
**Event of the G 30 S/PKI in modern Indonesian novels
by female writers of the post reformation era****Anwar Efendi*, Burhan Nurgiyantoro, Maman Suryaman, Anis Mushlihatin**

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ABSTRACT

Politics (facts) and literature (fiction) are two things that both exist and are needed by society. The two are also often linked together. The specific relationship between politics and literature is understood as a practical form of writing. This study uses a qualitative descriptive design to trace the re-interpretation of political facts in modern Indonesian novels written during the post reformation era. The research data sources are post reformation novels published in modern Indonesian literature that reinterpret political facts. These political facts can be found through the thematic aspects, the mindset and actions of the characters, the arrangement of the plot (conflict), and descriptions of the story setting which are integral to the whole fictional stories. The determination of novels to be used as data sources is based on the following considerations: (a) novels that re-interpret political facts related to the historical events of the 30 September 1965 Movement, (b) novels published during the post reformation era (2000s and above), and (c) novels written by female authors of a generation that did not directly experience the events of the 30 September 1965 Movement. The results of the study are as follows. First, the political facts expressed in the novel, are namely: (a) the kidnapping and murder of seven generals, (b) the Cakrabirawa elite squad, (c) the kidnapping and murder of people who were considered to be part of the Indonesian Communist Party, (d) detention on the island Buru, (e) granting status as a descendant of the PKI, and (f) abolishing citizenship status for students studying in certain countries deemed to be affiliated with the communist party. Second, the re-interpretation of historical facts in the novel are namely (a) related to the journey of the past, (b) part of the journey of Indonesian history, (c) understanding from the human side, and (d) choices and awareness of the journey of life in the future. It is hoped that the results of the study can be implemented in the learning of literature at schools and in the wider community through academic forums in an effort to socialize the possibility of using modern literary works as a source of historical information to support the understanding of Indonesian history. If used critically and combined with other sources, novels that actualize and reinterpret political facts can be used as a source of knowledge and understanding of the nation's history.

Keywords: political facts, reinterpretation, G30S/PKI movement, modern Indonesian novels

Article history*Submitted:*

6 January 2023

Accepted:

19 March 2023

Published:

31 March 2023

Citation (APA Style):Efendi, A., Nurgiyantoro, B., Suryaman, M., & Mashlihatin, A. (2023). The G30S/PKI in modern Indonesian novels by post-reformation women authors. *Diksi*, 31(1), 37-49. <https://doi.org/10.21831/diksi.v31i1.59250>.

INTRODUCTION

In the perspectives of literary sociology, literary work is a document or notes about a person, building, event, and any other thing related to the past time. As reflection of social reality, it can function to inventorize the number of important events in the contexts of the historical pathway of a nation. In a mutualistic relation, the positions of history and literature exist in complementary situations. History fills in literature as material on the idealized world; on the other side, literature completes historical chunks that have not been revealed.

The problems of politics and literature have undergone long debates since the era of Plato up to the present time and are still of interest to discuss. Politics and literature are two areas that are different because their objectives are different (Eilders & Nisch, 2015). In relation to the terms of “politics” and “literature”, Whitebrook (1995) states that these terms can refer to a number of meanings such as

“politics in literature” and “literary politics”. The term “politics in literature” refers to the understanding of the entrance of political aspects into literature. Meanwhile, the term “literary politics” refers to one approach form of literary criticism such as the postcolonial approach, cultural studies, feminism, and so forth (Sayed, 2016; Ranciere, 2004).

The relation between politics and literature is essentially one of facts and fictions. One fact, historical or political, for example, can equally enter a fiction story or, even become one important content. As soon as it enters into fiction, however, this fact—historical or political— must submit to the fiction system. Fiction is imaginative fact; so facts that enter into fiction are parts of a fiction story. Historical data that are used in fiction are actually parts of a fiction system; they are no more parts of the system of a realistic world (Junus, 2006). Fictional elements—can be referred to as sub-subsystems—together will form a fiction text as a system that must fulfill the requirement of *an artistic wholeness*. In reality, the relation between facts and fiction is not crystal clear; it tends to be blurred (Hamid, 2015). As part of a fact, politics is often difficult to be detached from fiction. Politics is often written like a fiction and fiction is written containing certain political elements.

In many instances, politics is seen as a reality in life while fiction is an imaginative world. Politics (facts) and literature (fiction) are two substances which simultaneously exist in and are needed by society. The two are also often connected. Ranciere (2004) mentions the existence of a specific relation between politics which is understood as a way of doing something and literature which is understood as a form of practical writing. On another side, Janoory *et al* (2016) sees history of politics as facts and knowledge while literature as fiction and imagination.

In Indonesian literary history, the appearance of a political event in a literary work is not a new fact. One political event that is much raised in Indonesian literature is the event of the rebellion of G30S/PKI of 1965. This event is the consequence of the escalation of the atmosphere of the political conflicts in Indonesia among three powers, namely the Indonesian Communist Party, President Sukarno, and the Army (Said, 2006). This conflict began when President Sukarno declared the Presidential decree in 1959, that caused the political temperature between 1961 and 1965. A power tug occurs among these three powers, each intending to strike down the other (Anwar, 2006). The rebellion of G30S/PKI is the climax of the political ruptures and the Indonesian people are sharply split into the pro-communist and anti-communists sides. The event brings about fundamental political changes in Indonesia (Said, 2006).

