

**JAVANESE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP
IN PRAMOEDYA ANANTA TOER'S NOVEL
*AROK DEDES***

THESIS

BY

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**MASTER'S PROGRAM IN
ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF LITERATURE
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM SUMATERA UTARA
MEDAN
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**Submitted to Master's Program in
English Literature
Faculty of Literature
Universitas Islam Sumatera Utara, Medan
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of *Magister Sastra* in English Literature**

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STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I, the undersigned, certify that the thesis entitled **JAVANESE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN PRAMOEDYA ANANTA TOER'S NOVEL *AROK DEDES*** is the result of my own work and has never been submitted for any other degrees, professional qualifications or other purposes beyond the Degree of Magister Sastra at Master's Program in English Literature, Universitas Islam Sumatera Utara, Medan. No part of this thesis is quoted without specifying the sources. Anything pertaining to quotation or computer software application in writing this thesis or any other things tied to *Hak Atas Kekayaan Intelektual* (HAKI) 'Intellectual Property Rights' together with its legal consequences likely resulted, is upon mw own responsibility.

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Materai

YUHANDRI PANE

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APPENDIX I

Rsearch Data

4.1.1 *Melek/awas* (Awareness/Controlling)

Data 1: “Pendapat sahaya, dengan tegas sekarang ini, ialah: Bapa Mahaguru Dang Hyang Lohgawe tidak suka pada Sri Baginda Kretajaya, apalagi pada akuwunya di Tumapel, Tunggul Ametung.....”(Toer, 1999: 64)

Data 2: Sampai di situ ia masih tetap berpendapat: semua yang dilakukannya selama ini tidak menyalahi Hyang Yama. Buktinya semua temanya setia padanya. Tak ada seorang pun yang pernah berkhianat. (Toer, 1999: 90)

Data 3: Uraian yang menarik, hanya tanpa jurus tanpa kesimpulan, Arok menilai. (Toer, 1999: 186)

Data 4: “Mereka prajurit Tumapel waktu menghadap aku. Mereka tetap prajurit Tumapel sebelum bergabung dengan Mundrayana. Kita anak tani, tidak memerlukan lain kecuali diri kita sendiri. Dia harus belajar mengerti.” (Toer, 1999: 352)

Data 5: Arok menjatuhkan perintah pada semua anak buahnya untuk tidak menjawab pertanyaan orang yang tidak dikenal dan mereka yang bukan dari barisan sendiri. Justru karena perintah itu mereka terheran-heran melihat banyaknya orang mencoba bicara dengan mereka. (Toer, 1999: 377)

Data 6: Ia nilai Empu Gandring sebagai seorang yang cerdas, wibawanya terasa di dalam pasukan Tumapel. Ia menguasai persenjataan Tumapel. Dan ia

mempersatukan para tamtama di bawah pengaruh dan perintahnya, namun mempertentangkannya satu dengan yang lain. (Toer, 1999: 460)

4.1.2 *Melik* (Feeling Of Ownership)

Data 1: Melihat lambang-lambang para dewa dipersatukan di kalung dan pada tangan, berkilat-kilat memantulkan sinar api unggun, orang pun menjatuhkan diri bersimpuh di tanah dengan puncak hidung menyentuh bumi. (Toer, 1999: 24)

Data 2: “Tidak, Bapa Mahaguru, orang tak patut melupakannya. Juga sahaya tidak patut membisukan suatu hal: pra brahmana siapa saja yang pernah sahaya temui, hanya mengecam-ngecam, menyumpah dan mengutuk. Tak seorang pun pernah berniat menghadapi Sri Baginda Kretajaya untuk mempersembahkan pendapatnya. Kaum brahmana itu sendiri yang sebenarnya tak punya keberanian...” (Toer, 1999: 66)

Data 3: “Jangan kau kira seluruh balatentara Tumapel bisa kalian kuasai. Lihat ini, Arok, yang tetap mempertahankan Tumapel. Dia dan pasukannya akan mempertahankan sampai titik darah terakhir. Bukan karena imbalan uang, emas, perak dan singgasana.” (Toer, 1999: 467)

4.1.3 *Muluk* (grandiose alleviating poverty)

Data 1: “Pada waktu Sang Hyang Mahadewa Bathara Guru memercikkan pengertian pada manusia. pada waktu itu hidup manusia dihidupinya.

