengan tokoh utama bernama Tarno. Latar belakang cerita disajikan di bagian pertama dengan menceritakan sebuah desa bernama Manisrenggo yang banyak pemuda desanya menghilang setelah keriuhan politik di kota.

Bagian kedua menggambarkan situasi politik di desa yang memanas karena warga meminta hak atas hasil tanah. Di sini terlihat penulis memahami isu pokok pada periode tersebut. Jika penulis-penulis sebelumnya hanya menghadirkan tokoh sebagai korban. Di sini, Nur Widia menunjukkan riset yang dia lakukan untuk menjadi bahan cerpen ini. Dengan rinci dia memberikan penggambaran permasalahan saat itu sebagai berikut :

“Gerakan petani miskin ini dianggap langkah paling tepat setelah janji yang dicita-citakan oleh

pemerintah melalui Undang Undang No. 2 Tahun 1960, tentang perjanjian bagi hasil, atau yang lebih dikenal Undang Undang Pokok Bagi Hasil (UUPBH), yang diselewengkan dari mandat awal”.

Akibatnya kondisi politik memanas. Tarno sebagai bagian dari petani miskin bersama dengan BTI/PKI dan tuan tanah tergabung dalam PNI. Pembagian ini cukup menarik karena Nur Widia menggunakan kata “bersama dengan..” bukan “tergabung dalam” seperti tuduhan yang sering dikenakan pada petani miskin dalam kaitan Peristiwa 1965.

Pada bagian ketiga, cerpen ini melukiskan percakapan antara Tarno dengan ibunya sesaat sebelum aparat militer menangkap Tarno. Dalam percakapan tersebut digambarkan keluarga Tarno yang selalu menderita dengan ayahnya yang mati karena menahan lapar demi memberi makan bagi keluarganya dan ibu yang bekerja sebagai babu pada seorang tuan tanah. Bagian ini diakhiri dengan penangkapannya Tarno. Dengan dramatis digambarkan tubuhnya ditendang dan dipukuli sebelum dan setelah di atas truk untuk dibawa entah kemana.

Bagian akhir ditutup dengan penggambaran singkat Tarno yang sedang menunggu giliran untuk dieksekusi. Para pemuda desa di tahan dalam sebuah kamp konsentrasi militer. Satu persatu dari mereka di tembak atau dipenggal di pinggir sungai Pandansimping.

Kekurangan dan Kelebihan dalam Cerpen-cerpen KR

Riset sejarah untuk cerpen sering kali masih kurang dilakukan seperti terlihat dalam karya yang hadir di KR antara 2012-2015. Padahal untuk melakukan riset tentang periode ini tidak terlalu sulit dilakukan pada saat ini.¹² Bahan-bahan yang menggambarkan periode ini sudah cukup banyak tersedia dalam bentuk memoir, testimoni atau bahkan film dokumenter. Para penulis kebanyakan menyusun cerpennya dengan terburu-buru sehingga terlihat beberapa ketidakakuratan fakta-fakta sejarah yang digunakan

Dalam periode 2012-2015, KR hampir setiap tahun menerbitkan cerpen-cerpen berlatar belakang Peristiwa 1965. Namun akibat kurang digarap dengan baiknya cerpen-cerpen ini sehingga terlihat terlihat cerpen-cerpen ini seakan diterbitkan untuk mengejar momentum menjelang Peristiwa 1965.

Kelima cerpen mengambil sudut pandang korban. Namun dua cerpen *Sepatu Hitam* dan *Bapakku juga Hilang*, terlihat plot dan alur cerita yang nyaris sama. Keduanya ditulis oleh pengarang yang sama yaitu Asmadji As Muchtar.

Dari kesemua cerpen ini, penting untuk dicatat bahwa tokoh perempuan hanya hadir satu kali dalam cerpen *Sepatu Hitam*. Kelima cerpen yang lain menggunakan tokoh utama pria. Padahal ada dua penulis perempuan yaitu Maria Magdalena Bhoernomo dengan cerpen *30 September* dan Anita Retno Lestasi dengan cerpen *Sang Penyair* namun mereka menggunakan tokoh utama pria. Sementara dalam *Bapakku juga Hilang* menggunakan figur anak kecil usia 4 tahun.

Dari ketujuh cerpen yang terbit, cerpen Maria Magdalena Bhoernomo ini hadir berbeda dengan pengambilan sudut pandang dari pelaku penjahat. Bentuk sudut pandang ini tidak biasa dalam cerita berlatar Peristiwa 1965 yang pada umumnya mengambil sudut korban. Bentuk sudut pandang pelaku ini mengingatkan kita pada film *Jagal* karya Joshua Oppenheimer yang dirilis pada bulan November 2012. Kedua karya ini sama-sama sudut pandang pelaku kekerasan, tapi perbedaan yang mencolok antara keduanya adalah dalam film *Jagal* fantasi kekerasan hadir dengan memuakkan, sementara dalam *30 September* lebih bersifat pembenaran kekerasan yang dilakukan.

Dalam cerpen ini, Madi mengalami teror dari PKI yang kemudian berbalik membalas dendam saat Peristiwa 1965 terjadi dengan membunuh penyerang-penyerangnya. Sayangnya seperti cerpen-cerpen lainnya, Maria Magdalena Bhoernomo tidak mendukung dengan riset yang kuat sehingga meskipun sudut pandangannya terlihat unik dalam penulisannya terlihat kedodoran dan terburu-buru.

Yang juga perlu dicatat adalah soal generasi muda dengan Peristiwa 1965 dalam cerpen-cerpen KR. Terdapat sekurangnya dua penulis muda di sini yaitu Anita Retno Lestari dan Rida Nur Widia. Cerpen mereka yang menggunakan latar Peristiwa 1965 (Rida Nur Widia, *100 Kepala di Bawah Rembulan*) atau hanya sekedar disinggung (Anita Retno Lestasi, *Sang Penyair*) cukup menarik mengingat adanya jarak yang jauh antara Peristiwa kejadian itu sendiri dengan usia si penulis. Tentu perlu upaya lebih dari para penulis muda ini memahami dan mencerna apa yang terjadi 50 tahun lalu itu. Cerpen lain yang terkait dengan generasi muda adalah karya Satmoko Budi Santoso. Dalam cerpennya ini dia mengkontraskan ketidakadilan pengalaman hidup korban Peristiwa 1965, Mbah Mo, dengan anak muda masa kini.

Hal lain yang perlu dicatat adalah kesemua cerpen ini menghindari penggunaan kata komunis, sebuah kata yang tabu disebutkan dalam masa Orde Baru. Semua penulis hanya menyebut kata PKI atau BTI dalam cerpen-cerpennya.

Saya melihat upaya yang dilakukan KR dengan memuat cerpen-cerpen berlatar Peristiwa 1965 dengan sudut pandang korban patut ditanggapi dengan positif mengingat latar sejarah KR dalam periode 1965 lebih menunjukkan posisi mendukung Pangkostrad saat itu Mayjend Soeharto. Namun sayangnya

¹² Penggunaan riset sebagai bahan penulisan karya sastra bukan suatu hal yang baru. Perlu dicatat di sini Pramoedya Ananta Toer yang telah melakukan riset dengan mengumpulkan bahan dari Koran-koran awal abad ke-20 untuk menjadi dasar karya tetraloginya.

sebagian cerpen ini terkesan kurang persiapan. Keterbatasan ruang bisa dilihat sebagai hambatan dalam mengembangkan penceritaan. Tapi dalam cerpen Satmoko Budi Santoso, *Mbah Mo dan Bulan September* dan Risda Nur Widia, *100 Kepala di Bawah Rembulan* komposisi cerita, alur, dan hasil riset tersaji dengan memuaskan.

Penutup

Peristiwa 1965 selalu penting untuk ditulis dan dibicarakan dalam kaitannya sebagai sejarah Indonesia yang kelam dan menyisakan berbagai persoalan. Hingga hari ini pemerintah belum mengakui secara resmi terjadinya pembantaian massal yang terjadi pada periode itu. Generasi yang lahir pada masa Orde Baru dibentuk untuk mempercayai PKI sebagai pemberontak. Di sisi lain, generasi muda masa kini - yang rata-rata lahir pada saat dan setelah tahun 1990-an - banyak yang tidak tahu menahu Peristiwa 1965 ini. Akibatnya terjadi keterputusan sejarah antara para korban 1965, generasi yang lahir pada masa Orde Baru dan generasi setelahnya.

Karya sastra merupakan satu medium penting untuk menjembatani keterputusan antar generasi ini. Meskipun banyak cerpen yang hadir di *KR* lemah dalam fakta sejarah, upaya menulis dan menerbitkan cerpen-cerpen ini sendiri patut mendapat apresiasi positif mengingat posisi yang diambil *KR* pada tahun 1965 yang mendukung Suharto. Dengan begitu diharapkan dialog mengenai Peristiwa 1965 semakin meluas.

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30 September by a Child: Modernity in Ideology

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Abstract

Modernity in fact covers not only physical things, which are clearly able to be seen, but also ideological ones, which are hidden. *30 September*, written by Maria Magdalena Bhoernomo, is one of the examples or models of those of the second option. It is just a short story, published by *Kedaulatan Rakyat* in Yogyakarta, but behind it readers could uplift insights, especially regarding with the idea of modernity in ideology. Since modernity is understood as the newer step after that of traditional behavior/ attitude/culture, *30 September* identifies itself as the evidence or proof in developing the traditional way of thought, dealing with the communism ideology, to the modern way. As a matter of fact the story simply tells readers about the events of murdering and being murdered around the years of the prominent historical fact about the tragedy of 30 September 1965 in Jakarta. Despite the arguments concerned with its political background, *30 September* provokes the readers to stand on their own judgement about the tragedy. Some literary devices are used to emphasize the phenomenon, such as the existence of a 4 year child in confronting the event of murdering and being murdered, the position of Jakarta as the start place to trigger any other events happening in remote areas, and also the traditional tone of the text in dealing with the people of PKI. In short, the text of *30 September* opens a new paradigm about the wicked acts caused by the event of 30 September 1965.

Keywords: *ideology, modernity, tragedy, PKI*

Introduction

Maria Magdalena Bhoernomo's short story, *30 September*, published by the local media, "*Kedaulatan Rakyat*," is worth discussing from, at least, 2 perspectives. The title is simple but challenging, and secondly the story is by a child's point of view. The title's simplicity is shown by only stating it as the calendar date, 30 September, in which some Indonesian readers would really understand what the date is about. Most Indonesian people may know what happened in September 30th several years ago, but it seems only those who were closely related to the event, both those belonging to the group of the victims and the group of the doers, are still having the horror memory of tragedy. It means the date as a matter of fact gives a prominent significance just to a certain scope of Indonesian people. In other words, since the event of "*G30S/PKI*" was many years ago, the Indonesian newer generations seem not to be down by its politically emotional conflicts, despite new breakthroughs to maintain the latent conflicts by those having its ideology. Therefore, by the first view on its title of Bhoernomo's short story, readers could surely predict what the story is about. There, in fact, lies the aspect of challenge brought by *30 September*. The readers perhaps would question the importance of retelling the "similar event," i.e. whether it is to provide another fact dealing with the occurrence or not. Actually the readers have had the idea or the main content of story behind the title *30 September*. Another problem raised is probably concerned with prejudice coming up to follow either whether the story is merely to maintain the politically constructed ideology behind the incident or whether it is to remind that not all problems about the incident have been totally finished.

However, by the angle of literary device *30 September* is interesting, not because of its title but its point of view. Here the narrator is personified in a child of around 4 years old. The child tried to reveal any events dealing with the father and the mother, completed also by some events around. The events are about the mother who tried to prevent the father to face the challenge of the nine PKI people, but she failed because the father, with his *pedang* (sword), chose to fight them. He could defeat those 9 people and slaughtered them all, though actually he didn't want to do it. He thought that those people had forced him and the only way to save himself was by killing them. The father had to choose either murdering or being murdered. The tone delivered consequently is given by the natural condition of the child, i.e. the condition of being incapable in the judgment of blaming either the father was right or his enemies.

The fact of the narrator, as being a four year child, is well supported by some significant data, such as the attitudes of "PKI people," the idea about Jakarta as the origin of the tragedy of 30 September, and also the political position of the other places out of Jakarta. Surely, these all data are to complete the child's knowledges against the any murders in the tragedy. It is worth noting that the story's arrangement of events is in fact the child's retelling or sharing of the child's experience in the past. It means that at the time of the retelling the child is already mature enough, especially in dealing with the tragedy and its

surrounding conflicts which accompanied before and also after the tragedy of 30 September. This is proven in the text, *30 September*, especially the last comment given by the narrator.

“Semua itu berkaitan dengan peristiwa terbunuhnya sejumlah petinggi militer pada tanggal 30 September di Jakarta. Politik memang sangat kejam.”

(All of them were related with the incident of the murdered some military top leaders in September 30, in Jakarta. Politic is indeed cruel.)