In the contexts of the understanding and interpretation of the event of G 30 September 1965, literary work can become a germane medium to build up dialogical principles in responding to this historical event. Subsequently, understanding and interpretation of this historical event can be carried out proportionately and dialogically among the perpetrators and sufferers on the Government side and the perpetrators from the private side (outside the Government structures). The frightening, spellbinding, and terrifying images of the G 30 September event can as optimally as possible be diverted to more reflective, peaceful, polite, friendly, and neutral directions. Thus, it can be possible to further explore the end estuary of the tragedy without being threatened by the shadows of fear and horror as has been experienced by the younger generations of the Indonesian people.

Based on the foregoing description and discussion, it is interesting to look at how current female writers actualize and interpret the political facts and historicities concerning the event of G 30 September of 1965, as well as the actualization and re-interpretation of the aspects of the political facts through fictional elements in the literary works of the post-reformation movement. Literary works (novels) that actualize and interpret facts of political history can be used as a historical source since they reflect and criticize opinions from different perspectives, compared to existing historical writings.

METHOD

The study used the qualitative research approach. In accordance with the characteristics of qualitative research, data and research findings are verbal data in the forms of descriptions of the actualizations and interpretations of political facts found in the modern Indonesian novels of the post-reformation era. The researchers, as key instruments of the study, labor to describe aspects of the political facts and the reference sources for the political facts revealed in the novels.

Sources of the research data were novels published during the post-reformation era in the repertoire of modern Indonesian literature that actualize and re-interpret political facts. Political facts were elicited through thematic aspects, thoughts and actions of characters, plot arrangement (conflicts) and description of the story backgrounds which were integrally intertwined in the entire fiction.

Selection of the novels as sources for the research data was based on the criteria: (a) the novel contains re-interpretation of political facts related to the historical event 30 September Movement of 1965, (b) the novel was published during the post-reformation era (years 2000s up), dan (c) the novel was written by a female writer who did not have direct experience with the 30 September Movement. Based on the foregoing criteria the novels selected as the research data sources are as presented Table 1.

Table 1. Novels Selected as Research Data Sources

No	Title of Novel	Author	Publisher (Year)
1.	<i>Manjali dan Cakrabirawa</i> [Manjali and Cakrabirawa]	Ayu Utami	Gramedia Pustaka (2010)
2.	<i>Pulang</i> [Going Home]	Leila S. Chudori	Gramedia Pustaka (2012)
3.	<i>Amba</i>	Laksmi Pamuntjak	Gramedia Pustaka (2012)

Data were collected by using the documentation or reference-study technique. This data collection technique was used for the reason that data sources were phenomenological and idiographical, i.e. they were in the forms of presentations of verbal texts in literary work. Data collection was carried out in the following steps. *First*, by their knowledge and perspectives, the researchers read all the data sources accurately and carefully. The researchers relied on critical attitudes, accurateness, and carefulness so that they could fulfill the requirement for internalization and understanding of meaning that are deep, detailed, and adequate (the principles of *verstehen* and *erlebnis*). *Second*, the researchers re-read all the data sources, giving marks on certain chunks that will be raised to be the data by giving codes according to the problem focus. The coded data were recorded for data analysis purposes.

Data analysis was carried out in the following steps. *First*, reading to understand and internalize all the research sources and data, followed by selecting and marking words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, texts that contained information concerning political facts, source references for the political facts, and strategies and interpretation patterns of the political facts exposed in the novels. *Second*, identifying and classifying all the data wholly and thoroughly based on the problem items that had been formulated, without looking at individual parts. Data identification and classification were prepared according to the research focus, namely: (a) aspects of political facts, (b) reference sources for the political facts and strategies or interpretation patterns for the political facts in the novels. *Third*, re-interpreting all the identified and classified data to determine the cohesiveness, unity, and interrelation among the data pieces using the theoretical perspectives or intertextual approaches. In this manner, whole and thorough understanding could be found in the actualization and re-interpretation of the political facts identified in the novels. As can be seen from the foregoing, data collection and analysis were done simultaneously. Prior to all these activities, the researchers had devised the guide for collecting, analyzing, and interpreting data in accordance with the problem focus. The guide was the delineation of all the conceptual breakdown of the problem focus.

Data validity was verified by using two procedures: *First*, repeated reading and interpretation of the data sources in order to ensure appropriate and adequate actualization and understanding of meaning. The same treatment was subjected to the various relevant reference sources. *Second*, verification with colleagues. This was done through discussions and conferences about the research problem focus with colleagues who were sought to have competences relevant with the research focus.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

The study is intended to find and explain political facts and re-interpretation of the political facts in modern Indonesian novels authored by female writers of the post reformation era. The presence of female writers who actualize political facts, especially of the event G 30/S PKI, becomes itself a separate color in the development of modern Indonesian literature. Research results are presented in Table 2 and Table 3.