Ya, Bapa Mahaguru, maka pengertian adalah hidup, hidup adalah dihidupi dan menghidupi.” (Toer, 1999: 67)

Data 2: Lihatlah ini,” denga telapak tangan kanan ia tepuk leher Arok, “seorang pemuda, seorang Humalang, yang dengan trisula di tangan akan mampu binasakan Kunda. Inilah Arok seorang yang tahu bagaimana menghadapi akuwu Tumapel. Terimalah dia, perpaduan antara brahmana dan satria yang berasal dari sudra ini.” (Toer, 1999: 210)

Data 3: “Hayam, ikuti mereka dengan regumu,” Perintah Arok. Kemudian pada semua budak yang hadir, “Mulai hari ini kalian bebas....” (Toer, 1999: 301)

Data 4: “Kau brahmana palsu yang rakus akan emas. Dari mana asal tombak dan pedang di tangan orang-orang semua ini? Apa kau kira dari brahmana Arya Artya? Siapa yang membantu keluarga mereka, yang semua teman ini telah tinggalkan kakau bukan emas kami bersama? Setidak-tidaknya belum pernah Arya Artya membantu, biar pun hanya dengan sebutir beras. Apa kau kira hanya orang-orang yang Nampak olehmu ini saja yang membutuhkan biaya?” (Toer, 1999: 397)

4.1.4 *Melok* (Able to Realize the Aspirations of the People)

Data 1: “Ketidakmampuan itu berasal dari diri sendiri yang memerintah, Dedes, ketidakmampuan mengerti kawulanya sendiri, kebutuhannya, kepentingannya.” (Toer, 1999: 254)

Data 2: “Maka itu Ki Bango Samparan juga dijadikan budak oleh orang lain. Untuk selanjutnya tak boleh lagi, baik karena judi, hutang maupun tak kuat membayar upeti. Kalian mengerti? Maaf-maafkan kalian mulai hari ini. Nah, beramah-tamahan kalian sekarang dengan semua prajurit yang telah membebaskan kalian!” (Toer, 1999: 303)

Data 3: “Dengar,” kata Arok pada semua yang hadir, juga prajurit-prajurit yang terbangun dari tidurnya, “kami tidak memberikan pengampunan dan hukuman. Kami memberikan keadilan pada siapa saja, pada semua sejauh kemampuan kami...” (Toer, 1999: 351)

Data 4: “Yang Mulia belum juga menjatuhkan titah. Maka, sedang pasukan sahaya sudah bersiaga begini, sahaya ingin mendapatkan penegasan: adakah persetujuan dengan Yang Suci Dang Hyang Lohgawe masih Yang Mulia hormati atau tidak? Bila tidak, sekarang juga tidak ada kewajiban kami terhadap Yang Mulai.” (Toer, 1999: 429)

4.1.5 *Meluk* (Embracing All the People)

Data 1: “Salah seorang di antara kalian berangkat besok pagi-pagi benar ke Kampundungan. Dalam beberapa hari ini Bapa Mahaguru ajan masih memerlukan aku. Tak dapat aku pergi meninggalkannya. Sampaikan pada mereka untuk tetap bekerja selama aku tidak ada. Dan hati-hati. Nah, tidurlah!” (Toer, 1999: 69)

Data 2: “.....Suruh pemuda-pemuda itu lindungi Ki Bango. Tak boleh dia diseret ke dalam perbudakan. Dan jangan lupa katakana pada si Umang,

aku akan datang dalam beberapa minggu atau bulan ini.” (Toer, 1999: 97)

Data 3: Arok turun dari batu, memasuki tengah-tengah kaum budak. Orang semakin rapat untuk dapat mencium kulitnya. Dengan lambaian tangan ia perintahkan semua prajurit untuk meramahi mereka. (Toer, 1999: 304)