This phenomenon, i.e. the existence of the child, actually drives the awareness of readers that there is another angle in perceiving the discourse of the global incident called the tragedy of September 30, 1965 in Jakarta, when *PKI* conducted the action which was historically well known as *G30S/PKI*.

From the previously stated grounds, this paper identifies that the text, *30 September*, intends to deconstruct the common or public understanding about the tragedy itself, especially dealing with the constructed ideology. This is obvious from the way the narrator, represented by a four year child, leads readers into their own appropriate judgement, about the tragedy, without being provoked and intimidated by the winner of the conflicts in the tragedy of 30 September. A new discourse concerning with the tragedy is being rebuilt by the text: the modernity against the traditional understanding of the tragedy, which has been ideological. Here, the text strongly points out that murdering can not be justified.

The Tragedy of September 30, 1965 in *30 September*

As a matter of fact, the text, *30 September*, does not directly reveal any events about the national tragedy in Indonesia in September 30, 1965, which was the source of idea behind the text. Instead, it is likely one of many stories about the impact of the tragedy. Here is a four year child who retold a story, which for the child had the connection with the real tragedy, as the narrator’s last comment in the text. The child more or less revealed that the child’s father, Madi, was unintentionally involved in the conflicts of murdering or being murdered in the case of *PKI* and its followers. Madi had forcibly to kill 9 persons, known as the *PKI* people, or otherwise he would be killed by them. After the incident the father was put in jail. However, it happened that everyday the father might leave the jail at midnight and had to go back there in the morning. During his leaving of the jail, he should undergo the duty of killing the other *PKI* persons. This duty seemed to result in the murderings towards many *PKI* people.

Ideology of September 30, 1965

As mentioned earlier, September 30, 1965, was in fact about the tragedy which gave birth to a constructed ideology. The origin of the tragedy is famously called “*G30S/PKI*.” It was a political conflict dealing with the competition for the sake of holding the national authority of Indonesia during 1965, and the competition was between *PKI*, one of the biggest and influential political parties, and *TNI-AD*, the Indonesian army military force. The tragedy was about the killings of some top leaders of *TNI-AD* by *PKI*. It seems that the tragedy was the tip of iceberg because after this incident there were many tragedies following: murdering and being murdered. However, the success of *PKI* in destroying some top leaders of *TNI-AD* became its turning point to fall down. The act of murdering, which was totally opposed by the most Indonesians, who were very religious, gradually turned to give tragedy back to *PKI*. The people’s religious attitude was used by its competitor to fight back. Therefore, many *PKI*’s members and participants had to bear many tragedies, i.e. being murdered or slaughtered, and in many parts of Indonesia there were the deaths of them. The act of taking revenge didn’t stop yet. Though politically the position owned by *PKI* was totally damaged since the authority, represented by *TNI-AD*, declared that *PKI* was latently dangerous, the incident of September 30, 1965, then was marked as the betrayal of *PKI* against the establishment of the Indonesian state. *PKI* was considered as the forbidden party and those who had relations with it, both as its followers and participants, violated the law. Even, this tragedy also dragged the former President, Soekarno, into the disadvantage position, and finally the ends of the President’s life turned into tragic moments as well. The constructed ideology was that *PKI* was evil and absolutely legally forbidden.

The above tragedy of September 30, 1965, forms the stone foundation for *30 September* in revealing its idea, but not its ideology. Explicitly, to end the story the narrator mentioned that Jakarta stood as the significant icon of the tragedy because then the other parts followed the method of the tragedy, i.e. murdering. Anyway, the way that the text revealed any events dealing with those called *PKI* and its enemies is not in accordance with the stated or constructed ideology provided by the authority, which identified *PKI* as the enemy of the Indonesian state. Here, the text, represented by the child, just told readers that it is not about what *PKI* already did but what the others responded to the incident. Interestingly, *30 September* delivered an event about murdering but inserted an idea that this was done by a strong reason, which might be justified in the readers’ perception. The father killed the *PKI* people because of his attempt of not being murdered by the 9 *PKI* persons. An idea of having reason to justify of the act in killing or murdering is obvious, and it seems the idea of “murdering or being murdered” is repeatedly emphasized. The other example is about Madi’s duty during his leaving the jail at midnight. He had to kill the enemies, *PKI*, because they perhaps would take revenge to him. This act, as stated in the

last paragraphs of the text, was actually influenced by the event of *PKI*'s murdering of some top leaders of *TNI-AD*, and all happened because of political ideology conducted by Jakarta.

Modernity in Ideology of September 30, 1965

Simply modernity is a new paradigm of perceiving reality, and it is usually contrasted with the traditional paradigm. Therefore, discussion on the perspective of modernity would always be an attempt of "leaving the old way" since the old way is considered to belong to the era of the past and not to appropriate for the new people or generation in understanding the once stated reality. It means that the point is not on what the reality is but on who sees the reality. The existence of "*Kedaulatan Rakyat*," for instance, is traditional for some new generation of people of Yogyakarta, but perhaps it is about modernity for those coming from and living in the era prior to its publication. In this case, sometimes the phenomenon is considered as the problem on civilization, especially between the traditional and modern ones. As Charles Taylor (1985: 1)¹ noted that modernity is a movement from one constellation of background understandings to another, it is clear that in fact between traditional and modern the group of people, who perceive the reality, is the major agent.

Regarding the problem of the ideology September 30, 1965, the examination focuses on how there is an attempt of the text in not to be provoked and cornered by the stated ideology. As it is commonly understood that the tragedy in September 30, 1965, was between *PKI* and *TNI-AD* and the victor of the competition finally was *TNI-AD*, the consequence is that in the perspective built by *TNI-AD* those belonging to *PKI*, both the political members and its participants or followers, are the wicked people and they should be ideologically damaged. Hence, the text revealed this naturally. Below, some quotations are the proofs.

"Sambil tersedu-sedu ibu berdoa semoga Tuhan melindungi ayah dan kami semua dari kejahatan antek-antek Partai Komunis Indonesia."

(While crying mother prayed that God would protect daddy and all of us from the wicked acts done by the followers of the Indonesian Communist Party)

"Tadi malam, kalau aku tahu Madi diserbu, pasti akan membantu sekuat tenaga"

(Last night, if I knew Madi was attacked, I would surely help as well as I could)

"Semoga dengan kematian mereka, desa kita akan aman tenteram. Tidak lagi ada warga yang kemalingan. Tidak ada lagi perempuan yang diperkosa. Tidak ada lagi anak-anak remaja yang diajak minum-minum tuak sampai mabuk. Mereka adalah antek-antek PKI yang sengaja menebar teror dan merusak moral"

(Hopefully by their deaths, our village would be peaceful. No more thieves. No more girls raped. No more kids provoked to drink "tuak" to drunk. They were really the PKI's followers who intentionally challenged terrors and ruined morality)

By the constructed ideology the text *30 September* presented Madi, the child's father, as the opponent of *PKI*, and what he had done, in murdering some people of *PKI*'s followers, was justified because those people were absolutely evil. Even, in the different part of the text, it was presented that there were still many *PKI*'s followers to destroy and that's why Madi had a special privilege of leaving his jail in order to continue his acts of killing them.

Nevertheless, what the text wants "to maintain" the constructed ideology is interestingly balanced by its position of not being ideologically confined. It means that the revelation of the ideology is done by its unique way or tool. All ideas about the wicked people of *PKI* were actually by the statements delivered by "old people," such as the child's parents, the neighbors, and also the authority who had the rules of letting Madi leave his jail at midnight. Clearly they represent the old generation. However, the position of the child in perceiving the ideology is just to retell it from what and who the child has received. The characteristics of being ignorant and innocent seem dominant in the character of child. Though for the parents the incident about Madi and the *PKI*'s followers is shocking, because it is about murdering or being murdered, for the child it is nothing and that's why the child easily returned to sleep.

"Entah apa yang kemudian terjadi, aku tidak tahu karena kembali tidur. Terlalu mudah bagi anak kecil untuk kembali tidur setelah terbangun di tengah malam"

(What next happened I knew nothing more because I got to sleep again. It's too easy for a child to get sleep back)

¹ Hasting Center Report, Vol 25, Issue 2, pages 24-33, March-April 1995 (www.onlinelibrary.wiley.com)

It means there is gap between the child and the parents in perceiving the event of tragedy, as the reality. The child is the character who is free from the constructed ideology, and the only reason of it is that the child is still incapable and also probably unwilling to understand or know what the parents' problems and conflicts. Here, the parent represents the old generation, while the child the newer generation. The gap of the two would create also their own different way of perceiving the reality, which is about the conflicts of the two opponents. The position of the child is beyond the conflicts and there is no reason of locating the child in the side of either two competitors of conflict or tragedy. The child could only perceive that there was an incident but the child was not part of the problems. Even, the child was ignorant about who should be put to blame, either the group called *PKI* or its enemies. One thing the child really understood that the two groups did killing in solving the problems. Surely, the gap between the child and the older generation is not the only evidence that one generation is differently holding the ideology, but it doesn't mean that the two then are trapped to become an opponent of the other.

The characteristic of being “ignorant” shows the quality of the child in not to stand behind either sides of the opposing groups. The incapability, and the unwillingness, against the tragedy's ideology defines the child as the new group besides the two stated groups. This groups is independent and not belonging to either the two groups. It means there is a new paradigm brought by the text through the existence of the child in facing the reality about the conflicts of the two competitors. The paradigm is not to put the blame to either groups. In this case, at least the paradigm suggests an attitude of not being confined by the constructed ideology, in which *PKI* was once marked as the enemy of the state. The readers are invited also not to be confined by the stated ideology, but to think objectively what the reality is in fact. This insight is new paradigm and it shows the quality of being modern in comparison with the traditional paradigm which considered *PKI* totally wrong. Nevertheless, this paradigm is surely not to switch the position of *PKI* to become the superior group to replace the position of *TNI-AD*, but it is just an attempt to neutralize the inferiority of *PKI*.

The fact that the father, who did killing the people of *PKI*, was under the control of the constructed ideology is the evidence that the ideology well ran in the track that killing the followers of *PKI* is justified. Though the act of killing itself violates the state laws, killing *PKI* is different. It can be seen in the text concerning with what happened to Madi after his killing of the 9 *PKI* people. Here, the text implicitly lets the readers muse the phenomenon. Without its direct statement in showing the message behind the act of killing to the readers, *30 September* interestingly invites the readers to their awareness of the act of killing.

However, the last statements of the text reveals the child's personal idea about the tragedy. For the child the father and the *PKI* people are only the victims of propaganda brought by Jakarta after the incident of September 30, 1965. The key terminology about it is politic. It means all tragedies were actually drawn from the tragedy in Jakarta, and politically the authority, who could control the situation in 1965, constructed an ideology that *PKI* was evil. The capability of the child in understanding this political issues is not in accordance with the child's incapability in understanding the tragedy done by Madi, the father. It seems that those last statements represent the real tone of the text about who should be put the blame, and it is the world of politic undergone by “Jakarta” which could control the national dynamics despite the tragedy of killing.

Conclusion

The text *30 September* brings a new paradigm of viewing the reality about the tragedy dealing with the event of September 30, 1965. However, it is interesting that in the paradigm the text does not want to deny the reality given by the constructed ideology, that *PKI* is wicked. The text properly suggests the readers to have their own perception about the real tragedy in which the concept of murdering or being murdered is the ultimate slogan during the era of 1965. The fact that there was the constructed ideology concerning with the incident of *G30S/PKI* is presented by the text as the traditional ideology since there is another paradigm in viewing the tragedy. This view is represented by the existence of a four year child in perceiving the events of murdering or being murdered. The point of modernity lies in the position of being the new group, out of the two opposing groups, in understanding the core of the tragedy. It is not about blaming and isolating a certain group as evil but the act of killing is in fact not justified despite any reasons behind the act.

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Joshua Oppenheimer’s *The Act of Killing*: a Closer Look to the Lasting Communist Stigma among Indonesians

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Abstract

What happened in 1965 massacre where millions of people stigmatized as communists due to their involvement in *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI, Indonesian Communist Party) were slaughtered remorselessly remains unsettled. The propaganda which stigmatized communism has rooted deeply among the Indonesians. The massive violation of human rights was concealed under the communist stigma put upon the victims, causing havoc throughout Indonesia. The anti-communist dogma held by some Indonesians has intensified the intricacy of the efforts to reveal the truth. Joshua Oppenheimer’s ‘The Act of Killing’, a controversial documentary film released in 2012, triumphantly reveals Suharto’s military-dominant regime after years. The brutality of the massacre is portrayed from the killers’ point of view. This paper dissects *Pemuda Pancasila* (PP, the Pancasila Youth) based on their portrayal and power which successfully preserved the communist stigma among the Indonesians. The free man portrayals of PP and the sociopathy of the leader is elaborated from the scene in the film. ‘The Act of Killing’ remains as a controversial documentary film, yet the elaboration is expected to change the Indonesians’ mindset about PKI and the ruling government.