Table 2. Political Facts Expressed in the Novels

No.	Event	Description
1.	Kidnapping and killing of	The 1965 tragedy can be seen from three phases: prologue, G30S event, and epilogue. The prologue refers to the time less than five years prior to the break of the G30S event

seven generals	(the official version of the New Order mentions the prologue begins in 1948). Followed by the killing of six generals that happens only one night, even several hours, on October 1, 1965. Meanwhile the epilogimpacts of the G30S event lasts very long, the whole New Order who reigns in three decades; the trauma can still be felt in the reformation era.
2. The elite troop Cakrabirawa	Cakrabirawa or Tjakrabirawa is the Palace guard troop whose main duty is to ensure the security and safety of the President and his family. The Cakrabirawa troop come from all the elements of the Indonesian Armed Forces ABRI, namely the army AD, the Air Force AU, the Navy AL, and the Police. In 1965 the Cakrabirawa troops were involved in the G 30 September 1965 event under the command of Liutcol Untung. The beginning of the bloody incident is when the gang of Liutcol Untung apprises that there is the issue of the presence of a Council of Generals who is not loyal and intends to topple President Soekarno by a revolutionary movement. Liutcol Untung plans an operation by forming four task forces each with their duties; namely Pasopati, Bimasakti, Gatotkatja, and Pringgodani. The Pasopati task force kidnaps a number of generals alleged to commit a coup d'eta by the General Council.
3. Kidnapping and killing of PKI	Those who are (alleged) to be involved in G30S and their families are arrested, killed, and given a stigma in the community. They and their families are discriminated, banned from being civil servants or members of the armed forces. Subsequently, this labeling is used by the New Order regime for practical purposes such as silencing their political foes who are critical by labeling them as members of the communist party PKI or evicting farmers or buying their land cheaply; and if they refuse, they will be tagged as communists.
4. Kidnapping and imprisonment in Buru Island	For ten years the political detainees 65 Type B more than 10,000 captives are exiled and enslaved in Buru Island. Among the inmates is Pramoedya Ananta Toer who gives birth to the famous tetralogy novelettes. Pram uncovers the cruelty of the Buru Island treatment in his book <i>Nyanyi Sunyi Seorang Bisu</i> [the Silent Song of a Mute] (1995).
5. Giving the status of descendents of the communists PKI	In 1981 the Minister of the Domestic Affairs issued an instruction that those who are involved in the G30S movement and their families cannot become civil servants/Army. The stigma has been pinned to the forehead of the newly-born even if he does not opt to be born within a family that is involved in G30S PKI.
6. Eradication of status of citizenship of students overseas	In 1965 thousands of Indonesian people, diplomats, reporters, Parliament members, scholarship students sent by President Soekarno to study technology abroad, especially in socialist countries, were hindered from returning home. Their citizenships are even canceled. They ask for political asylums from country to country or, in Gus Dur's term, they become wanderlusts.

Table 3. Re-interpretation of Political Facts Expressed in the Novels

No.	Reinterpretation	Description
1.	Connected to the Past Time	The story of Cakrabirawa is connected to the existence of the statue Syiwa Bhairawa or is also called the statue Cakra Cakra. The statue of the god of demolition in the <i>paing ganasnua</i> strength. Syiwa with a wolf. The god: Syiwa with a skeleton hoop. Syiwa with tens of skeletons on his feet. Syiwa with the head of a monk with two arms.
2.	Part of a Historical Journey	Since the proclamation of independence, the writing of the national history can be distinguished into three phases or waves. The first wave is called decolonization marked by the strong motivation of a society who just gets freedom to have a national history of their own, no longer written by the Dutch colonists. The Nederlandocentric approach is changed with an Indonesiacentric approach. The second wave is marked by the use of social sciences in history. This sociological approach has an academic advantage in that it increases the quality of history writing and, politically, history is neutral towards the authority, even far from being the position of social criticism. The third wave of Indonesian historiography begins right after the fall of Soeharto and is marked by the efforts to straighten things that are controversial, written during the era of the New Order.

3.	Understanding of Aspects of Humanity	Renewals of the history of the 1965 case are done using new sources (for example archives which can be already opened in the US and China), oral research historical methodology, that has become prominent when written documents are hard to find, and new perspectives (such as, history is not only written by the authority or winner, but also by victims. It is quite noticeable that, during the reformation era, the publication of history books of victims, i.e., history written based on the perspectives of the sides that are disadvantaged or those who become victims in a historical event.
4.	Choice and awareness of Life journey	Creative and innovative choices taken by children and grandchildren of people who are identified as functionaries, members, and sympathizers of the communist party PKI. They are given the negative stigma of being the descendants of the communists so that they are constrained from getting economic and education access, not mentioning politics. These limitations have, on the contrary, become challenges and trigger their creativities and innovativeness to determine their choice with full awareness to be able to survive in the coming life.

Discussion

Political Facts of the G30/S PKI Event Expressed in the Novels by Female Writers of the Post Reformation Era

The presence of political aspects in a literary work is not a new fact. In the history of the Indonesian literature, since the years 1950s, political aspects has been seen in novels by Muchtar Lubis such as *Senja di Jakarta* [Twilight in Jakarta], *Tiada Esok* [No Tomorrow], and, even sharper, *Maut dan Cinta* [Death and Love] (1977). Further, one background and political event that is often raised in Indonesian literature in recent years is the event of the rebellion of the Movement of September 30, 1965 (often called G 30 S). The event breaks because of the escalation of the political conflicts in Indonesia among three (triangle) powers; namely the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), Sukarno, and the Armed Forces (the Army) which has begun since the early era of Guided Democracy (Said, 2006, p. xi). This began when President Sukarno declared the decree in 1959 which caused the high political atmosphere between 1961 and 1965. There is a tug of power, authority, and influence among the three powers and it is seen that each power wants to topple the others. The rebellion event is the climax of the political breakage among the Indonesian people who are sharply halved into pro-communist and anti-communist sides. This has brought about fundamental political changes in Indonesia (Said, 2006, p. xii).

