

BUKTI KORESPONDENSI
ARTIKEL JURNAL INTERNASIONAL BEREPUTASI

Judul artikel : “Reimagining the Fluid Categorization of the Chinese, the Communist and the Jew in Umar Kayam’s Fiction”

Jurnal : Kritika Kultura

Scimago link :

<https://www.scimagojr.com/journalsearch.php?q=17700154909&tip=sid&clean=0>

Scopus link :

<https://www.scopus.com/authid/detail.uri?authorId=57195917437>

Penulis : Paulus Sarwoto

No	Perihal	Tanggal
1	Komentar Reviewer 1	29 Maret 2020
2	Komentar Reviewer 2	3 April 2020
3	Komentar dan Saran Editing dari Editor	14 Mei 2020
4	Revisi I	15 Mei 2020
5	Tanggapan Editor	18 Mei 2020
6	Tanggapan Editor	20 Mei 2020
7	Komentar Kedua dari Editor	2 Juni 2020
8	Tanggapan terhadap Komentar Kedua	3 Juni 2020
9	Revisi II	21 Juni 2020
10	Revisi III	2 Juli 2020
11	Pemberitahuan Publikasi	22 September 2020
11	Lampiran dokumen-dokumen artikel asli dan hasil review	

1. Komentar Reviewer 1



Paulus Sarwoto <psarwoto@gmail.com>

Fwd: KK_peer review_Reimaginig the fluidity

ma. luisa reyes <lu2reyes2x@gmail.com>
To: Paulus Sarwoto <psarwoto@gmail.com>

Sun, Mar 29, 2020 at 9:31 AM

Dear Pak Sarwoto,

Below is the blind peer-review of your KK submission. May we have your revised version by April 15? Please take care in this COVID-19 season. Maraming salamat.

Subject: Re: KK_peer review_Reimaginig the fluidity

Because the essay doesn't meet the minimum length, it may be revised by richly elaborating on its key ideas. My suggestions:

Introduction: I suggest for the introduction to elaborate on Kayam's subject position as author, e.g., in what way he was in a unique position as insider to critique the ethnic purity that the priyayi class upheld, and at the same time to escape censorship through his "euphemistic style" (page 2) (provide textual example, please?) and position as director general and professor. Also, by way of an extended statement of the argument, specify Kayam's vision of a "more plural and egalitarian society" (page 2) on the basis of imagining the three classes as overlapping—and perhaps cite the author himself as the foremost example of this, being a priyayi whose concerns go beyond those of his class? The two other sections of the paper could be clarified as components of the argument: 1. The priyayi's "problematic" (page 4) sympathy for the masses/communists in the Gestapu stories, and 2. ethnic purity and inter-racial marriages in *Jalan Menikung*. The second section adds race to the class issues raised in the first section.

On the formal level, I'm interested in how the author carried out his "euphemistic style," supposing that his privileged position was not enough to let him through censorship that his writing style had to adapt. Did Kayam depict the 1965 events, say, less directly compared to Tohari whose "passing mention" of the events led to his arrest? Or did Kayam evade censorship only because he served in the New Order? Was this euphemistic style expressed in the characters (because the literary analysis here mostly focused on characterization)? In other words, I would be interested in knowing to what extent these two things (and the relation between them)—his authorial subject position, and his writing style—shaped his literary contribution. Were his writings considered "non-political" (page 2)?

On Part 1, the priyayi and the communists: For a finer close reading, add more textual evidence of how the three characters in each of the stories "struggle to redefine the essence of priyayi-hood" (4), or how their struggles differed from each other (as, perhaps, various dimensions of the same struggle). Could the tragic demise of these ambiguous priyayi characters be read as a cautionary tale (in order to pass through censorship?), even as they lay bare the internal struggles of the characters, and in so doing suggest an opposite reading? (I wonder if this is what the essay meant by Kayam's euphemistic style.)

On Part 2, the inter-racial marriages of the priyayi: The sections on the Chinese and the Jews can be combined into a singular sub-argument on "common ground" and the unfounded "priyayi racial prejudice against the subaltern class" (13), since both are based on the same novel, *Jalan Menikung* (which the essay analyzed thoroughly).

Conclusion: This statement articulates well the contribution of this article: "These fictions show in different ways how the third space envisaged by Bhabha emerges in Indonesia not as a progressive reconstruction of the site of postcolonial politics, but as a failure to find a moral center for the emergent nation." I would like to find this statement as well perhaps in the abstract (or the introduction too), which I find a bit vague in its use of Bhabha's theory.