Keywords: *The Act of Killing*, communist, stigma, *Pemuda Pancasila*

Introduction

Propaganda is a strategic political communication which explicitly intended to invoke something (Cunningham, 2010). It is a communication tool manipulated by the government to build up public’s sympathy. This strategy was well-applied in New Order Era, the era of propaganda. Aspinall and Fealey (2010) state that “the New Order touched the whole of Indonesian society in a way that was as negative as the pervasive lack of social mobility that characterized the colonial system,” (p. 75). The applied tactics was indeed a propaganda, and the New Order aggressively executed the propaganda which no one could ignore. The propaganda was delivered in the form of oppressive authorized party. A supremely infamous “terror and propaganda machine” (Southwood & Flanagan, 1983: p. 21) in Indonesia was *Komando Operasi Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban* (KOPKAMTIB, Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order). KOPKAMTIB was the sweetheart of Suharto’s tyrannical regime. It had a powerful dominance which made it possible for them to play a significant role in every aspect of life in Indonesia (Southwood & Flanagan, 1983: 104). However, if we take a closer look, KOPKAMTIB was just a small fragment of brutality in this military dominance regime of the smiling General, Suharto, in its effort to block the communist penetration in Indonesia, without its representatives in some of regions in Indonesia. The most popular representatives of KOPKAMTIB was *Pemuda Pancasila* (the Pancasila Youth), a community organization with the underpinning based on the ‘free man’ notion in North Sumatera.

Pemuda Pancasila was formed by General Abdul Haris Nasution, one of Suharto’s former confidants who meritoriously helped him to become the Army Commander. The aim of PP was to reinforce the patrimonialism regime from outside Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. *Pemuda Pancasila* was actually formed as a supporter of national independence to keep the spirit of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution away from communism, but later became a mere dictatorship tool for the government when entering the New Order era. After it lost its cardinal purpose under the government’s control, they became more and more repressive than ideological in the way they treated *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI, Indonesian Communist Party) members (Arif, 2013). They considered the members of PKI as the bad persona, and they considered themselves as the good persona who tried to protect and fight for this country from any forms of communist invasion. The reinforcement of *Pemuda Pancasila* indeed performed a significant role in maintaining people’s supports for the 1965 coup in Indonesia forthrightly from North Sumatera. *Pemuda Pancasila* claimed to have always been a faithful supporters of reformation from the very beginning (Ryter, 2001).

From the first day it was released, in 1 November 2012, Joshua Oppenheimer’s ‘The Act of Killing’ had triggered controversy. This documentary was filmed based on the point of view of the executioners, the killers of the alleged PKI members in North Sumatera, Anwar Congo and his accomplice. The documentary captured the ruthlessness of *Pemuda Pancasila* as one of the anti-communism groups in the Republic of Indonesia under the leadership of Suharto. The film brilliantly reveals in an extremely specific way how capable the executioners silently yet brutally killing hundreds of people they called communists. The torture conducted by *Pemuda Pancasila* was not only physical, but also mental. There were reports

stating that the alleged communist party members were given opportunity to prove their loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia by killing other alleged communist party members. In short, it shows the ugly truth behind the 1965 massacre and gives new insights in the portrayal of the well-built anti-communism sentiments after all these years.

Having chosen *The Act of Killing* as the main focus, this paper analyzes the scene in the film to find the representation of *Pemuda Pancasila*, especially the perpetrators of the massive violation of human rights, in a critical way. This paper also presented the reader with factual evidence based on real-life experience of the killers as the part of the history. The brutal truth coming out from the perpetrators' mouth is used in the analysis.

Pemuda Pancasila's Free Men Notion

Pemuda Pancasila is often referred as *Preman*, which rooted from the English words 'free' and 'man'. The organization plays a key role in the 1965-1966 massacre. Under the Old Order flag of reformation era, *Pemuda Pancasila* came up as an informal youth organization in the attempt to defend the youth interest from the informal sector. They claimed that the reason they embraced the word *Preman* to represent them was to raise their nationalism instead of criminal purposes (Ryter, 2001). The underlying ideology appeared to be a sublime mission.

In the film, they still strongly hold the belief that the word *Preman* represents them perfectly. The belief was clearly seen in Syamsul Arifin, the Governor of North Sumatra, remark about the word during an interview with Oppenheimer.

"Banyak nilai positif juga dari preman. Preman ini kan bahasa Inggris free men, lelaki bebas. Ya orang muda itu ingin bebas, ingin berbuat walaupun dia salah, tapi kalau kita sudah tahu genetiknya, kita tahu jiwa dia, kita tahu semangatnya, tinggal ngarahinnya aja," (14:23).

("There are so many positive values from preman. Preman is an English word, free men, a free man. The youth wants freedom, they want to take actions even though they are wrong, but once we understand their genes, we understand their soul, we understand their spirit, so it's only a matter of guiding them.")

The ideology stands the test of time. Almost 50 years later, the ideology is still rooted in the mind and the heart of the people who were once a member of the organization. The line reflects the knowledge that the members were a group of thugs who needed guidance. The problem arises here is whether or not those who led the organization were worthy to look up to in the context of nationalism. Seeing the embedded idea of 'free' in the ideology illustrates the rejection to be controlled. The tendency was more to control others.

The statement was backed up with another one, coming from Yapto Soerjosoemarno, the Head of *Pemuda Pancasila*, which strengthens the claim that the ideology was misconstrued.

"Preman itu free men, terus dia mau enjoy their life, on their style gitu, relax dan Rolex," (25:57).

("Preman is free men, they want to enjoy their life on their style. Relax and Rolex.")

Soerjosoemarno's statements portray a narcissistic megalomaniac. It reflects that they are entitled to enjoy their life because it is an innate way of living, but still possess enough resources to live in luxury. "Relax and Rolex" portrays their goal to live easy and comfortable lives. This actually contradicts the first notion which states that they were in the mission to uphold the nationalist consciousness.

In addition to that, in one of the scenes even Jusuf Kalla seemed to fully agree with this ideology. One of the scenes shows the time when he delivered a speech in front of *Pemuda Pancasila* troops about the spirit of the organization as the real free men.

"Semangat yang ada di kalangan pemuda Pancasila, seperti yang banyak dikatakan orang: preman. Preman itu adalah artinya orang yang bekerja di luar, bukan pemerintah. Karena itu free men dibutuhkan bangsa ini untuk membangun bangsa ini. Kita butuh preman yang melaksanakan jalan, artinya orang bebas, orang swasta melaksanakan jalan," (35:40).

("The spirit within Pemuda Pancasila, like many people said, is Preman. Preman are the people who work outside the government. Hence, free men are needed to build this nation. We need preman who executed action, it means free men, the private sectors execute actions.")

The crowd gave a huge applause when he ended his speech. Being acknowledged by the government, *Pemuda Pancasila* members' ego was boosted. They are needed by the country and their contribution was

crucial in the course-setting of the nation. By stating that the country needed an executioner, it legalized their egocentricity. They got a legal permission to conduct actions under the command of the government. Moreover, since they were working outside of the government, they were not shackled by governmental organization. Kalla's statements was a part of the propaganda.

In Indonesian language, the word '*preman*' alludes to something negative, it could be interpreted as thugs, criminals or gangsters who commit crime in the society. It is "a colloquial term for a thug or gangster - has long been a ubiquitous figure in urban life in Indonesia ... can be found not only in street corner gangs but also in mass organizations with thousands of members." (Wilson, 2008: website). *Pemuda Pancasila* had 300 million members. This expresses that numerous street level perpetrators were prowling around North Sumatera, legally. They were also killing about 2.5 millions of alleged communist members. This information was found in one of the scene which showed an interview scene of Anwar and Pemuda Pancasila on TVRI, the state national television. In the scene, Congo gave a brief definition of the word *Preman*. He referred it as something that can be defined as a 'freedom'. Come in grief, the concept of freedom here was not used wisely, yet it was intentionally misused to justify what is actually and morally wrong in their acts. The justification lead to signification of the word to the freedom of taking someone's life. This was something which flourished exuberantly in the heartlessness of *Pemuda Pancasila*.

Yet, *Pemuda Pancasila* never once denied that they were a bunch of *Preman*. It was a pride for them to be called so. Psychologically, the word *Preman* gives a fearful impact to the society in their portrayal of *Pemuda Pancasila*. *Preman* has always been portrayed as violently powerful people. Therefore, the logic was once the society did not show some forms of submissions to the authorized unit, they would be destroyed. That was the way *Pemuda Pancasila* played its mental game to the weaklings in society.

On another note, *Pemuda Pancasila* wanted to appear like Robinhood, a cunning man who committed crimes to help poor people and was considered as a hero. They claimed that they committed crimes for the sake of the poor. The poor mentioned was the obedient society formed by the government through propagandas. As the right wings of the government they needed to continue leading the society to be more resentful towards the people related to PKI. What made them different from Robinhood was that even Robinhood himself never tried to persuade the poor to hate particular group of people. Ryter (2001) in *Violence and the State in Suharto's Indonesia* states that, "It claims to be a principled, disciplined, and militant organization of more than six million current members that vows to defend Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution," (p. 126). They wanted to be considered as a hero, they 'claimed' themselves as one, but they were not even slightly close to neither hero's good deeds in their actual actions nor their sublime vows.

Another scene in the documentary shows the 'Ganyang PKI!' movement scene where Akhsyan Asmara, Minister of Youth and Sports, as the portrayal of the leader of Pemuda Pancasila was trying to keep the good image of the organization though it was a total opposite in reality. The scene captured the time when he told the youth not to portray their brutal spirit by slaying, yelling and repeating provocative remarks about PKI because it would jeopardize the image of this free men organization.

"Bisa berbahaya bagi citra organisasi Pemuda Pancasila kita," (1:55:19).

("It can be so perilous to the image of our Pemuda Pancasila.")

But then he added to Oppenheimer that was okay to insert the impudent scene as long as it was not played in full. This was intended to show to the public that they also had a militant side which cannot be molested or if so they would take actions. *Pemuda Pancasila* were so proud with the *Preman* trademark. They also took pride in their practice of intimidating the society with their existence. However, they bluntly refused to be considered as cruel as, or even crueler than, PKI. In their mind, the cruelest members of society were PKI. Thus they felt the obligation to get rid of them to be able to consider themselves as heroes in the society for the sake of the nation's security and everyone's safety. In the process, there were two subliminal messages which always implied in every propaganda: the first is communist's inhumanity and the second is a concealed comprehension about the fact that only military can free the populace from the latent peril of communists (Southwood & Flanagan, 1983). Those two facts plumped the authorized party to finally form the noble image of them and the tyrannical picture of PKI, effectively, within Indonesians.

The Sociopaths Controlling the Society: A Closer Look on Anwar Congo and Adi Zulkadry

Dated back to 1965-1966 where the massacre happened, Anwar Congo, a man who was obsessed with cowboy film and Al Pacino, seemed so calm and collective when he told the story about the killings in front of the camera. He even acted the most effective way to kill the victim without causing a lot of blood splatter, using a wire to strangle the victim's neck. He looked as if he enjoyed it much as he was drown in the nostalgic feeling of dancing cha-cha-cha while murdering the victim. He laughed at it. He also shared his secret, to add the enjoyment in killing the victims, he smoked cigarettes or marijuana. As if he went down memory lane, he could not be any happier than that.

"Itu pertama kali kan kita main pukul, itu kan darah banyak, disini kan, disini kan darah, disini kan darah banyak, ehm, jadi karena kelewat banyak darah itu kan bersihnya kan bau, iya kan? Jadi cara untuk jangan keluar darah itu inilah pake sistem ini," (08:50).

("The first time we did the killing, we smacked the victim but it caused a lot of blood here and was very smelly, so, without producing a very significant amount of blood we decided to use this system.")

The calmness and collectedness of the story-telling was remarkable. He did not even show any sign of remorse when he was explaining his killing method. Then he explained the feeling he got during the process of killing in a casual manner.

"Jadi saya menghilangkan itu saya usahakan dengan musik enak. Saya bisa nari, iya kan? Bisa happy. Sedikit alkohol, ya kan? Sedikit mariyuana. Sedikit innex, ekstasi. Sudah siap minum, fly, kita pun happy," (10:15).

("While getting rid of them, I tried to put on good music. I could dance, right? I could be happy. A little alcohol, right? A little marijuana. A little 'e', ecstasy. Ready to drink, got high, we were happy.")

From the statement we can conclude that the process of killing other people was a delightful process for him. Something worthy of celebration. He continued as he shows his skillful dancing while laughing at himself in lunacy

"Cha-cha haha aneh ya? Cha-cha-cha didadidamdad diditaptap chadaditaptap," (10:47).

("Cha-cha haha it's weird, isn't it? Cha-cha-cha didadidamdad diditaptap chadaditaptap.")