When the G-30-S rebellion breaks, marked by the killing of seven generals, comes onto the stage General Suharto as a savior of the situation. People who have for years been intimidated by the communist power now support Suharto who is anti-communist and confronts Sukarno. These people have built their strengths through crystallization during the era of Guided Democracy. Sukarno's attitudes that are perceived to give advantages to the communist PKI, partly shown by his aggressiveness to annihilate his political foes (Anwar, 2006, p.349) indirectly gives advantages to the Army. When Suharto becomes president—who, slowly but firmly, transforms to become an absolute ruler—the hunting, arresting, and later limiting the moving space of communist people, and even later their families and children are severely executed. When, prior to the rebellion event, the communists aggressively intimidate people, now, after the rebellion, even for years after the event, in reverse they and the sympathizers and families become the targets of obliteration.

The Indonesian younger generations, born in the 1960s and after, generally do not know much about the historical events related to the rebellion. It even does not unfrequently happen that they are influenced by the opinions of the “leftist” writers that the communist PKI is innocent. Besides, initiatives can be seen by certain groups of people who want to arrange national reconciliation for the two sides who are “leftists” with those who are anti-communists. Whatever is happening in the present time, the novels seem to persuade readers (Indonesian) to recall the 1965 political situations that have brought about extraordinary impacts during the reign of Suharto up to the end of the 20th century (1998 to be exact). Suharto's rule ends in a historical event famously called reformation, i.e. the transfer of the New Order to a new arrangement of Government that is hoped to be more democratic (the Reformation Order).

In general, actualizations or expressions of political facts related to the G 30 September 1965 event can be categorized into two time spaces or periods, namely pre- and post-G 30 September 1965.

The first includes a series of events that occurred intensively in the early and on the September 30, 1965 breakup of the Movement. The second is a series of events that became a part of and a follow-up to the G 30 September 1965. The second category lasts long enough in relation to the political change and historicity of the Indonesian nation's journey.

Political Facts in the Novel Amba by Laksmi Pamuntjak

There are two political facts expressed in the novel *Amba*, namely the general election of 1955 and the rebellion of G30S/PKI itself in 1965. *First*, the 1955 general election raises a small conflict between husband and wife Sudarminto and Nunik (father and mother of Amba); Sudarminto votes for PNI (Indonesian National Party), while Nunik admires PKI (Indonesian Communist Party). This fact does not develop in the entire story. Historical facts show that PKI came out as one of the five winners of the 1955 election. This political event background does not color the plot of the novel as a whole; but, at least it shows a seed of breakage as a result of the political affiliation.

Second, the political facts that intensively background almost all of the entire story is the rebellion event in 1965. This can be divided into the pre-, during, and post event. The pre-event begins with the political tension that is escalating, strains between the people, civil guards, ulemas, Marxist youth, and others and groups of people who are affiliated to the communist party PKI such as People's Youth, Indonesian Farmer Line BTI, Indonesian Student Central Movement CGMI, and others. There is struggle of land seizure by the BTI and People's Youth from the lawful owners to impact on brawls and even killing everywhere. In this situation, Bhisma has to, or is forced to, help heal casualties from the two sides. Bhisma has close friends from the CGMI, Indonesian Women Movement Gerwani, and People's Culture Institution LEKRA.

The event of the G30S/PKI rebellion marked with the abduction and killing of generals and fight for power in Jakarta is heard all by Bhisma on the radio. When the communist party PKI begins to get cornered, they move to Middle Java and Yogyakarta to fight back. And so, there happen arrests and eradication of the communist PKI people and the various affiliated bodies by the Army. Aidit, chairman of PKI, who escapes to Middle Java is caught and shot to death. This event is heard by Bhisma from the whispers of his friends. When Bhisma is at Res Publica University (Ureca) attending a meeting to honor a leftist leader, he and Amba are arrested. Amba is separated and does not know what happens with Bhisma. Arrest is executed to all who are involved, sympathizers, and even those who are accused of being involved.

Of the many people who are arrested, many are sent to prison without proper legal trials. So is Bhisma. He is befriended with the sympathizers because he helps healing those who are injured and does not know what really happens; he is arrested. He is imprisoned in Jakarta without judicial trial, moved to Nusakambangan, and later exiled in Buru Island as a political arrestee. In Buru, all the political arrestees are employed to open and manage forests to become rice fields under tight surveillance of army soldiers. Because of various place from the international world, in 1979-1980 they are released and sent home to their own places. However, it turns out that Bhisma is not sent home. It is in 2006 that Amba, his ex-boyfriend, looks for him in Buru Island and finds the fact that he is dead. Bhisma, who has been willing to give his life, is killed in the midst of a Christian-Islamic brawl in Maluku. Bhisma leaves to his girlfriend letters that tell about the hardships of inmates in Buru Island.

The character Bhisma is narrated as a political victim. Bhisma is a doctor who loves his profession; he is ready to treat whoever needs his service without looking at political affiliations. He works and helps people on the basis of humanity. Prior to the rebellion event, when the political tension has escalated, he firmly says, "*I know a little bit about responsibility, but do not ask me about politics*" (p.196, 207). He becomes a political victim when he is arrested because he is regarded as a sympathizer. The doer of the violence is the state, via the army (Ardana, 2013; Petuguran, 2014).