Data 4: Mereka berangkat, dan Arok meneliti makan dan minuman yang disediakan untuk dirinya dan para pengawalnya. (Toer, 1999: 351)

Data 5: “Aku, Arok, adalah seorang sudra seperti kalian semua. Karena itu semua sudra, jangan bertengkar. Baik kaum Wisynu, Syiwa, Buddha, Kalacakra dan Tantrayana, jangan bertengkar karena berlainan mengagungkan para dewa...” (Toer, 1999: 547)

APPENDIX II
BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR



Pramoedya Ananta Toer (EYD : Pramudya Ananta Tur) (6 February 1925 – 30 April 2006) was an Indonesian author of novels, short stories, essays, polemics and histories of his homeland and its people. His works span the colonial period under Dutch rule, Indonesia's struggle for independence, its occupation by Japan during the Second World War, as well as the post-colonial authoritarian regimes of Sukarno and Suharto , and are infused with personal and national history.

Pramoedya's writings sometimes fell out of favor with the colonial and later the authoritarian native governments in power. He faced censorship in Indonesia during the pre- Refomasi era even though he was well-known outside Indonesia. The Dutch imprisoned him from 1947 to 1949 during the War of Independence (1945-1949). During the transition to the Suharto regime, he was caught up in the shifting tides of political change and power struggles. Suharto had him imprisoned from 1969 to 1979 on the Maluku island of Buru and branded him a Communist. He was seen as a holdover from the previous regime, despite having struggled with it. It was on the Island of Buru that he composed his most famous work, the *Hurry Quartet*. Not permitted access to

writing materials, he recited the story orally to other prisoners before it was written down and smuggled out.

Pramoedya opposed some policies of founding President Sukarno as well as the New Order regime of Suharto, Sukarno's successor. Political criticisms were often subtle in his writing, although he was outspoken against colonialism, racism and corruption of the Indonesian new government. During the many years in which he suffered imprisonment and house arrest (in Jakarta after his imprisonment on Buru), he became a cause célèbre for advocates of human rights and freedom of expression.

Pramoedya was born in the town of Blora in the heartland of Java, then a part of the Dutch East Indies. He was the firstborn son in his family; his father was a teacher, who was also active in Boedi Oetomo (the first recognized indigenous national organization in Indonesia) and his mother was a rice trader. His maternal grandfather had taken the pilgrimage to Mecca. As it is written in his semi-autobiographical collection of short stories "Cerita Dari Blora", his name was originally Pramoedya Ananta Mastoer. However, he felt that the family name Mastoer (his father's name) seemed too aristocratic. The Javanese prefix "Mas" refers to a man of the higher rank in a noble family. Consequently, he committed "Mas" and kept Toer as his family name. He went on to the Radio Vocational School in Surabaya but had barely graduated from the school when Japan invaded Surabaya (1942).

During World War II , Pramoedya (like many Indonesian Nationalists, Sukarno and Suharto among them) at first supported the occupying forces of Imperial Japan. He believed the Japanese to be the lesser of two evils, compared to the Dutch. He worked as a typist for a Japanese newspaper in Jakarta. As the war went on, however, Indonesians

were dismayed by the austerity of wartime rationing and by increasing harsh measures taken by the Japanese military. The Nationalist forces loyal to Sukarno switched their support to the incoming Allies against Japan; all indications are that Pramoedya did as well.

On 17 August 1945, after the news of Allied victory over Japan reached Indonesia, Sukarno proclaimed Indonesian independence. This touched off the Indonesian National Revolution against the forces of the British and Dutch. In this war, Pramoedya joined a paramilitary group in Karawang, Kranji (West Java) and eventually was stationed in Jakarta. During this time he wrote short stories and books, as well as propaganda for the Nationalist cause. He was eventually imprisoned by the Dutch in Jakarta in 1947 and remained there until 1949, the year the Netherlands recognized Indonesian independence. While imprisoned in Bukit Duri from 1947 to 1949 for his role in the Indonesian Revolution, he wrote his first major novels *The Fugitive* and *Guerilla Family* with financial support from the Opbouw-Pembangoenan foundation, which also published the books.