The absence of remorse in a seemingly socially functional person can only interpreted as sociopathy tendency. Thomas in Cooper-White (2013) states that sociopaths have no "meaningful emotional inner world that most people have and perhaps because of that they can't really imagine or feel the emotional worlds of other people," (web). The inability to feel guilt came from the fact that they cannot cope with the feeling. Thus, remorse and guilt were absent from their emotional vocabulary. They feel nothing wrong when committing what others think as immoral like murdering people.

Another sign of sociopathy in Anwar Congo's personality is owning an oversized ego. The sociopathy characteristics which are shown in Congo's traits are "overweening sense of self" and "narcissists to the extreme, with a huge sense of entitlement," (Cooper-White, 2013: web). The following quotation briefly shows in Congo's respond to Herman Koto's, the Regional Chief of Pemuda Pancasila, compliment about his clothes

"Gak usah kau pun, aku bilang pas, karena aku ini orang seni." (1:15:47)

("You don't need to tell me, I already know this clothes suit me well because I'm an artistic person.")

He clearly did not need any compliment from Herman because he knew that he was just that good. To be honest, it wounds his pride to be given such compliment from Herman whom he thought had no qualification to comment on his artsy personality.

The third trait of sociopathy could be seen in Adi Zulkadry, one of Congo's conspirator. He was involved in a conversation where he stated about the details of how they murdered people in 1965-1966, then explained his inner feeling after finishing his job. Coming from a man who had a family and lived in normality, despite of his dark past, the explanation was very surprising,

"Ada dia punya anus kita colok sampe masuk dia pake kayu, ada. Kita teken dia punya leher pake kayu, ada. Kita gantung, ada. Kita ikat pake kawat, ada. Kita potong, juga ada. Kita lindak pake mobil, juga ada. Seperti diizinkan dan itu terbukti, kita bunuh orang kita gak dihukum. Yang sudah terlanjur mati ya apa boleh buat, itu akses yang harus dia terima. Mungkin sikap saya ini pembelaan diri, mengobat hati, tapi saya berhasil saya rasa. Saya tidak pernah merasa bersalah. Tidak ada tekanan batin, mimpi—mimpi buruk." (2:05:26)

("We stabbed their anal with a stick, yes. We press their neck with a stick, yes. We hang them, yes. As allowed, and it was proven that although we killed people, we did not get punished. They were dead already. What can we say? It was their destiny. Well, maybe this sounds very self-defensive or self-reassuring, but I think I make it anyway, I never feel guilty, no mental pressure, no nightmares.")

The state of having no guilt, no mental pressure, and no nightmares is the sign of callousness or lack of empathy in sociopaths. Sociopaths are unable to empathize with the pain of their victims, they only have contempt for others' feelings of distress and readily taking advantage of them. It is closely related to the irresponsibility or unreliability considering that their main concern is not about wrecking others' lives and dreams. In short, they are oblivious or indifferent to the devastation they cause. They do not accept blame upon themselves, but blame others, even for acts they obviously committed (McAfee, 2003).

These two people are just little epitomes of many others who join this kind of paramilitary death squads. These manipulative people do exist and that time the government saw them as potential weapons. Thus, recruiting people like Congo and his accomplices were the best decision ever made to form a group of people that can be controlled to kill people massively, fulfilling the government's needs to wipe out those who were against them without even laying a finger. The government took advantage of these mentally crooked people by triggering their sadistic traits, that once being greenlighted will become a very powerful killing machine.

The Lasting Communist Stigma and the Propaganda

Propaganda was the soul of the 32 years durability of Suharto's regime. It was also the root of communist stigma within the red and white flagged people. It stirred the people to the point where they couldn't speak their mind up anymore because they were already turned into uncritical and submissive people (Southwood & Flanagan, 1983: 81). The supernova of propaganda's goals was so obvious in this regime.

“Hari ini anak-cucu mereka bangun, yang mencoba memutarbalikkan sejarah. Ada yang tulis ‘Aku bangga jadi anak PKI’. Saya pikir ini tidak akan lama karena juga nanti rakyat akan bangkit. Ajaran komunis irtu tidak bisa ditrerima di Indonesia...” (13:56)

(Today their children and grandchildren rise, they try to falsify the history. There is someone who writes ‘I'm proud to be PKI's child’. Well, I think this is not going to last because the people of Indonesia will also rise. Communism cannot be accepted in Indonesia)

Considering Syamsul Arifin statement, it is safe to say that he is one of the anti-communist victims who is still tangled in the communist stigma and carries a label with him even after many years, from 1965. The reality is in his very eyes, but he still considers communist as a disease which needs an antidote so that it can be cured from the society.

Though it's not surprising how communist stigma still survives in our society, not just in North Sumatera but in every inch of Indonesia, the propaganda was excruciating and then successfully made Indonesian people believed in it. Media products were the strongest propaganda that the government could use to disseminate hatred among the society. Propaganda can be associated to a form of indirect and disguised coercion (Southwood & Flanagan, 1983). It was the fastest and the most elegant way to implicitly deliver doctrinal message without compulsion. The result is in people believing that communist are an apple to apple comparison to criminals which the fear of criminals can also be defined as the fear of communists. (Rafael, 1999)

The Act of Killing has the evidence that comes directly from Anwar Congo's mouth about one of media products which aimed to deliver its doctrinal propaganda

“Film ini dibuat oleh pemerintah supaya rakyat benci terhadap komunis. Dari mulai SD, SMP, SMA harus dia menonton, diharuskan. Setiap tahunnya mereka harus berbondong-bondong menuju ke bioskop,” (37:34).

(“This film was made by the government in order to make Indonesian people loathe the communist. From elementary school, junior high school, until senior high school, everyone was obliged to watch the film. It's a must. Every year they must go to the movie theater to watch it.”)

‘Pengkhiatan G30SPKI’ (G30SPKI Betrayal) was the title of the film. The film was a blockbuster. It had successfully stigmatized PKI in the life of Indonesians with a lot of screaming and blood caused by PKI displayed in the film. It affects people psychologically because propaganda never plays with mind but emotion, so it was quite easy to make the object of propaganda becomes adherent.

Newspaper was another media product used by the regime to form a massive anti-communism spirit. Ibrahim Sinik, the publisher of a newspaper who also appeared in the film, told everyone about the falsehood stories they wrote in the newspaper even though it was based on the interview with PKI for the sake of press' importance:

"Kita tanya ini, apa jawabnya sikit-sikit kita tambah lah sesuai kepentingan kita kan, mengancam komunis, karena sebagai orang Koran kita membangun perasaan masyarakat benci kepada dia," (21:10).

("If we asked what and they answered 'this' then we added a little 'that' their story for our own importance because as the people who worked in the newspaper it was our job to grow a hatred in society towards the communists.")

As he smirked he gave the closing statement to Oppenheimer:

"Masa saya ikut membunuh, gak perlu saya tuh. Saya main gini aja sudah lewat," (22:00).

("I didn't need to involve in the killing, I just needed to play like this and they were already over anyway.")

Media products such as film and newspaper in New Order era could become the strongest killing machine besides the paramilitary death squads, *Pemuda Pancasila*. Come to a conclusion, this kind of killing weapon killed people without even a bit of coercion involved in the process. This is a proof of how the propaganda works in a smooth and elegant way to gain mass.

Final Remarks

This film is not anymore about the military regime and its persistence, but it is beyond that. The Act of Killing, which was filmed from the killers' perspective, opens the eyes of many Indonesian people in the way they see communism. This shows how PKI was not always an illusion of doctrine and cruelty. One of New Order's killing machine, which torture people physically and mentally, was *Pemuda Pancasila*. Along with its propagandas which conveyed many messages discrediting PKI, the involvement of *Pemuda Pancasila*, with its deceitful sublime vision-mission to embrace ethnic youth having a better life by participating in military aspect of the country, was responsible to the mental destruction of Indonesian people whose almost been killed or the family has been killed. Those trauma inducers were proven to be sociopaths. Yet, they were protected under the shield of ethnic gang called *Preman*. They killed people who did not deserve such immoral treatment and also participated in the forming of stigma in the body of PKI in order to obey the system. As the executors of the massacre, *Pemuda Pancasila* had to answer most questions about human rights. However, they would not existed if such system never applies in the reign. They were the regime's puppet string to fulfill the government's ambitions. Their weaknesses were used by the government to create the most effective killing machine. Beyond all shadow of doubt, either the murderers and media or PKI were all victims, became complete adherents. They were all the casualties of the system called New Order.

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State Censorship: Government Defense Mechanism upon Printed Mass Media from Regime to Regime

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Abstract

Indonesia has applied censorship upon printed mass media since the Old Order. Censorship has always been meant to maintain social order without oppressing the people. Yet, censorship has been used as the government defense mechanism for years. The practices of censorship from regime to regime take the side of the government high officials by protecting their interests. The Old Order practiced state censorship by putting the responsibility under the military. Slightly different in the execution, the New Order practiced censorship by dismissing the people's freedom of speech. The dismissal was done as a cover-up of Soeharto's involvement in the 1965-1966 massacre. The censorship practices in the New Order reflect a paranoid, patrimonial government. Most decision in the state censorship area during this period was done to protect the government interests. State censorship becomes less controlling in the Reformation era. The government seems to be more open towards criticisms. However, the leniency of the state censorship policy in this era is compensated by a strong civilian control which sometimes leads to the violation of freedom of press.

Keywords: *state censorship, defense mechanism, printed mass media, Indonesia.*

Censorship in Indonesia: An Overview

For years, Indonesia has applied censorship upon the information broadcasted and published by the mass media produced by both the Indonesians and other nationalities. The government might find censorship to be prominent in keeping the society in order. From the first regime ruling Indonesia, censorship has been imposed upon mass media that result in the hampering of the information dissemination. The control over the media that the state has imposed often raises questions. The legal right of the state in imposing censorship is indisputable. The state has outlined detailed points regarding censorship, yet the execution of the rules is often questionable. The most extreme practice of censorship is banning. From regime to regime, the government has banned numerous mass media especially the printed ones. Whether the state has a valid legal basis on these banning is concerning. Thus, this paper is aimed to construe the tendency of each regime through the analysis of the elaborated reason(s) behind the printed mass media banning by the state.

Censorship itself is defined as “the prior restraint, by adequate physical or psychological pressure, of any communication that would be published and distributed where that restraint not applied,” (Phelan 1969, vii). It is meant to prevent any future harm or risk caused by the formal dissemination of sensitive issues like politics, religion, and sex. In social context, censorship justifies its urgency to be applied.

Freedom of speech has gained its reputation in the society. It is prominent in terms of paving the way to explicate critical ideas in the interest of developing the nation. Nevertheless, conflict of interests between the state political figures and society often creates conundrum. Thus, society's freedom of speech mostly addressed to criticize the government whereas the government considers the society has maxed out the idea of freedom in freedom of speech. Yet, freedom of speech in various printed media is one of the key factor in Indonesia democracy system.

However, the extreme practice of censorship, the banning, from regime to regime has a common denominator. Most banned printed media have the tendency to be critical towards the government. Thus, perhaps it is justified to say that the state censorship from regime to regime is the reflection of the government's attitude when dealing with criticism directed towards the government. Among the 3 dominant regimes in Indonesia, the Old Order, the New Order, and the Reformation era, each reaps its own criticisms and each uses censorship in its own unique way when dealing with these criticisms.

The Development of Press in Indonesia Post-Independence

The first news agency in Indonesia was founded on 13 December 1937 under the name of *Lembaga Kantor Berita Nasional* (Antara, National News Agency Institute). By the time of the Indonesian independence, Antara had been operating for 8 years approximately. It was the only state's national news agency which supplied information and news reports to many other media. For some time, Antara was the source of the information, thus it also held the control of the information disseminated to the country.

After the Independence, the development of press in Indonesia continued year by year. By the year 1954, there have been 150 different daily press recorded within the country. They were able to sell 697 thousand copies daily. Nevertheless, the heyday of Indonesian press was in 1959. Even though the number of the printing house decreased, the sale of the copies increased to 1.036.500. Most (if not all) the printing houses were under the hand of certain parties with certain degree of control in Indonesia. During the period, the four biggest daily press are *Harian Rakjat* (under the Indonesian Communist Party), *Pedoman* (under *Sjarikat Islam* Party), *Suluh Indonesia* (under *Partai Nasional Indonesia* - PNI, Indonesian National Party), and *Abadi* (under Masjumi Party). The press began to flourish in the Old Order, indicating the rise of the people's voice.

The New Order was marked by the downfall of the *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI, Indonesian Communist Party). Naturally, the pro-PKI printing houses were banned by the government. Thus, the voice of the sympathizers and members, sharing similar ideology, was silenced. Other printing houses, however, continued to publish newspapers. These surviving printing houses were owned by all stakeholders, but PKI. These printing houses were owned by the military, the nationalists, religious-based parties, and other independent groups. Some newspapers published under the military were *Angkatan Bersenjata*, *Berita Yudha*, *Ampera*, *Api Pancasila*, and *Pelopor Baru*. Those which were under the nationalists were *Suluh Marhaen*, *El Bahar*, and *Warta Harian*. The Islamic press were *Duta Masyarakat*, *Angkatan Baru*, *Suara Islam*, and *Mercusuar*. The Catholic press were *Kompas* and *Sinar Harapan*. The press, even though was still developing, had undergone a massive cutout in this regime. The silencing of the people's voice did not stop in the banning of the PKI-owned printing houses. The banning continued for different reasons.