Political Facts in the Novel Pulang by Laila S. Chudori

There are two political facts in the story of the novel *Pulang*; namely the event of the rebellion of G30S/PKI in 1965 and the students' demonstration in 1998 which ends up with the stepping down of Soeharto as President of the Republic of Indonesia RI. The two big political events happen continuously one after the other in the story which look to have a cause-effect relation, but there is a change in the main characters, i.e. from the first generation to the second.

The political fact of the 1965 rebellion can also be divided into prior, during, and after the event. However, the story irradiates more to the post event with the focus of the political exiles abroad who are chased by the authority although actually they are not involved or even do not know what really has happened. Of the pre-event, only a little is told; i.e. the situation which a little escalates because of the differences of political affiliations among the reporters, between Hananto who is pro-communist and Bang Amir who is contrary, while Dimas and his three friends are not affiliated with any direction. Prior to the event, Dimas and Nugroho are asked to attend a conference of communist reporters in Santiago and Peking and meet with Risjaf and Tjai in Havana. Facts of the breakage of the rebellion are not much narrated and the four characters only hear the news from abroad.

It is the political facts after the rebellion that are much narrated. Dimas who is in Peking, and, later, Paris receives letters from Aji his brother, Kenanga Hananto's daughter, and Surti Hananto's ex-wife and, at the same time, Dimas' ex-girlfriend. The letters tell about the large number of arrests of all the family members, sympathizers, and whoever are regarded as being involved, directly or indirectly, in the rebellion event. They are interrogated, intimidated, and tortured in order to confess their involvement. These various events are witnessed by Kenanga, a girl of 14 and her two little siblings because Surti, their mother, is detained. After being captured, Hananto is also executed. Dimas and his three friends cannot return home to Indonesia because they are accused of being involved so that they have to become political exiles overseas and their passports are canceled. Many times they proposes for visas, but are always refused by the Indonesian embassy. Dimas marries Vivienne—student of Sorbonne, Paris who attends the 1968 demonstration and, later, becomes a staff member—and has a daughter, Lintang Utara. Dimas and his three friends open Rumah Makan Tanah Air [Homeland Restaurant] with an Indonesian food menu, but even that is stamped as a communist PKI restaurant. Families of the political detainees and political exiles are blotted as environmentally unclean up to their children and are constrained from their spatial movements.

When she got her final term assignment in Sorbonne in 1998, Lintang came to Indonesia to make a documentary of people who became victims of the eradication of the communist PKI. In Jakarta Lintang is assisted by Alam and from the non-profit organization Satu Bangsa [One Nation]. Lintang falls in love with Alam, who is Surti-Hananto's youngest son. Lintang's arrival is on the same day as the heated event of May 1998 when a huge students' demonstration was staged to demand reformation and the relinquishment of Suharto. In this event, there happens the shooting of Trisakti students, the gloomy night of Jakarta, namely the robbing, burning, and sweeping of Chinese people, and, finally, the stepping down of Suharto as President RI. Suharto topples, political exiles can return home to the fatherland. Dimas, who has been so homesick to return to the homeland, does actually return home, but as a dead body and is buried in Karet cemetery.

These figures of the political victims are especially the four friends: Dimas Surya, Nugroho, Risjaf, and Tjai who are forced to stay abroad because they are regarded as involved or are sympathizers of the communist PKI and their families. Their passports are revoked. They are accused of being involved without evidence, just solely because they are reporter colleagues of Hananto who is, rightly, affiliated to PKI. They are politically affiliated to nowhere; they even do not know that really has happened. Just like Bhisma, they also are victims of violence done by the state (military) (Ardana, 2013; Petuguran, 2014).

Political Facts in the Novel Manjalai dan Cakrabirawa Karya Ayu Utami

The novel *Manjali dan Cakrabiwara* is part of novel duology novel *Bilangan Fu* by Ayu Utami. The serial novel *Bilangan Fu* has critical substances with the same characters Parang Jati, Yuda, and Marja. In the novel *Bilangan Fu*, Ayu Utami tries to straighten the myth of Nyi Loro Gunung Kidul as an Ancient Javanese belief system who is not distorted into a female ghost of the ruler of the South Sea. Another substance that is intended to express is a criticism of the jargons of the nature lovers that, instead of conserving nature, turn out to be destroying the richness of nature by carving the slopes along the cliffs. *Bilangan Fu* calls the phenomenon as Climb Clean and Climb Dirty while flicking the existence of the army soldiers in the country. Two friend characters have characteristics, personalities, and closeness which are opposite of one another but who have the same liking in hiking activities. One likes clean climb and the other dirty climb. One has closeness to the military, the other accuses that the military is the cause for the destruction of nature. But this dichotomy is integrated by the figure Marja, official girlfriend of Yuda, unofficial girlfriend of Parang Jati.

Meanwhile, the novel *Manjali dan Cakrabirawa*, that still carries the same characters plus the foreign Jackques as an assistant, digs into how the richness of the past Indonesian civilizations has never been seriously studied. Remains of these civilizations are temples. In Jackques' opinions, temples, for the Indonesian people, are merely historical inheritances that have high mystical values. Through the character of Jackques, the writer wants to criticize that temples do not only carry mystical values, but also are also extraordinary, more specifically related to the Indonesian architecture of the past. It is unfortunate that no one has concentrated on studying more deeply how Indonesian original architecture is reflected in temples.