In the first years after the struggle for independence, Pramoedya wrote several works of fiction dealing with the problems of the newly founded nation, as well as semi-autobiographical works based on his wartime memoirs. He was soon able to live in the Netherlands as part of a cultural exchange program. In the years that followed, he took an interest in several other cultural exchanges, including trips to the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, as well as translations of Russian writers Maxim Gorky and Leo Tolstoy.

In Indonesia, Pramoedya built up a reputation as a literary and social critic, joining the left-wing writers' group Lekra and writing in various newspapers and literary journals. His writing style became more politically charged, as evidenced in his story *Corruption* (Corruption), a critical fiction of a civil servant who falls into the trap of corruption. This created friction between him and the government of Sukarno.

From the late 1950s, Pramoedya began teaching literary history at the left-wing Universitas Res Publica. As he prepared material, he began to realize that the study of Indonesian language and literature had been distorted by the Dutch colonial authorities. He sought out materials that had been ignored by colonial educational institutions, and which had continued to be ignored after independence.

Having spent time in China, he became greatly sympathetic to the Indonesian Chinese over the persecutions they faced in post-colonial Indonesia. Most notably, he published a series of letters addressed to an imaginary Chinese correspondent discussing the history of the Indonesian Chinese, called *Hoakiau in Indonesia* (History of the Overseas Chinese in Indonesia). He criticized the government for being too centered on Java and insensitive to the needs and desires of the other regions and peoples of Indonesia. As a result, he was arrested by the Indonesian military and jailed at Cipinang prison for nine months.

In an October 1965 coup, the army took power after alleging that the assassination of several senior generals was masterminded by the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI). The transition to Suharto's New Order followed, and Pramoedya's position as the head of the People's Cultural Organization, a literary group with connections to the PKI, caused him to be considered a communist and enemy of the "New Order" regime. During the

violent anti-Communist purge , he was Arrested, beaten, and Imprisoned by Suharto's government and named a political prisoner ("political prisoner"). His books were banned from circulation, and he was imprisoned without trial, first in Nusa Kambangan off the southern coast of Java, and then in the penal colony of Buru in the eastern islands of the Indonesian archipelago.

He was banned from writing during his imprisonment on the island of Buru but still managed to compose - orally - his best-known series of work to date, the Buru Quartet, a series of four historical fiction novels chronicling the development of Indonesian nationalism and based in part on his own experiences growing up. The English titles of the books in the tetralogy are *Bumi Manusia* , Child of All Nations , Footsteps , and *Rumah Kaca*. The main character of the series, Minke, a Javanese minor royal, was based in part on an Indonesian journalist active in the nationalist movement, Tirta Adhi Soerjo.

The quartet includes strong female characters of Indonesian and Chinese ethnicity and addresses the discrimination and indignities of living under colonial rule, and the struggle for personal and national political independence. Like much of Pramoedya's work, it tells personal stories and focuses on individuals caught up in the tide of a nation's history.

Pramoedya had researched for the books before his imprisonment in the Buru prison camp. When he was arrested, his library was burned, and much of his collection and early writings were lost. In Buru, he was not permitted even to have a pencil. Doubting that he would ever be able to write the novels down himself, he narrated them to his fellow prisoners. With the support of other prisoners who took on extra labor to reduce

his workload, Pramoedya was eventually able to write the novels down, and the published works derived their name "Buru Quartet" after the prison. They have been collected and published in English (translated by Max Lane) and Indonesian, as well as many other languages. Though the work is considered a classic by many outside of Indonesia, the publication was banned in Indonesia, causing one of the most famous of Indonesia's literary works to be mostly unavailable to the country's people whose history it addressed. Copies were scanned by Indonesians abroad and distributed via the Internet to people inside the country.

Pramoedya's works on colonial Indonesia recognized the importance of Islam as a vehicle for widespread opposition to the Dutch, but his works are not overtly religious. He rejected those who used religion to deny critical thinking, and on occasion wrote with considerable negativity to the religiously pious.