When the New Order ended and people were entering the Reformation Era, the development of the press was regarded as the most progressive period in Indonesia. Soon after B.J. Habibie, the third President of Indonesia, ended his term of service, Indonesia had the most progressive figure as the fourth President, Abdurrahman Wahid. During his term of service, Abdurrahman Wahid dismissed the Department of Information. This action resulted in a new kind of freedom in journalism. Variety of perspective in delivering news became common. This kind of freedom led to the birth of mega-press such as *Kompas*, *Jawa Pos*, *Media Indonesia*, and *Media Nusantara*. The birth of these mega-press was enabled due to the structural changes made during Abdurrahman Wahid term of service. During this period, the changing attitude of government and high officials in Indonesia has a big contribution in the protection of freedom of speech (Sayid 2015).

State Censorship in the Old Order

The Old Order (1945-1965) started the Indonesian politics by undergoing a long process of finding the nation's stability. Under Soekarno's leadership, Indonesian press started emerging. However, tension between the government and the press emerged when Soekarno released Presidential Edict on 5 July 1959, declaring all mass media were under the authority of the government. The edict was claimed to be the impact of the Indonesian's emergency status at the time.

Indonesian's emergency status resulted in the unlimited power of the Indonesian military, under the command of A. H. Nasution as the Commander, to apply any kinds of prohibition towards the content of information distributed through the media. By then, Indonesian government had executed some kind of censorship upon the media. The standard of the prohibition ranged from criticism, presumption, to humiliation addressed to the Indonesian high officials. Any products having the possibility of causing threats or riots were banned. The measuring standard to what could cause threats and riots were not elaborated into legal points, hence gave the impression of imbalanced power relation between the government, the military, and the media. The concepts of criticism, presumption, and humiliation to high officials were limitless with no regards whether or not it could hamper the nation's stability. The subjectivity of the military in assessing the situation reflects the existence of power imbalance.

Furthermore, freedom of speech of the media was shackled under the new censorship law. This new censorship law, *Surat Ijin Terbit* (SIT, Publication Permit), was described in 1960 under the *Peraturan Panglima Tertinggi* (Peperti, Rule of the Supreme War Commander) number 10. In the era of *Demokrasi Terpimpin* (Guided Democracy), the Old Order, the disseminated information in the media was required to be in line with the goal of the government, hence the military. To choose otherwise meant to agree to sacrifice the SIT of the printed media. *Indonesia Radja* owned by Moechtar Lubis and *Pedoman* owned by Rosihan Anwar were two of many newspapers being banned by the government and had the SIT repealed due to the critical content of the news towards the government. SIT was the proof that the Old Order government was not ready to deal with clashes of intellects. This condition was justified by the government need to fix the political environment to maintain Indonesian stability and security (Bella, 2015).

In addition to that, government's regulation toward the press was strictly elaborated in Peperti number 2, issued in 1961. This regulation spelled out the supervision and control on private press. Verse number 4 stated that the job of the supervision and control board was to take any preventive and repressive action on the supervised press. Considering that the highest control of the press was still under the military, the expression of feeling towards the implementation of the political manifesto as the nation guidelines was prevented. The military, being the armed forces of the country, was trained to protect the nation by physical means. Thus the practice of the censor regulation towards the press was executed by physical approaches. The context of the military and the press contradicts. This reflects that the Old Order

put the control of the nation in the arm of the armed forces which resulted in the repression of the civilians' voices.

To conclude, by putting the control of the press censorship in the hands of the military official, the Old Regime government blurred the lines between the military and civilians. The Old Order government was military-centered when it comes to the people's freedom of speech, formally disseminated in the media by the press. The practice of censorship in the Old Order reflect the government's attempt to establish a patrimonial government in which the power came straight from the leading group, blurring the lines between military and civilians. The military oligarchy was evident. The censorship became the governmental tool to protect themselves instead of the people.

State Censorship in the New Order

When the new order came (1966-1998), for a short while the press reclaimed new freedom under the Pancasila. Focusing on the Pancasila as the base of the nation, any issue favoring on communism was prohibited. After *Gerakan September Tiga Puluh* (Gestapu, 30 September Movement) in 1965, communism became the forbidden ideology. The one year period from 1965 to 1966 became the milestone of the New Order. The government involvement in the spreading of the anti-communism propaganda set the course of Indonesia as a nation. The press was used as the tools of propaganda. Anti-communist media mold the communist stigma among Indonesian.

The interference of international press in strengthening communist stigma interfered with later practice of censorship. Tapol Bulletin 163 (2001) states the secret involvement of the United States and the United Kingdom upon the construction of this communist stigma. Both Indonesian and foreign government promoted anti-communist policy and put PKI as the scapegoat. The American media referred the killing as “A Historical Turning Point,” (Simons 2000, p. 178). The United States involvement stretched from providing the lists of PKI leaders for the Indonesian army to providing mall arms for the non-military killers (Tapol 2001). The United Kingdom, on the other hand, provided the killers with radios to enable communication between them. These international favors were not unconditional. Soon, Soeharto, as the elected President in the New Order, returned the favor by giving Indonesian resources to International companies. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) act in UU No. 1/1967, drafted in Geneva, Switzerland, authorization led to the massive investment which exploited Indonesian natural resources.

The massive foreign investment in Indonesia made the people restless. Indonesian press started attacking government policy on FDI and led to Malari (*Lima Belas Januari*, 15 January) tragedy in 1974. This tragedy caused the death of 11 people and injured 297 others. Many demonstrations addressed to the government because the people were disappointed with the government policy which led to the “selling” of the country to the foreign investors (Agil 2015). After the tragedy, New Order government made a stricter regulation for the mass media. Mass media had always became the tool of government to maintain peace and order in society. Twelve press and magazines were banned as the result of the incident because they were considered as the triggering factor of the tragedy. Those twelve press and magazines are *Indonesia Raya*, *Pedoman*, *Harian KAMI*, *Nusantara*, *Abadi*, *The Jakarta Times*, *Mingguan Wenang*, *Pemuda Indonesia*, *Suluh Berita*, *Mahasiswa Indonesia*, *Indonesia Pos*, and *Ekspress*.

Being the aftereffect of the conspiracy between Soeharto and the International world in claiming the Presidency, the policy should be untouchable. This paranoia led to the oppression towards the mass media. One of the concrete proofs that New Order was oppressive to the mass media was the legalization of *Surat Izin Usaha Penerbitan Pers* (SIUPP, Press Publication Business License) which put ultimate control on the government officials upon the press. The difference that SIUPP in New Order and SIT in Old Order had was that once government refused issuing SIUPP, the mass media would never be able to get a clearance to publish ever again. In addition to that, SIUPP only could only be given with the recommendation of Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia (PWI, Indonesian Journalist Association) and *Serikat Penerbit Surat kabar* (SPS, Newspaper Publisher Union) before issuing the license after a follow-up recommendation came from *Departemen Penerangan* (Department of Information), (Bella 2015).

Tempo was one of the printed media that shows the biggest retaliation upon the excessive control by government. As the weekly magazine that brave enough to criticize the government, Tempo was banned by government in 1982 and again in 1994. Criticizing many of the government policies, Tempo never got the banning revoke during the New Order. The banning of Tempo was revoked after the fall of the New Order in 1998.

The beginning of Tempo's magazine banning case started on 12 April 1982 when Ali Moertopo (Minister of Information of Indonesia at that time) issued a banning document for Tempo. The legal governmental statement was that Tempo had violated the press etiquette code due to the article questioning the legality of the general election method during the Soeharto regime.

The idea to ban Tempo came from PWI which was led by Harmoko, the journalist of Pos Kota. PWI was only legal association for journalist under the control of the government. The article which caused the banning was the report on the *Golongan Karya* (Golkar), the most dominant political party in Indonesia, campaign in *Lapangan Banteng* which ended in chaos. Soeharto, as the leader of Golkar and the conspirator of the 1965-66 massacre, considered the article '*Kemarahan di Awal Kampanye*' (The Anger in the Beginning of the Campaign) and '*Mengungkap Huru-Hara Banteng*' (Revealing Banteng's Riot) as an attack

toward his government. The banning lasted for 3 months and was revoked on 7 June 1982 after Goenawan, Tempo head editor, signed an apology documents which stated that Tempo was willing to obey the government regulation (*Laporan Tahunan* PT Tempo Inti Media Tbk. 2010).

The second banning of Tempo happened on 21 June 1994. Tempo along with two other magazines, Editor and Detik, were banned due to the articles criticizing the political state of the ruling government. The article entitled '*Jerman Punya Kapal, Indonesia Punya Beban*' (Germany Has Ships, Indonesia Has Burdens) by Wangkar and Andi Rahardian from Tempo criticized the purchase of 39 used battleships from East Germany based on B.J. Habibie's recommendation as *Menteri Riset dan Teknologi* (State Minister of Research and Technology). The news criticizing about the amount of money spent by the government to buy the used battleships which cost US\$ 1,1 billion instead of new ones which cost less. This article made the high officials in the military feel their authority was surpassed. Thus, this banning reflected the patrimony of the Indonesian military which directly reflected the Indonesian government.

The standard used for the banning of mass media was subjective and the banning had no legal justification. Muis wrote in Tempo (1994) that the right of the press not to be censored and banned was protected by the press law in item 2, article 4 and 8 in the SIUPP. Article 4 prohibited the censoring and banning of the press, whereas article 8 stated that the publication of press did not require SIT. Thus, the banning of Tempo by the government violated the law itself. If the news was considered harrasing the foundation of press, the government must propose an indictment to the court. (Tempo 1994, p. 99). Even when the court found proof of the violation of the press code of ethics, the penalty could only be given to the journalist who wrote the article, not to the institution. The government's failure to understand the law regulated by the government itself reflected the government's subjectivity when concerning its own interest.

The existence of SIUPP contradicted the press law elaborated in article 8 about the right of every people to publish the press. The regulation in which the press could be given the SIUPP or not remained unclear. Every press that was considered unfit by the Department of Information would not be given SIUPP. Most of the times, the press which were not given the SIUPP were the press whose journalists once criticized the government like the case of *Kompas*, *Sinar Harapan*, *Merdeka*, *Pelita*, *The Indonesian Times*, *Sinar Pagi*, and *Pos Sore*. The referred article was the one covered about college students' demonstration against the re-nomination of Soeharto as the Presidential candidate for the umpteenth times.

The objection towards the government's censorship practices re-emerged when Surya Paloh, the CEO of *Prioritas*, submitted the test material to the Supreme Court toward the existence of SIUPP. Surya Paloh argued that PERMENPEN (Minister of Information Regulation) No.1/PER/MENPEN/1984 burdened the publishing press and contradicted item number 5 and 4 in the Press Law which ensured the freedom of press as human rights and also stated that no censorship and banning would be imposed upon the national press. However, the Supreme Court rejected the appeal with a reason that the procedural process and the letter of appeal were not yet completed. The Supreme Court stated that the test material could only be assessed after the Minister of Information gave his reason(s) and explanation about the relevant law which became the foundation of the Press Law.

This reason by the Supreme Court could be inferred as the escape mechanism without any sense of justice. The Supreme Court was supposed to be the upholder of justice which made it possessed the highest authority to conduct any material tests. This privilege even granted the power to withdraw a law which was considered contradictory to the amendment. This strengthened the claim that the New Order government heavily sided on its own interests.

In conclusion, the New Order government was not only sustaining the patrimonial governance, but also full of self-interests. The censorship policy became its killing machine when it comes to the freedom of speech. The patrimonial government imposed power upon any press which denied its ultimate power upon the people. The government exercised their excessive and unlimited power to control all aspects of Indonesians' way of living. All criticisms addressed towards the government were not seen as the input for the government's betterment, but as the defamation and humiliation. In addition to that, the self-interest government would never be able to fight for truth. It was too busy to cover the dark past that it carried.

State Censorship in the Reformation Era

The reformation era of Indonesia that started from 1998 up until now is being called as the most democratic time in Indonesia. The freedom of mass media is due to the structural regulation changes in Indonesian government. The regulation that strict or intrude the freedom of mass media is withdrawn. Government is no longer sensitive to criticisms and critical opinions from society. Even, government starts to be more open toward criticisms and want to be criticized. This changing of attitude by government marks the most influential time in printed media development.

A revision of SIUPP was made. Sayid (2015) states that even though article 9 item 2 number 40 in 1999 SIUPP revision defines that the obligation to propose SIUPP for the sake of the press publication still exist, article 4 item 2 number 40 abolished the banning of the press. To support the regulation, article 4 item 2 juncto article 18 item 1 number 40 also guarantees protection for the journalists and issues criminal law punishment up to two years or a fine up to 500 million rupiahs (about 35 thousand dollars) for the attempt of hampering the freedom of press.