Focus on the search and study of temples by Jackques, assisted by Parang Jati, shifts his adventures till he is met with an old woman in the middle of the jungle. She is a veteran of the communist women organization Gerwani who wants to struggle for women emancipation in her time. Unfortunately, the political situations are not favorable for her so she stumbles into those miserable conditions. As a part of the power of the communist PKI, Gerwani must bear the consequences. This woman's is a member of the Palace guard troop during Sukarno's presidency: the Cakrabirawa. Cakrabirawa is involved in the conspiracy abducting high-rank Army generals. He received the same fate as that of Gerwani.

The involvement of Cakrabirawa with the G 30 S/PKI members of the elite guard troop received the same treatment as the communist PKI. They become victims of international intelligence. Instead of making the Cakrabirawa life scapegoats, the novel lures readers to be thankful of the betrayal of the Cakrabirawa troop. Nonetheless, if there had not been a Cakrabirawa who conspired with the PKI, it would not have been possible that the cruelty of the PKI was soon uncovered. An act of betrayal that results in discovery.

This is an overview of the political facts attached to the events of the outbreak of the G30S/PKI. One of the elements executing the mission in that event is the elite Cakrabirawa guard troop. The end of the novel really produces dramatic conflicts. The fact that Musa, an Army officer, is actually the son of an elderly woman who was a former Gerwani member and has a father who is a member of the Cakrabirawa squad confronts Musa, who is genuinely dedicated to Pancasila and the State but not to his society. How should the State respond to the fact that seven generations of the society's members who participated in the G-30-S/PKI rebellion may not be engaged in the Government; how should Musa accept this? It turns out that his mother has been a member of the Gerwani and his father has been a member of the Cakrabirawa troop. Cakrabirawa, to him, all of the time, has been a charm that is so powerful for sorcery. What about the fate of the old woman; does she still become an object of ridicule of the Government: after, after all, for many years does not know anything about the hustle and bustle of politics in Indonesia?

Re-interpretation of Political Facts on the Event of G30/S PKI in Modern Indonesian Novels Written by Female Writers of the Post Reformation Era

Literature is a space for expressing 'man-in-his world'. Literary work has the capability of representing the world, and man, as a medium of representation. When a man faces a literary work, a problem will be seen as poured onto him. Greenblatt (2005) understands literary work as a miniature that has a function to inventorize a great number of historical events. Subsequently, the historical events in the literary work can be put into patterns of contextual and situational creativities. From here, it can later be seen the positions of history and literary work that do not overlap. History fills in literary work with substances on the world that is to describe, and literary work completes the bits and pieces of history that are not expressed (Widia, 2022).

In the contexts of Indonesia, the fall of the New Order government brings in a new fresh breeze to works of literature that takes the historical themes of the Movement of the September 30, 1965. Herlambang (2013) refers to the artistic freedom of the leftist art work post New Order government as the melting of the wall of fear. This statement is in line with the mobility of the normalization of the discourse controlled by the Government of the New Order in order to create the stability of public information and tranquility from materials of 'wild writing' circulating in the community. For important work in Indonesia, the effects of this discourse normalization are described by Goenawan Mohamad (2014) as "creative rigidity".

This creative rigidity condition is closely related to the presence of dominance and authoritarian practice, in all dimensions, of the New Order government. Literary works of the New Order era that try

to express or raise the G 30 S/PKI event as a source of inspiration of creation generally use the views of the New Order. These perspectives and angles of views subjectively place who is victim and who is doer in an extreme dichotomy. The patterns of the extreme dichotomy of who is the victim and who is the doer is of course within the domination frame of the authority of the New Order. The Indonesian Communist Party and all of its factions are viewed from this angle as the perpetrators of crimes against humanity.

The plot, characters, and conflict structures up until the conclusion of the story can all be used to infer the New Order's viewpoints in the literary work that depicts the tragedy of the G 30 S/PKI. Characters in the literary work of the New Order era are conditioned to be losers. The consequences of being losers, they are expressed as realizing the faults of all their actions, more specifically, in the understanding and meanings of the G-30-S PKI event. The ultimate estuary of the description is of course the "justification" that all the violent actions and even mass killings are legal and constitutional. The violent actions that are perceived to be executed by the Government or by other groups of people under the consent of the Government are regarded as a linear single justification. Through these stories the society is conditioned (forced) to understand all the faults of the party sympathizers without dialoues—chances to confirm and reconstruct historical truths.

On the other side, there were significant changes in how the tragedy of G 30 S/PKI was presented in literary works by the time of the end of the New Order and the beginning of the Reformation Order. During the New Order, the point of views are from the perspectives of the authority and tend to neutralize violent actions. In contrast, closing to the end of the New Order and beginning of the Reformation Order, narration is directed to attract and demand for justice to the authority and call for accountability on all the violent actions, killings, humanity crimes and other humanity wrong-doings (Widia, 2022).