2. Komentar Reviewer 2



Paulus Sarwoto <psarwoto@gmail.com>

Fwd: KK Request for Peer Evaluation: KK Submission

ma. luisa reyes <lu2reyes2x@gmail.com>
To: Paulus Sarwoto <psarwoto@gmail.com>

Fri, Apr 3, 2020 at 3:21 PM

Dear Pak Sarwoto,

Here are the comments of the 2nd peer-reviewer for your consideration in your revision.

Stay well.

Btw: Is the Oct conference pshing through?

Cheers, Lulu

 **KK2020_peer review form (1).doc**
36K

KK Peer Review Form

SPECIFIC COMMENTS

Scholarship

This article is timely as it offers critical insight into Indonesian literature that is not penned by Pramoedya Ananta Toer. Toer has become representative of Indonesian Literature in the world literary space thereby overshadowing other Indonesian authors, who are also worthy of being translated and read outside Indonesia, and studied by scholars. This article could provide a starting point for non-Indonesian students and scholars of Indonesian literature to learn more about Indonesian authors who problematize post 1965 Indonesian society.

Organization

The article is organized well that one can easily follow the argument the author is explicating on. However, I think a section which would further explain the theories used in analyzing the texts might better guide readers in the analysis.

A short introduction for the section on the analysis on The Priyayi can be found in the last paragraph of the Introduction. Whereas, the succeeding analysis sections would not have the same treatment. I would suggest that a contextualization/introduction for each analysis section be provided in the Introduction.

The author organized his analysis by writing a section each on the three ethnic groups, and one social class. I think this is effective. But I also think that substantial analysis of four short stories and one novel should be more than 16 pages long, and so may I suggest that the author further elaborate his analysis by incorporating in each section how the theoretical concept of Bhabha's "third space" was used to help in the analysis.

Language Use and Writing Style

The article reads easy. However, I would have to suggest that it be proofread and edited for clarity and conciseness of language. It should also be clarified if the English translations found in the article were done by the author himself or if the author took the English translations from a published English translation of the texts (both of this could be done with an endnote entry), which should have an entry in the Works Cited page.

MLA Documentation

The article did not use the MLA academic style for citation. The author should revise his citations and bibliography (Works Cited) according to the MLA 8th edition.

POINTS FOR REVISION

Aside from the suggestions I have stated above,

- I would ask that the author provide historical introductions to contextualize the setting of the texts being analyzed. I think this is helpful especially for the international readership of Kritika Kultura. As such, I strongly suggest a revision on the Introduction of the article.

3. Komentar dan Editing dari *Editor*



Paulus Sarwoto <psarwoto@gmail.com>

Fwd: KK 35: Paulus Sarwoto, Reimagining the Fluidity of the Communist, Chinese, and Jews in Umar Kayam's Stories

Anna Alves <annaalgeralves@gmail.com>
To: psarwoto@gmail.com, sar@usd.ac.id

Thu, May 14, 2020 at 4:21 PM

Hi Paulus,

My name is Anna Alves and I am coordinating the production process for KK 35. I hope that you and your family are safe and healthy during these uncertain times. Attached is your edited article for review. Please let us know if you need any clarifications on any edits, and we will follow up.


The copyeditor mentioned that there are a few comments in the edited draft that you might need to look over, especially about one missing translation, a missing passage, and two incomplete citations. She also suggested a slight title edit for your consideration.

If possible, might you please review the suggested edits and comments, and return the article, with your initial approval and/or modifications before or by next Monday, May 18? Sooner is better, if that is at all do-able.

Thanks much and stay well,
Anna

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Anna M. Alves
Fiction Workshop Instructor, 2nd Semester 2020, Fine Arts Dept.
Copy Editor, *Kritika Kultura*, Issue #35, Spring 2020, English Dept.
Ateneo de Manila University, Quezon City
PhD Candidate, American Studies
MFA, Creative Writing, Fiction
Rutgers University, Newark
MA, Asian American Studies
BA, English and History
University of California, Los Angeles
First Generation Student/Scholar/Alumni
Preferred Pronouns: she/her

 **[with edits] KK_Mobility_2020_Paulus Sarwoto Article on Liquidty.docx**
97K

4. Revisi I

Re: KK 35: Paulus Sarwoto, Reimagining the Fluidity of the Communist, Chinese, and Jews in Umar Kayam's Stories

Paulus Sarwoto <sar@usd.ac.id>

Fri 15/05/2020 13:01

To: Anna Alves <annaalgeralves@gmail.com>

 1 attachments (123 KB)

[with edits] KK_Mobility_2020_Paulus Sarwoto Article on Liquidity rev 1.docx;

Hi Anna thank you again for the email. Yes we are doing fine down here in Yogyakarta despite the pandemic. Classes have been conducted online when possible. I hope everyone in Ateneo stay healthy as well.