Regardless the revision of the regulation, printed media still have a long journey to gain its freedom of press. Even though the legal right of the government to control mass media is abolished, but the non-politic obstruction from the public or officials in the government still exists. In 1999, there were 47 verbal and physical intimidation cases to journalists. Based on *Aliansi Jurnalis Independen* (AJI, Alliance of Independent Journalists), there were 37 cases of violence towards journalists from 3 May 2014 to 3 May 2015. However, printed mass media still maintain the power to criticize the government and the regulations.

Freedom of press is protected by the country, although the mass media still need to follow the regulation made by government. The 1945 constitution states that government guarantees the right to communicate and obtain information, supported by the article 14(2) of Law No. 39 in 1999 which ensures the right to seek, obtain, own, store, and giving information using all possible facilities.

From the practices of censorship in the Reformation Era, it can be concluded that the government started to open up to political criticisms. What once a very sensitive issue and considered to be enough cause for banning, the 1965 massacre, has become a widely addressed issue in the printed mass media. Tempo, in its special coverage published for the 1-7 October 2012 edition, presented more than 150 pages coverage on the Gestapu, including testimonies from the executioners in the massacre. This edition strips down the 1965-1966 massacre. A 2-page article with a huge 2-page headline saying *Saya Sering Membawa Kampak Panjang. Daripada Dibunuh, Lebih Baik Saya Membunuh* (Tempo 2012, p. 29-32) - I Often Carried a Long Ax around. Instead of being Killed, I'd Better Kill - presented a testimony from the non-military executioner. It also covered the involvement of religious institution in the killings. Another article entitled *Haram Membunuh Cicak jika Belum Membunuh Kafir* (p. 66) - It is Forbidden to Kill a House Lizard if We Have Not Kill an Infidel - reflect the inherited hate which still lasts. Some articles covered testimonies from the executioners from different areas in Indonesia and ended with coverage about Joshua Oppenheimer's documentary film, 'The Act of Killing'.

The state censorship board might not ban the printed media, yet in the reformation era, some people carrying persistent communist stigma consider the state being incapable of handling this issue. Thus some consider the responsibility to stop the communist stigma is in their hand. The banning and attack upon the movements demanding reconciliation for the survivors of 1965-1966 massacre were done by civilians. Hate crime progresses. From what happened, it can be concluded that the government in the reformation era utilizes different kind of censorship. The state censorship in this era might not be as strong as in the previous regime, but the state has been successful in preserving the anti-communist notion among some Indonesians.

Closing Remarks

The practice of state censorship from regime to regime reflects the characteristic of respective era. Overall, censorship practices are done because the government's paranoia of losing control of the people who could result in the failure to maintain society order. Printed mass media as one of the biggest information dissemination tools has endured their oppression for a long time. Taking control over the media reflect a patrimonial government which clearly seen in the Old Order and New Order, but not clearly seen in the Reformation era. State censorship applied in the Old Order reflects a paranoid and patrimonial government whereas the New Order government was not only paranoid and patrimonial, but also opportunistic. The government in Reformation era, however, shows changes in attitude that is shown from how the law has less restriction toward printed media. The two possibilities from this situation are either the present government is very open to criticisms, or they realize their success in using the people as their defense mechanism to secure them.

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Dominant versus Resistant Reading

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Abstract

The proliferation of postcolonialism both in literary and linguistic studies goes hand in hand with the development of feminist stylistics. In postcolonialism, people believe that the world reality does not depend on the perspective of the dominant Western perception but can be viewed through different perspectives, which used to be considered inferior, such as those belonging to the nations of lesser cultures. Similarly, feminist stylistics aims at providing ‘readers with analytic and critical tools to identify and resist gender bias in texts (Verdonk, 2002: 118). The two literary spirits have nurtured the growth of resistant reading, which tends to deny the most obvious interpretation of a literary work and which searches for an alternative interpretation. Competence in resistant reading is necessary to be developed among students of English literature because of the abundance of various literature guide book publications. In those publications, not only the formal elements of literature, such as the plots, characters, and settings, but also the themes and other interpretative elements, such as tones and voices, can be found. The ready-made interpretation can dangerously rob the readers’ creative process of uncovering the literary worth of certain works and might produce individuals who are good at regurgitating what they have read without their own interpretive process. This paper aims at highlighting the prospect and possibility of enhancing literature students’ skills in developing alternative interpretations of literary works through resistant reading without ignoring the traditional interpretation generated from the more dominant reading. It is strongly argued that resistant reading, including the one practiced in feminist stylistics, will enhance literature students’ skills in interpreting literary works from different angles. Such is in line with the belief that the world must be viewed with multiple perspectives, which should lead to the respect of diversity, a must in this complex and complicated modern world.

Keywords: *resistant versus dominant reading, postcolonialism, feminist stylistics*

Literature as Liberal Education

In many universities, departments of literature are housed in colleges or faculties or school of liberal arts or school of humanities. In English letters departments, students are traditionally expected to be knowledgeable in the literary works commonly known as Great Tradition, where they study the works of key novelists, such as Jane Austen, Thomas Stearns Eliot, the Bronte Sisters, or perhaps Graham Green. In the past, students had to spend a lot of time reading those works from page to page, which surely took a lot of their time. It was not uncommon that within two weeks students had to complete the reading of a novel, which might consist of 400 pages. And they did so because that was the only way to get familiar to the literary works and to get prepared for literature classes, where they discussed the literary elements, such as the plot, the characters, the settings and the themes.

Because the reading tasks are so daunting, Barry (2002: 5) suggests the reading technique known as ‘SQ3RR’. S stands for Surveying ‘the whole chapter or section fairly rapidly, skimming through it to get a rough sense of the scope and the nature of the argument’ (p.5). Q stands for Questions, where a reader should be active in developing questions or purposes of the reading activity. R stands for reading the text meticulously, where a reader should note the key points, questions difficulties and identify parts worth remembering. The second R stands for Recall, where a reader checks whether the questions developed in the Q stage are answered. It also includes the process of highlighting the difficulties still lingering in the reading. The third R stands for Review, which should take place some time after the reading, where the reader tries to remember the content, the answers for questions, and important phrases from the literary works. The last item highlights the nature of literary works as being non-ephemeral, texts which are not soon forgotten.

Great Temptation for Literature Students

Nowadays, though there are good students who still practice this close reading, sadly many will just rely on internet sources, where basically answers to anything can be searched. Even before the proliferation of the internet, students were indulged with many published notes on literary works, such as *Barron’s Book Notes Series*. In the 1984 series on Charlotte’ Bronte’s *Jane Eire* (first published in 1847), we can get basically any details of the literary work and its analysis (plot, characters, setting, themes, style,

point of view, form and structure). Thus, one does not have to read the true literary work, but can just go to the notes from page to page, and regurgitate what they have swallowed when invited for a class discussion or examined in either oral or written examination. When students are assigned to write a paper, a large number of ideas are also presented in the later part of the book. For this particular literary work, for example, twenty-nine topics are listed with some guiding questions, which should help students in outlining and finally writing a term paper.

Since now students can easily access internet sources or published notes, it is very likely that they adopt whatever is presented to them. Their interpretation on the literary works and the literary elements will present only the dominant reading 'that appears to be the most obvious and natural one because it is upheld by the dominant ideologies ... of the time' (Verdonk, 2002:118).

There is nothing wrong with the dominant reading of a text because the dominant ideologies that the readers have might be the same. In reality, some ideologies have more advocates than the others. Thus, being knowledgeable in how most readers interpret a certain literary work is also useful because the students are familiar with the most common mainstream interpretation.

What is wrong is that the dominant interpretation is not acquired from the students' reading, reflection, and analysis of the literary work itself but just transferred from as a ready-made information package obtained from internet sources or published notes. Thus, the function of literature which 'is not socializing but individualizing' (p.12) is not realized. Our expectation that the study of literature 'cultivates the tastes, educates the sympathies and enlarges mind' (Edward Freeman as quoted in Barry, 2002: 14) is not met because students acquire their interpretation not from their individual reading, reflection and analysis but from external sources. Being unoriginally and not authentically developed, the students' interpretation will be uniformed, and thus not in line with the nature of literary reading which should be a dynamic process. The uniformed interpretation should be against their different expectations and emotions when reading the text. The sad fact is that perhaps they do not read the literary work at all, but instead they just read the internet sources or published notes. Thus, interpretation which should differ from reader to reader or which might be against one another is not observed among the students.

Furthermore, dominant reading, according to Mills (1995:73), 'is not the writer's intention (which is unrecoverable), but a position (or positions) which the text offers or proffers to the reader within a particular historical moment, because of the range of ideological positions available which make that text understandable'. Though the conventional model of a text starts with the sociological background of the author, which might lead to his or her intention in the production of a text, a reader's interpretation of the author's intention remains a speculation. Therefore, because students do not always have the same ideological positions, they should have different interpretation or perception about the literary work that they read.

We believe that literature has an important role in human education because 'good literature is of timeless significance,...and thereby speaks to what is constant in human nature' (Barry, 2002: 17). Therefore, it is our serious concern to bring back the nature of literature education to its individualizing function, which should be personally and individually performed by every reader of literary works.

Role of Resistant Reading

To remedy the possible unwanted phenomena among literature students, students need to be required to individually experience the reading. This can be done when students have to present their own interpretation, which is not based on internet sources or published notes. A technique to force students develop their own authentic interpretation is by adopting resistant reading.

Resistant reading is defined by Verdonk (2002: 120) as 'the process of deliberately denying the most obvious interpretation of a text and constructing an alternative one'. This process can be developed when students are assigned to read, analyze, and interpret a text from a different perspective. Most published notes adopt the traditional close reading perspective, which according to Barry (2002:17-21) are based on ten tenets, which among others states that 'the literary text contains its own meaning within itself'. Accordingly, its context, including the reader's knowledge, expectation, or ideology (Verdonk, 2002) whatever it is, is not relevant.

In literary studies, there have developed modern theories of literary criticisms, many of which force readers to adopt perspectives different from the traditional ones. Though some theories might be too difficult for undergraduate students of literature, feminist criticism and postcolonial criticism are quite practical, as they are in line with the current trend in social and political relationship. The focus of feminist criticism to explore the nature of the female world and outlook (Barry, 2002: 122) is line with the spirit of emancipation of the male and female society members. This criticism should have a profound effect on the reader because it makes them more aware of women's equal status and makes a male reader realize how women were overlooked in the past. This nature of literature as being 'dulce et utile' (beautiful and useful) is proven in this kind of analysis.

Many have written about postcolonialism, such as Gayati Spivak, Homi Bhabha and Edward Said. Barry (2002: 192) writes that "if we claim that great literature has a timeless and universal significance we thereby demote or disregard cultural, social, regional, and national differences in experience and outlook, preferring instead to judge all literature by a single, supposedly 'universal', standard." The spirit of postcolonialism rejects the superiority of a particular culture over another, which is in line with the diverse

nature of many countries, if not of the world itself. Many literary works depicting Asian or African societies by native English writers, such as those written by William Somerset Maugham, Joseph Conrad and Graham Greene, are potential works to be analyzed under this perspective.

Dominant reading has mostly been oriented to the analysis of major characters in literary works. Students will have to do more individualized reading when they are assigned to take the perspectives of the lesser characters in literary works. Further, because lesser characters are less exposed in the literary works, students can be assigned to create more roles or more contribution of certain minor characters in the development of the major characters, the plot, and the themes of the literary work. Thus, such assignment can ‘invite and motivate, sometimes even provoke, readers to create an imaginary alternative world’ (Verdonk, 2002: 12).

Another advantage of the adoption of the postcolonial theory in literary interpretation is the adoption of the victim’s perspective. Many stories, both true and fictitious, including literary works, expose the excellent nature of the hero or protagonist. Adopting the perspective of a less fortunate character, which can be the victim in a particular struggle where the hero or protagonist wins, really ‘educates the sympathies and enlarges the mind’ of the reader. Therefore, assigning students to take the victim’s perspective in analyzing literary works will not only force them to perform their own reading (since such a perspective is not a mainstream one, which can be conveniently obtained from internet sources or published notes) but will also make them put their feet in the victim’s shoes. Realizing that many people have been politically victimized not only by the government but also by published materials, the competence to develop resistant reading should educate students to filter information with their critical analysis of incoming information to discover human values in victims’ suffering. After all, ‘the purpose of literature is essentially the enhancement of life and the propagation of humane values’ (Barry, 2002: 19). This should also lead students to identify which texts are literary products and which others are propaganda of whatever causes. Further, Barry (p.19) quotes from Keats that ‘we distrust literature which has a palpable design upon us’, which he interprets as ‘literature which too obviously wants to convert us or influence our views’.

Closing Remarks

Literary products should bring us to reflect upon life experience. Therefore, its individualizing nature must be nurtured through the development of readers’ habits in reflective reading of literary works and through the prevention of verbalism obtained from unoriginal sources. Individualizing exercises can be developed through learning tasks which demand students to adopt resistant reading without neglecting their familiarity with the mainstream dominant reading.