During this period, pictures of sadistic acts as well as pictures of victims of violent crimes and actions—whose executioner, is believed to be the government—are presented in detail. Members of the communist PKI and sympathizers labeled as the accused are pictured as experiencing physical violent executions of being killed brutally and nastilly. The picture of the PKI as a victim is presented through dramatic plot or scenes to evoke a sympathizing atmosphere for the readers. Bloody scene fragments, figures stomach cuts, and throats spurting blood become variants of the narration from the opposite views (Government's point of views) before. It is the perspective of narration which posits the PKI and its sympathizers which Goenawan Mohamad (2014) calls the "injured literature" (Widia, 2022).

Presentations of the political event G 30 S/PKI principally are actually in the same frame although with different positions and perspectives that are selected. This means that, either during the authority of the New Order or that of the Reformation Order, narration and angles of views are found to be in a single-direction classification. On the one hand, there is subjectivity in the presentation that is overly sided with the Government; on the other, the same is found in the presentation by members and sympathizers of the PKI.

In the perspectives of the creative processes, the subjective selection does not actually matter. Yet, from a different perspective, such as the role of literature as a social document, there is a need for proportionate responses to prevent the dominance of interpretation on historical events. In a broader context, understanding history must not be limited to digging up historical truths. What is more important is how such understanding is oriented to the needs of the longer term future. If the history is a humanity tragedy, as the G 30 S/PKI was, a focus that must become common attention and awareness is prevention so that no such incident will not happen again. In this way, the Indonesian society can grow and develop in a peaceful situation, free of all menaces. This condition becomes important in order to prevent the Indonesian nation's generation from becoming a "injured generation" (Heryanto, 2015).

Throughout the nation's history, all of its children have experienced feelings of trauma, fear, anger, and revenge that appear to have never been resolved from era to era when remembering that bloody incident. An important question is: can that huge pile of historical revenge be reconciled? Can the Indonesian people forget the event of September 30, 1965? From these questions, one is tugged between two opposing poles; the first, "All the Indonesian people may not forget the historical wound caused by the September 30, 1965 event", and the second, "Wounds of the past do not deserve to be inherited to the next generation".

In relation to the foregoing, Goenawan Mohamad (Widia, 2022) mentions that dialogue between the two positions will be an important step in reconciling the past and the future. Zurbučen (2005) emphasizes that time is not the only issue in memory harmonization, there must also be a symbol that

represents a bridge of peace with the past. In line with Zurbucen's idea of the peace bridge Zurbucen (2005), literary work can play a role for that purpose. Universal and liquid literary work has a great chance of representing historical events, including the events of September 30, 1965.

Such representation must certainly present equal objectivity points and allow for dialogical rooms from various perspectives. The presence of objectivity voices in a dialoguing room between victims' and perpetrators' voices can become objectification reflections for all. The two opposing voices can lead up to critical processes of reading and understanding historical events through objectification and dialogues. In this context, a critical reading of the September 30, 1965 event will not end with determining who is right and who is wrong. Another more important thing is bringing the positions of the victims and the perpetrators into the principle of a common acceptance for future needs of greater demands.

Literary work becomes a medium for doing political reconciliations over past fears, traumas, and anxieties. Through their works, writers can present ideas and passions that can motivate hopes and expectations of the future. Although such works are intended to raise historical events from the distant past, they are also expected to provide genuine perceptions of essential human values.

In the confinement of various interpretations that allow for greater chances of dialogues, the three novels in the study can be received as realizations of some of the foregoing ideals. They, the novels *Amba* by Laksmi Pamuntjak, *Manjali dan Cakrabirawa* by Ayu Utami, and *Pulang* by Laila S. Chudori, have shown that political facts related to September 30, 1965, can be expressed in various ways and colors.

Although the purpose of the presentations is to voice the victims' perspectives, the expressions presented are not bound by wound narratives. The series of the historical events are interpreted and re-presented in the frames of novel narratives. These interpretations and presentations can be divided into four categories: (a) connected to the past time, (b) parts of historical journey paths, (c) understanding of the aspects or sides of humanity, and (d) choices and awareness of life sequences. In addition, the efforts to actualize creative and dialogical reinterpretations of the political facts are integrated with other aspects of culture, more specifically the *wayang* [leather puppets].

The names of the main characters are derived from *wayang* figures, namely *Amba*, *Bhisma*, and *Salwa*. *Sudarminto*, a lover of classical Javanese texts, gives names to his three daughters names of *wayang* figures: *Amba*, *Ambika*, and *Ambalika*. Queen *Amba* is betrothed to King *Salwa*, Ruler of *Swantipura*. *Bhisma*, from *Hastinapura* Kingdom, comes to propose to the three daughters for his two younger brothers, *Citragada* and *Citrawirya*, but *Amba* refuses the proposal because she is already betrothed. *Bhisma* grants permission, but *Salwa* rejects it because he is ashamed for being defeated by *Bhisma*. *Amba* comes to *Bhisma* and asks to be married. *Bhisma* refuses her because he is sworn to celibacy. Because *Amba* keeps pleading, *Bhisma* accidentally kills her. *Amba's* soul later reincarnated into *Lady Srikandi* to avenge her death during the battle of *Bharatayuda*. *Bhisma*, who can die by his own wish, accepts her revenge to kill him (*Padmosoekotjo*, 1993, *Sudjarwo et al*, 2010). These names of the *wayang* figures and plot schemes are transformed into the names of the main characters and plot of the novel.