Pramoedya was released from imprisonment in 1979 but remained under house arrest in Jakarta until 1992. During this time he released *The Girl From the Coast*, another semi-fictional novel based on his grandmother's own experience (volumes 2 and 3 of this work were destroyed along with his library in 1965). He also wrote *The Silence of a Mute* (1995); *A Mute's Soliloquy*, an autobiography based on the letters that he wrote for his daughter from imprisonment in Buru but were not allowed to be sent, and *Arus Balik* (1995).

He wrote many columns and short articles criticizing the Indonesian government. He wrote a book *Virgin Teens in the grip of the military* (*Young Virgins in the Military's Grip*), a documentary written showcasing *The Plight of Javanese women who were forced to Become comfort women during the Japanese occupation and were*

subsequently subject to oppression by Reviews their own Indonesian society. The women were brought to Buru where they were sexually abused by the Japanese and ended up staying there instead of returning to Java. Pramoedya's fellow political prisoners were able to meet some of these women (generally only once) and relate this information to Pramoedya, who wrote it down in narrative form in the 1970s, providing the basis for the book published in 2001.

Pramoedya was hospitalized on 27 April 2006, for complications brought on by diabetes and heart disease. He was also a heavy smoker of Kretek (clove) cigarettes and had endured years of abuse while in detention. After his release, his health deteriorated and on April 30 he passed away in his daughter's home. Pramoedya earned several accolades and was frequently discussed as Indonesia's and Southeast Asia's best candidate for a Nobel Prize in Literature.

Pramoedya's writings on Indonesia address the international and regional currents caused by political events in history and how these events flowed through his homeland and buffeted its people. Pramoedya also shares a personal history of hardship and detention for his efforts of self-expression and the political aspects of his writings and fought against the censorship of his work by the leaders of his own people.

APPENDIX III

SUMMARY OF THE NOVEL *AROK DEDES*

BY PRAMOEDYA ANANTA TOER

It is said, news about the beauty of a woman who is also the daughter of a Brahmin named Mpu Purwa, reached the ears of Tunggul Ametung. Tunggul Ametung then ordered to kidnap her and then marry her forcibly. That woman is Dedes. Mpu Purwa, who never acknowledged the power of Tunggul Ametung, knew that his daughter had been kidnapped, angry and swore that Tunggul Ametung would be killed, while from the womb of Dedes, great men (kings) would be born.

Ametung came to power only because of his bravery and cruelty, in fact he was an idiot, unable to read or write. He is from the *sudra* class. He required tribute to his people and then he gave part of it to Kediri. In this way his power is protected. Tunggul Ametung's government did not bring prosperity to its people, but on the contrary brought suffering. One of the causes is the actions of government officials who arbitrarily seize land belonging to the people. Arbitrary actions like this have caused people's unrest and resistance in Tumapel.

In a separate place, lived a young man named Arok. It is said that when he was a baby, Arok was dumped by his biological mother and then found and adopted by Ki Lembung. One day after herding, Ki Lembung found one of his goats missing, he was angry and Arok was kicked out. Arok did not admit that he gave the goat to the villagers whose property had been robbed by Tunggul Ametung's soldiers. This incident also made him realize the cruelty of the Tumapel rulers and the seeds of hatred for Tunggul ametung began to grow. Arok then met Bango Samparan and became his adopted son,

who then drove him to study with a *brahmin*, namely Mpu Trantipala. His intelligence and agility have captivated the hearts of the *brahmins*. They have one one thing in common: wanting Tunggul Ametung to step down from his power. Arok was also crowned as; 'the hope eagle of the brahmins.'

With his intelligence, Arok managed to unite all the rebels who wanted Tunggul Ametung to step down from power. The strategy began to overthrow the power of Tunggul Ametung. With the connections of a *brahmin* named Lohgawe, Arok entered the sphere of Tunggul Ametung as a soldier. His career in the ranks of the soldiers of Tunggul Ametung accelerated because Arok always succeeded in quelling every rebellion. Even though there was never a battle between Arok soldiers and the rebels because Arok was the one who organized and supervised the rebellion.