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A Plea for Reconciliation in Asmadji As Muchtar's *Bapakku Juga Hilang*: Social Actor Representation Analysis

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Abstract

In the New Order regime, the facts about the 1965-1966 massacre was covered up by the government. Most of the cultural products referring to the incident were banned. Yet, the hope for access to information regarding this incident began to flourish in the Reformation era. People were hopeful towards the government to carry out the reconciliation process for the survivors and their family. However, the lack of government's actions to address this issue leads to numerous creation of cultural products raising awareness towards the problem. Asmadji As Muchtar's *Bapakku Juga Hilang*, a short story, is one of the example of these attempts. Using the 1965 massacre as the underlying narrative, the short story brought up the psychological impact of the victims' family members due to the absence of information about the incident. The paper discusses the social actor representations in the short story in order to present the conveyed message of the story. The analysis was done mainly by semantically analyzing the choice of words use to represent the social actors. The result of the analysis portrays the existence of ten human right violations which highlights the urgency for reconciliation by the state.

Keywords: *social actor representation, massacre, short story, human right violation, reconciliation*

Introduction

Taking place at the end of the Indonesian Old Order regime, the 1965-1966 killings of the alleged members of *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI, Indonesian Communist Party) tainted Indonesian history in the enforcement of human rights. The anti-communist purge killed at least 500.000 Indonesians within the one year period. Since then, a strong communist stigma has been inherited from generation to generation for years. The preservation of communist stigma was most evident during the New Order, under Soeharto regime. The famous docudrama of the 30 September 1965 event entitled *Pengkhianatan G-30S/PKI* (Treachery of G-30S/PKI) became a formidable propaganda tool to indoctrinate Indonesians about the inhumanity of PKI. The indoctrination from the docudrama which lasted for thirteen years, from 1984 to 1997, dehumanized PKI members by representing them as tortures and eulogizing army generals as martyrs. During the New Order regime, cultural products (narrative and non-fiction) raising the theme of the human rights violation in the purging were prohibited (Arditya 2014). One of the banned non-fiction was *Terror of the New Order Regime - Law Misappropriation & Propaganda 1965-66* by Southwood and Flanagan. Published in 1983 in London, the book was banned in Indonesia until 2011 due to the elaborated analysis on the military coup in 1965 and intricate conspiracy in scapegoating PKI.

After the fall of Soeharto regime in 1998, the information blockage about the 1965 massacre started to unveil. The development of technology has an enormous contribution in the explosion of information dissemination. Surprisingly, the young generation of Indonesia pays a lot of interest in the 1965-1966 killings. Being digital natives, they express the urgency to address these past human rights abuses. More and more Indonesians also demand history to be corrected and demand reconciliation for the purging survivors through various kinds of publications and testimonies. One example of the attempt to correct Indonesian history was the release of *Breaking the Silence* (2012), a compilation of memoir from the survivors of the anti-Communist purges in 1965-66. Cultural products raising the topic gradually becomes less taboo (Schonhardt 2012). The book adds encouragement to survivors to speak up.

Furthermore, the number of cultural works addressing the past life abuses increased. Joshua Oppenheimer's *The Act of Killing* (2012) and *The Look of Silence* (2014) documentaries strip the 1965-1966 massacre from the perspective of the death-squad leaders and the survivors and victims' families respectively. Pramoedya Ananta Toer, once alleged PKI member, is also one of the great contributors in providing perspectives on this matter. He published *A Mute Soliloquy* (1995) from a compilation of letters he wrote for his daughter during his imprisonment. Another literary work is Linda Christanty's *Makan Malam* (2004) which tells the story of a small family without a father figure due to his exile after the 1965 coup.

On a more local level, there are a number of short stories published in local newspaper, one of them is *Bapakku juga Hilang* by Asmadji As Muchtar, published in *Kedaulatan Rakyat* on 29 September 2013, one day before the commemoration of 30-S/PKI. The author, Asmadji As Muchtar, is a university professor in *Universitas Sains Al-Qur'an* (UNSIQ, Al-Qur'an Science University) Wonosobo and in the postgraduate

program of *Universitas Islam Indonesia* (UIN, Islamic University of Indonesia) Yogyakarta. He has written a considerable number of short stories and poems published in numerous local newspapers around Indonesia. Having an interest in politics, he has contributed his thoughts not only in the form of short stories, but also articles revolving around the topic of politics. Needless to say, his standing point in politics is portrayed in his literary products. *Kedaulatan Rakyat* (KR, People's Sovereignty) is considered as the largest newspaper in Yogyakarta with around 125 thousand copies in circulation. Its motto *suara hati nurani rakyat* (the voice of the people's conscience) suggest that the newspaper puts forward the concern of the people. It targets commoners, which means that KR is a perfect medium to instill ideas which might lead to the construction of ideology at the grass-roots level. On that note, this paper will reveal the embedded message in *Bapakku Juga Hilang* by analyzing the representations of the identified social actors.

Understanding the concept of social actor representation

Defining social actor

In its simplest definition, social actors are either individuals or groups of people exercising their rights in their social structure. Social actor itself refers to human agency. Van Leeuwen (2008) defines social actors as those exercising their rights and involved in a particular discursive event. Identification of social actors is crucial in any discursive analysis of identity. In short, social actors is seen as the particular realization from the abstraction of models. The concept of social actors cannot be separated from context. The identity of social actors is not determined by social practices, but it is shaped by both discursive and social practices.

The concept of representation

The basic concept of representation is inseparable from the concept of discourse. Discourse is understood as methods of representing various facets of the world which cover the material world, the mental world, and the social world (Fairclough 2003). Different points of view result in different representation of the aspects of the world, thus, it is inevitable to take the relationship between different discourses into account. A particular discourse represents a particular aspect of the world, hence, different discourses offers different perspectives of the world which are influenced by the individual's place in the world, his/her personal and social identities, and his/her social relationship with others.

In order to represent the world, one has to be understood by his/her social environment. Representation is understood as the process of meaning production and exchange occurring between members of a particular culture. To enable the process of exchanging meaning, a certain signal is applied. The communicative signals take the forms of language, signs, and images which represent certain meanings. Thus, representation links concepts in our mind with the language we use to allow the real world reference and the sense to take place.

In the discussion of representation, language functions as a mirror which reflect the meaning which exists in the world. However, the use of language also reflects author's intention. Therefore, the author has the ability to convey meaning through his/her choice of words. However, in communication, the receiver's understanding of the conveyed message also influence the constructed meaning. In short, representation is a practice which utilizes material object, i.e. language, to produce meaning. The produced meaning in the discourse is represented by a particular choice of words or construction of grammar (Hall 1997).

Social actor representation

Van Leeuwen (2008) proposes mechanism of representing social actors by dividing it into socio-semantic inventory working through the categories. The category starts by observing at the involved participants' involvement in the text. The inclusion and the exclusion of participants are highly influenced by the author's interest and purpose in relation to fit those of the intended readers.

The exclusion of the involved participants might be done in three ways. First, the exclusion is done by not mentioning them at all in relation to particular discursive event. This, however, leaves no trace for linguistic analysis of the text. The social actor representation can only be identified by comparing texts under the same discourse when this way is applied. Second, the exclusion of participants can be done by suppression. The participants are regarded as series of activities only. Third, the exclusion happens when the participants are mentioned in the text, but have no description of a particular activity. This way, the participants are backgrounded. Even so, the readers can still infer who the participants are.

The inclusion of the involved participants is done by the process of activation and passivation. This activation process treats the participants as active forces in certain events. The inclusion includes participants foregrounding by highlighting them. The passivation process, on the other hand, highlights the participants by putting them as the subject or as the beneficiary.

Furthermore, social actor representation can also be done by the personalization process which covers determination and differentiation processes. Determination happens when the identity of the participants is specified by the author. If the participants are put in explicit individual or group, these participants are being differentiated, thus they are represented through the process of differentiation.

Lastly, the representation of social actors can be done by categorizing them. The author represents the actors from the activities that they do, by functionalizing them. They can also be identified from their age, gender, class, race, ethnicity, political or religious affiliation, and other classifications. They can further be represented based on the character evaluation like good, bad, feared, idolized, or hated.

Van Leeuwen (2003) applied socio-semantic approach in the analysis of social actor representation. He presents socio-semantic inventory to analyze the representation. This approach is applied due to the consideration of agency in sociological concept as the major aspect in Critical Discourse Analysis. This approach can be used to strengthen the objectification or the subjectification of the social actors.

However, Goatly (2000) and Fairclough (1995) claim that the use of word choice is essential in conducting social actor representation analysis. Both assert that vocabulary choice, in addition to grammar, is potential to construct the representation which lead to the possible derived meanings. This paper apply both approach in the analysis, but focuses on the elaboration of the social actor representation in the discussion.

Social actor representation analysis

Summary of the story

Muchtar's *Bapakku Juga Hilang* tells a story of a woman who has been wondering about her father whereabouts for almost fifty years. It was told in the beginning of the story that she lost her father right after the radio announced the discovery of the assassinated Generals bodies, the victims of PKI 30 September 1965 coup. Some witnesses said that her father and other farmers were gone immediately after a green truck with a camouflage tarpaulin covering the back passed the paddy field

After years in uncertainty, one day a neighbor named Kamal experienced a mental breakdown. Kamal shouted for forgiveness for slaughtering many farmers. Kamal's confession during his breakdown was not taken seriously by the neighbors due to his past reputation as a religious member of the society with a particular interest in the army look. When he died a month later, the truth died with him, and the neighbors were left with questions regarding the possibility of truth from Kamal's confession.

Ever since her father went missing, she experienced extreme fear every time a green truck passed by. The fear escalated one time which made her lost her consciousness. She decided never to go out of her village anymore due to the fear of passing the green truck. It was told that she spent most of her time inside the house vicinity for almost fifty years after the incident.

When a green truck passed the village road, her anxiety reached its peak. However, when she found out that the military were there to help the villagers rebuild a bridge in the village, she felt better. The sight of the green truck became a more familiar sight for her. She even attempted to join the crowd observing the soldiers rebuilding the bridge. Having one unanswered questions in mind, she came to the soldiers and asked about her father's whereabouts. She asked it softly at first, but after seeing her neighbors' responses, she asked loudly with a demanding tone about his whereabouts while accusing the soldiers of kidnapping. Her action resulted in the looks of sympathy. They thought she was crazy.

Social actor identification

Four characters are presented in Muchtar's *Bapakku Juga Hilang*: *aku* (I), *bapak* (father), *emak* (mother), and Kamal. *Aku* is the first-person unnamed narrator in the story. *Aku* experienced loss and had been living in fear and uncertainty.

Sejak bapak juga hilang bersama sejumlah petani, aku selalu ketakutan setiap kali melihat truk berwarna hijau melintasi jalan desa (par. 18).

(Since father also disappeared along with a number of farmers, I have always been terrified every time I saw green trucks passed the village road.)

It is obvious that the green truck represents the trigger of fear in her, related to her father's disappearance. The reason for his disappearance was never found, thus resulted in the difficulties of letting go. The absence of closure preserved the fear and confusion. Furthermore, *Aku* also portrayed signs of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) as a result of the loss. Brewin, Andrews, and Rose (2003) claim that reactions in victims emerge 6 months after the violent crime took place and the PTSD symptoms develop over time.

Tiba-tiba dokar yang kami tumpang dengan berpapasan dengan truk berwarna hijau yang melaju kencang. Aku menggigil ketakutan membayangkan bapak bersama sejumlah petani diangkut oleh truk berwarna hijau itu. Lantas aku pingsan (par. 20).

(Suddenly the horse cart we were in ran into a speeding green truck. I shudder in fear imagining father and a number of other farmers were taken away by that green truck. Then I fainted.)

Aku is also a victim from the aftermath of the 1965-1966 massacre. The suspected killing of her father left a wound in the family. Aku is a representative of the victims' family from the massacre.

Bapak was never described as an active participant. *Bapak* is positioned in the group of farmers, a commoner in the social stratum.

Padahal, bapak hanya rakyat kecil yang sehari-hari bertani (par. 2).

(In fact, father was just a commoner who spent his days farming.)

The quotation shows that *bapak's* daily activity is farming. He spent his days in the paddy field as a farmer. In addition, *bapak* is also objectified by placing him in the theme position.

Kami kemudian menduga, bapak dan sejumlah petani lain diculik oleh tentara (par. 5)

(We then assume that father and a number of other farmers was kidnapped by the military.)

The quotation above depicts that *bapak* is taken away by the military after the coup. Therefore, *bapak* is the representative of the victims of the G-30 S/PKI aftermath.

Another identified character is *emak*. *Emak*, as *bapak's* wife also represents the G-30 S/PKI victims' family just like the narrator.

The last identified character is *Kamal*. *Kamal* was a part of the close society to *aku*, the neighbor. *Kamal* was described as a religious member of the society before he broke down.