In the novel, *Amba*, who has been betrothed to *Salwa* (*Salwani Munir*), a young university lecturer, falls in love with *Bhisma*, a young doctor. In the middle of their intense love story, *Bhisma* is arrested for being alleged to be a sympathizer of the communist party *PKI*. *Amba*, who is pregnant, is to be married to a foreign man, *Adalhart Eilers*, and gives birth to a daughter named *Srikandi*. *Bhisma* is imprisoned in *Salemba*, *Jakarta*, then transferred to *Nusakambangan* before being exiled in *Buru* Island. In *Buru*, *Bhisma* is given a charm by an inmate friend so that he has a supernatural power and can die only on his own wish. During a Christian-Moslem brawl in *Maluku* that expanded to *Buru* in 1999, *Bhisma* is killed because he believes he is finished and therefore gives up his life.

In the novel *Pulang*, names of *wayang* figures given to the characters of the novel are *Surti*, *Rukmini*, *Bimo*, *Rama*, *Andhini*, and others showing the transformation of *wayang* to the novel characters. Some names, such as *Dimas Surya*, are derived partially from *wayang*, i.e. *Surya* (the god *Surya*). However, as seen in the plot scheme, *Pulang's* plot is not transformed from the *wayang*.

Wayang is mostly used in novels to provide symbols and cultural references. *Dimas* admires two *wayang* figures who he believes represent him: *Bima* and *Bambang Ekalaya*. He regards *Bima* as a hero who loves and defends women, despite the fact that the woman he loves marries another man. *Bima* adores *Drupadi* and is willing to defend her on numerous occasions, but she prefers to love *Arjuna*, his

younger brother. Dimas loves Surti, but Surti prefers to marry Hananto, a man of greater social status. However, Dimas' love for Surti never dies, and he is always willing to assist her and her family, who are directly affected by the rebellion event. His pertinent love for Surti has caused a schism in his marriage with Vivienne. They decide to divorce but keep a good relation for the sake of their daughter Lintang.

Dimas also regards himself as similar to Ekalaya, a citizen who is not acknowledged by his government. Ekalaya has great admiration to Drona and wants to learn from him. Drona, on the other hand, refuses him because he already has a beloved student, Arjuna. Ekalaya creates a statue of Drona that he treats as his teacher. Drona's statue was then treated as if he were his teacher. Ekalaya learns archery with guidance from his imaginative "teacher" until he is proficient enough to defeat Arjuna's reputation. Drona, who is regarded as a teacher, asks for a tribute from the student (*guru-dakshina*), his thumb. Ekalaya willingly cuts off his thumb and gives it to Drona, his "teacher" (Sudjarwo et al, 2010, p.662). After this, Arjuna's championship in archery returns to be without a match. Dimas compares himself to Ekalaya, who is treated unfairly by the teacher, is regarded but completely disregarded, and is even cheated. Dimas loves Indonesia and wishes to return home, but the government refuses, despite the fact that his motherland still needs and wants him. He believes he has been denied the right to be an Indonesian citizen (by the ruling authority), although he and his friends are still Indonesian citizens anyway.

In the novel *Manjali dan Cakrabirawa*, Ayu Utami tries to make sure and tell that the PKI still exists as a ghost nowadays. In general, the issues raised by the G 30 S/PKI movement are still relevant today in various perspectives. Even today, some people believe that communist thinking will "tarnish the purity of Pancasila"; for example, "G 30 S PKI is the name given by Suharto's regim to discredit the entire PKI," according to the author.

For many years during President Suharto's reign, this country experienced a period in which anyone related to PKI, whether as a family member or merely a sympathizer, was regarded as environmentally unclean, especially if he was related to a member of the Cakrabirawa troop. Cakrabirawa is the name of the squad assigned to protect President Sukarno during his reign. It is related to the Lubang Buaya event because the Cakrabirawa squad carries the seven generals to the Lubang Buaya area.

It is interesting that Ayu Utami takes the angle of view that the Lubang Buaya incident is an internal military rebellion that has impacts for all PKI sympathizers. Ayu Utami tries to present the graduation of the PKI using the story of *Manjali dan Cakrabirawa*. There are those who really understand that capitalism and imperialism may not stand in this country and are simultaneously aware that the communist system that is applied in the Soviet Union at that time cannot be applied in Indonesia. There are, however, those who 'just to be PKI' because of certain pressures: PKI used to be one of the most powerful parties in Indonesia; those who oppose the party are threatened with eviction if the party wins the general election later.

CONCLUSION

Based on the presentation of the research findings and discussion, the conclusion can be drawn as follows. *First*, political facts that are expressed in the novels are: (a) the event of the kidnapping and killing of the seven generals, (b) the elite Cakrabirawa guard squad, (c) abduction and killing of people who are regarded as members of Indonesian communist party PKI, (d) detention in Buru Island, (e) endowing the status of PKI descendants, and (f) cancellation of the citizenship status of school and university students who study in certain foreign countries that are regarded as having affiliation with the communist party. *Second*, re-interpretations of the political facts in the novels result in: (a) a connection to the journey of the past life, (b) a part of the historical journey of the Indonesian nation (c) an understanding of the humanity aspects, and (d) a choice and awareness of the life journey in the future.

Research results are expected to be implemented in the learning of literature at school and in the wider society through academic forums in the efforts to socialize the possibility of using modern literary works as sources of historical information in order to support the understanding of Indonesian histories. Novels that actualize and reinterpret political facts (historical) can be used as a source of knowledge and understanding of national history if used critically and integrated with other sources.

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