Arok's presence within the Tumapel rulers, with his ability to read and write Sanskrit, attracted Dedes' attention. It occurred to him that Arok (an intelligent young brahmin) was more worthy of being his companion and ruler of Tumapel, At the same time, Mpu Gandring, a blacksmith maker and owner of a weapons factory in Tumapel, devised another strategy to stage a coup. He incited several soldiers under the command of Kebo Ijo to be on his side in exchange for gold and some power.

Arok's coup plan supported by the Brahmins not only wanted a ruler who was considered wise and good, the Brahmins wanted Arok to restore the greatness of the god Shiva because while under the rule of Tunggul Ametung, the exalted god Vishnu, the god who was embraced by most of the sudra class. So here there are religious interests at stake.

Mpu Purwa, Dedes' father, was one of the *brahmins* who supported this coup. Arok infiltrates the Tumapel community by becoming a soldier with the help of Dang Hyang Lohgawe and meets Dedes. In this meeting they decided to work together to overthrow the power of Tunggul Ametung. This makes Dedes, like it or not, directly involved in her husband's murder. Passing Mpu Parwa's face in front of him, his beloved father nodded in approval. Then the face of Dang Hyang Lohgawe flashed. The Brahmin he saw nodded in approval. During the planning of the coup Ken Dedes began to be directly involved in palace affairs. Previously she had confined herself as a form of hatred towards her husband, Tunggul Ametung. However, his heart began to stir, after all, Tunggul Ametung was the father of a baby who was only 2 months old. He did not want his child to be born without a father. On the other hand, her support for her husband's murder meant her devotion to her parents and the god Shiva.

There is another group that will overthrow Tunggul Ametung is the group led by the Holy Belakangka. This group wants to place the power of Kediri directly in Tumapel. The trick is to overthrow the power of Tunggul Ametung and appoint the Sri Sultan's family as rulers in Tumapel. Belakangka felt satisfied to be able to hold Tumapel's horse troops under the control of Kediri. In recent times his envoys have never been disturbed or lost on the way. He always ordered the emissary to take the forked north road, so that intercepts and over takings could more easily be avoided, unless it was really caught. He had succeeded in crippling *sang pati* and the ministers. They remained as obedient puppets. He had hinted at Kediri for the strongest sudra to be a warrior and that the time for that was almost over. When the riots have been quelled, Tunggul Ametung will be very tired, and Sri Sultan's family will easily be placed in Tumapel.

The collapse of the power of Tunggul Ametung in Tumapel was due to the people's resistance which was manifested by the mobilization of armed people's power to the Tumapel government center in Kutaraja. This match is led by a man named Arok. Now they are starting to know that Arok's great army has come to attack the city from three directions. There was no place for them to take refuge. The dormitory they initially used to gather, now they leave again in a confused state without officers without enlisted. They could only carry the most valuable possessions, defend themselves individually and flee eastward. The wilderness area that has not been touched by humans.

Waves from outside the city took over Kutaraja step by step, leaving Tumapel soldiers lying on the ground, and pushing on Tunggul Ametung in Tumapel. The *pekuwaan* building was tightly surrounded by spears. The hoarse cheers got louder and louder, shaking the confused enlisted men waiting in the pavilion. Then people saw Kebo Ijo coming out of the room with a sword covered in blood. Paramesywari, Ken Dedes, was accompanied by Arok and escorted by a large team of spears ascending from the front to the pavilion. People cheered.

In the end, Ken Arok's ambition was achieved. Tunggul ametung with a dagger made by Mpu Gandring which he had entrusted to Kebo Ijo. The palace was in an uproar, Arok used this opportunity to kill Kebo Ijo who was accused of killing Tunggul Ametung. With the death of Tunggul Ametung, Arok became the ruler of Tumapel and married Ken Dedes. And Lohgawe also gave the title Ken used in front of his name. Previously Arok had married a woman named Umang