Sebelum menderita tekanan batin, Kamal dikenal sebagai santri yang pernah mondok di pesantren dan sering tampil berjaket, bersepatu boot dan bertopi baret menyerupai tentara (par. 12).

(Before suffering from stress, *Kamal* was known as a student of a religious school for a period of time. He often put on a jacket, boots, and a beret, resembling the army.)

Kamal was considered as a well-respected member of society. Yet, *Kamal's* mental breakdown put him in a different group of the society.

Sehabis berteriak-teriak seperti kesurupan itu, Kamal menangis sambil bercerita tentang pekerjaan mengerikan yang pernah dilakukannya. Tengah malam, Kamal bersama kawan-kawannya ditugaskan oleh komandan tentara untuk membantai sejumlah petani yang telah diikat di tengah hutan jati (par. 13)

(After the possessed-like screaming stopped, *Kamal* cried and told about the horrifying work he did. At midnight, *Kamal* and his friends were assigned by the military commander to slaughter a number of farmers who had been tied up in the middle of the teak forest.)

The confession during his mental breakdown pulled *Kamal* out from the group of respected in the society. The confession put him as the representative of the executioners during the aftermath of G-30 S/PKI.

The four characters are the individual social actors which are the representatives of collective social actors. *Aku* and *emak* represent the group of victims' family, *bapak* represents the group of victims, and *Kamal* represents the group of killers.

Besides the individual social actors, three collective social actors are identified in the story: the soldiers, the non-military executioners, and the farmers. The soldiers were mentioned throughout the story, yet, it was never explicitly stated about a specific section of the military was involved. The non-military executioners were introduced in the middle part of the story. Finally, the farmers, as the victims, were introduced in the beginning of the story. Thus, it was identified early.

Word choice used in the short story

The analysis of word choice is essential in the finding of the representational processes and the possible derived meaning. The analysis began with the vocabulary used to describe the first person point-of-view narrator, *aku*. An interesting point to draw from the vocabulary choice is that the narrator was first described as fatherless by utilizing the word *hilang* (missing). *Hilang* is considered to give the sense that the social agent has no control over the condition. Without having control of the condition, the agent automatically lost control over the information related to the condition. This initial word choice interestingly set the atmosphere of the whole story.

The most dominant attribute about the narrator, *aku*, is the state of confusion. The narrator was highly attributed to confusion for having no control over the situation. Some examples of the vocabulary

use in this respect are *bingung* (confused), *menduga* (guess), *mungkin* (maybe), *bertanya-tanya* (wonder), *apakah* (whether), *entah* (who knows), and *hilang* (missing). These words chosen to attribute the narrator are considered as vocabularies which possibly derive negative quality in the context of certainty. The word 'confused' conveys the meaning of not being able to think clearly, whereas 'guess' convey the meaning of estimating something without being provided by enough information to be sure of its correctness. The word 'maybe' has a low possibility of something to be done or to be correct. 'Wonder' carries the meaning of desire or have the curiosity to know something. This, however, conveys the lack of knowledge about something as well. In short, the choice of vocabulary represents the lacking of something that can assure the mind and the feeling. The absence of the information causes internal conundrum which later affect the external environment.

Another attribute attached to the narrator is 'paranoia'. The words *takut* (afraid), *ketakutan* (terrified), and *ketakutan* (fear) were used repeatedly. The repetition of the vocabulary intensifies the feeling of fear throughout the story. The repetition of the word also illustrates that the state of being afraid is natural for the narrator. Clearly, by using this vocabulary, the severity of the fear is highlighted. Thus, the narrator was portrayed as a paranoid.

The last attribution to the narrator is 'insanity'. The narrator was described as being insane for wanting to know her father's whereabouts. The choice of word is very particular: *gila*. 'Gila' in this context conveys the meaning of crazy or insane. The choice of this particular vocabulary also derives negative quality for it illustrate a faulty of the narrator's mental state. The word 'crazy' is defined as mentally deranged which can lead to aggressive behavior. 'Insane' defines a state of mind which prevents normal perception or social interaction. Both English equivalents fit the Indonesian word meaning of 'gila'.

Just like the first person point-of-view narrator, *emak* (mother) is also attributed to the quality of confusion. The vocabulary used to convey the meaning are *bingung* (confused) and *bertanya-tanya* (wonder). *Emak*, here also represents the family of the aftermath victims.

The analysis continued by identifying the description and attribution of *bapak*. *Bapak* is described as a farmer by using the word *bertani* (farming) in the clause "*Padahal bapak hanya rakyat kecil yang sehari-hari bertani*" (In fact, father was just a commoner who spent his days farming). The choice to use the word *hanya* (just) and *rakyat kecil* (commoner) in the clause preserve the ordinariness of the activity. It conveys no meaning of threat to the government. Furthermore, *bapak* is attributed to the quality of *buta huruf* (illiterate). This attribution reflects that *bapak* is harmless towards the government. The vocabulary choice was intended to highlight the level of danger he caused towards the government: none.

Bapak, as discussed previously, represents the group of farmers. The short story put the group of farmers as the subject of other social actors. The vocabulary used to describe the farmers are *diculik* (kidnapped), *tewas* (slain), and *dibantai* (slaughtered). The word choice portrays the inhumane treatment given to the farmers. The dehumanization of the farmers is elevated by the word choice. *Tewas* (slain) and *dibantai* (slaughtered) perfectly depicts the horrifying condition received by the farmers. The farmers in the story were described as victims.

The next social actor is *Kamal* which represents the group of killers, the non-military executioners. *Kamal* is attributed to the quality of religiousness by describing him as *santri* (an Islamic religious school student). He is also attributed to the quality of military-centric by the choice of items he used: *jaket* (jacket), *boot* (boots), and *baret* (beret). The vocabulary choice try to convey that *Kamal* was not only religious, but also nationalist. This, however, was attributed to *Kamal* before his mental breakdown. After he showed signs of hysteria by shouting that he was a *jagal* (killer) who *membunuh* (kill) and *membantai* (slaughter) a group of farmers, he was attributed to the quality of *gila* (crazy or insane) and to have *tekanan batin* (depressed). The series of word choice convey the meaning that a well-respected member of society is unable to commit horrifying action. Once he/she confess of those action, he/she is considered crazy and no one would believe him/her.

The last social actor to be analyzed by the description from the choice of words is the soldiers (*tentara*). Generally referred as the military, these soldiers were described as kidnappers by using the word *culik* (kidnap). Throughout the story, the word *culik* was presented as both active and passive actions in which the soldiers were the human agent. The soldiers were also attributed to the quality of being dreadful and no one dares (*tak berani*) to demand clarification, not even justice, from the assumed action done by the soldiers. The soldiers were also said to have a commander (*komandan*) which disseminated hatred towards the Indonesian Communist Party as seen in the following

Kamal juga bertutur menirukan ucapan komandan tentara, "Mereka bukan petani biasa. Mereka tercatat sebagai anggota PKI yang harus ditumpas habis agar tidak membahayakan bangsa dan negara kita!" (par. 14)

(*Kamal then recited what the military commander said, "They are not just farmers. They are recorded as the Indonesian Communist Party members which have to be banished so they will not endanger our nation and country!"*)

From the above quotation, it can be concluded that there was actually another social actor in the story, the Indonesian Communist Party members. This group is attributed to the quality of being dangerous towards the nation. The attribution, though, came from the military commander who led a group of

previously described as dreadful kidnapers of farmers. The attribution of farmers in this short story contradicts the attribution of the PKI members.

Discussion

The analysis of social actor representation comes to several issues of discussion. The analysis shows that there are major offense to human rights. The analysis shows 10 human right violations based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

The representations of the soldiers as kidnapers and the representation of the non-military killers show the violations to the rights to live freely and equally, the right to security, the right to live the right to be protected by the law, the right to get fair treatment by the fair courts, the right of fair detainment, the right to trial, the right to be considered innocent until proven guilty.

First and foremost, the farmers are deprived from their right to live. They were slaughtered ruthlessly. By kidnapping them without giving them opportunity to defend themselves, they are dismissed from their right to be considered innocent until proven guilty. Based on Kamal's statement,

Sehabis berteriak-teriak seperti kesurupan itu, Kamal menangis sambil bercerita tentang pekerjaan mengerikan yang pernah dilakukannya. Tengah malam, Kamal bersama kawan-kawannya ditugaskan oleh komandan tentara untuk membantai sejumlah petani yang telah diikat di tengah hutan jati (par. 13)

(After the possessed-like screaming stopped, Kamal cried and told about the horrifying work he did. At midnight, Kamal and his friends were assigned by the military commander to slaughter a number of farmers who had been tied up in the middle of the teak forest.)

the farmers were also dismissed from their rights of fair detainment. Without this, naturally they were deprived of their rights to get fair treatment by the fair court and the right to trial.

Moreover, by disseminating hatred, the commander dismissed the farmers' right to live freely and equally. The military maligned the farmers by declaring them as threats to the unity of the nation as seen in the following clause.

Kamal juga bertutur menirukan ucapan komandan tentara, “Mereka bukan petani biasa. Mereka tercatat sebagai anggota PKI yang harus ditumpas habis agar tidak membahayakan bangsa dan negara kita!” (par. 14).

(Kamal also repeat the military commander's remark, “They are not just farmers. They are listed as PKI members who must be wiped out so they will not endanger our nation and state!”)

The statement horrifyingly dismissed the freedom of the farmers by depriving their innocence and libeling them as threats of nations.

This further reveals other violations of rights imposed upon PKI members. As a political party, PKI is alienated from its right to freedom of thought and freedom of speech. Without focusing on the discussion of communism, the analysis implies a major bridge to these rights. The party's right to exercise its ideology was removed. In other words, their rights to express their thoughts were removed.

Besides conveying the major human right violations, the analysis also illustrates the suggestion for reconciliation. Throughout the story, the main character was represented as confused, paranoid, and insane. Making peace with the survivors and their family is urgent to be done. In response to many legal reports and complaints by the survivors of 1965-1966 massacre and their families, *Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia* (Komnas HAM, National Commission for Human Rights) conducted an investigation of the events. One finding of the investigation which is in line with the cause of the main character's psychological state in the short story is the enforced disappearance. The civilians who were listed as the victims of enforced disappearance roughly counted as many as 32,774 people (Kholis 2012). This enforced disappearances were the consequence of the military forces operation conducted in 1965-1965 as the aftermath of the coup. The disappearance of the father had triggered the confusion in the main character as seen in the clause.

Kami dan banyak warga desa bingung harus ke mana mencari bapak dan petani-petani lain yang hilang (par. 4).

(We and many other villagers were confused about where we must look for father and other missing farmers.)

Once settled, the issue would no longer be a problem. However, the story narrated that the father's disappearance had put the main character into the state of confusion for all her life.

Kami ingin sekali mendengar kepastian tentang nasib bapak, apakah masih hidup atau sudah wafat dan sebetulnya bapak berada di mana dan bagaimana keadaannya? (par. 9)

(We desperately want to know the fact about father's fate on whether he is alive or dead and about his whereabouts as well as his condition.)

The story illustrate the extraordinary grip of the main character on this purpose. She was determined to demand for truth from the military forces, assumed to kidnap her father.

Dimana bapak berada? Bukankah kalian yang dulu menculik bapak bersama sejumlah petani dengan truk berwarna hijau?

(Where is my father? Weren't you the ones who kidnapped him along with a number of farmers in your green truck?)

The questions reaffirm the main character's pain of the mental torture which has been carried for years. The not knowing and the absence of the state involvement in confirming history were the fundamental reasons for the pain.

By portraying this message in the short story, Muchtar suggests the vitality of government involvement in confirming history. *Bapakku Juga Hilang* becomes an informal proposal for the government to start paying serious attention and start taking actions related about this matter. To sum up, *Bapakku Juga Hilang* suggest the urgency of government intervention in realizing reconciliation with the victims of the 1965-1966 massacre and their families.

Conclusion

Asmadi As Muchtar's *Bapakku Juga Hilang* brought up the topic of the 1965 G-30 S/PKI aftermath from the perspective of the victims' family members. The social actor representation analysis shows the short story beautifully convey the message beyond the dismissal of rights that these PKI affiliated family members have to bear with. The story conveys the human right violations in the aftermath of the 1965 coup as well as the long term impacts of the aftermath towards PKI affiliated family members. There are ten obvious violations to human rights that the story raises: the right to live freely and equally, the right not to be discrimination, the right to live, the right to security (no torture), the right to be protected by the law, the right to get fair treatment by fair courts, the right of fair detainment, the right to trial, the right to be considered innocent until proven guilty, the right to freedom of thought, and the right to freedom of speech. Furthermore, the story strongly suggest the urgency for reconciliation and closure from the state by narrating the psychological impact of the aftermath from the second generation perspective. In conclusion, using limited words, the story conveys abundant meanings which lead to the highlighting of the urgency for the government to bring closure upon this enormous human right violation incident.

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