I have gone through the revision and I agree with the suggested changes. I also have added T. Sidel in the Works Cited.

For the newspaper source, I could not trace the exact date of publication. Would it be okay for me just to omit the end note altogether like I did in the attached document?

As for the missing translation, I took it from the English version translated by Prof Harry Aveling. Although some words were left untranslated, the meaning is still intact.

Thank you for your hard work revising the manuscript.

Best wishes,

Paulus

Paulus Sarwoto, Ph.D.
Chair of the Graduate Program in English Language Studies
Universitas Sanata Dharma
Yogyakarta - INDONESIA
www.usd.ac.id/els[<http://www.usd.ac.id/els>]

5. Tanggapan *Editor*

Re: KK 35: Paulus Sarwoto, Reimagining the Fluidity of the Communist, Chinese, and Jews in Umar Kayam's Stories

Anna Alves <annaalgeralves@gmail.com>

Mon 18/05/2020 16:39

To: Paulus Sarwoto <sar@usd.ac.id>

Hi Paulus,

I'll check with the editor re: omitting the end note.

Also, I believe the note on p. 6 re: the missing English translation may mean that a translation is missing within the text? Or is the following line from Kayam, 1980, p.81 the translation of the one above it?

I will go ahead and send the Word doc you sent back with edits approved to be generated into PDF form. Then we can incorporate these modifications once we send the PDF out for proof-reading.

Thanks much!
Anna

On Fri, May 15, 2020 at 2:01 PM Paulus Sarwoto <sar@usd.ac.id> wrote:

Hi Anna thank you again for the email. Yes we are doing fine down here in Yogyakarta despite the pandemic. Classes have been conducted online when possible. I hope everyone in Ateneo stay healthy as well.

I have gone through the revision and I agree with the suggested changes. I also have added T. Sidel in the Works Cited.

For the newspaper source, I could not trace the exact date of publication. Would it be okay for me just to omit the end note altogether like I did in the attached document?

As for the missing translation, I took it from the English version translated by Prof Harry Aveling. Although some words were left untranslated, the meaning is still intact.

Thank you for your hard work revising the manuscript.

Best wishes,

Paulus

Paulus Sarwoto, Ph.D.
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6. Tanggapan *Editor*

Re: KK 35: Paulus Sarwoto, Reimagining the Fluidity of the Communist, Chinese, and Jews in Umar Kayam's Stories

Anna Alves <annaalgeralves@gmail.com>

Wed 20/05/2020 10:37

To: Paulus Sarwoto <sar@usd.ac.id>

Hi Paulus,

Got it. Thank you for clarifying!

Best,

Anna

On Mon, May 18, 2020 at 9:56 PM Paulus Sarwoto <sar@usd.ac.id> wrote:

Hi Anna,

About the missing translation on page 7, I guess there have been a misunderstanding. The following line from Kayam, 1980, p.81 is the translation of the one above it.

Let me know if it clarifies the confusion.

best,

Paulus

Paulus Sarwoto, Ph.D.

Chair of the Graduate Program in English Language Studies

Universitas Sanata Dharma

Yogyakarta - INDONESIA

www.usd.ac.id/els[<http://www.usd.ac.id/els>]

7. Komentar Kedua dari *Editor*

Fwd: KK 35: Paulus Sarwoto, Reimagining the Fluidity of the Communist, Chinese, and Jews in Umar Kayam's Stories

Anna Alves <annaalgeralves@gmail.com>

Tue 02/06/2020 21:51

To: Paulus Sarwoto <sar@usd.ac.id>; psarwoto@gmail.com <psarwoto@gmail.com>

 1 attachments (585 KB)

KK 35 Paulus SARWOTO, Reimagining the Fluidity (200527).pdf;

Hi Paulus,

I hope that you and your family continue to stay safe and well. Attached is your article's PDF version with proofreading edits/suggestions. Please let us know if you need any clarifications on any edits, and we will follow up. If possible, might you please review and return, with your initial approval and/or modifications/edits before or by this Friday, June 5? Sooner is better, of course, if you are able.

Thanks so much,
Anna

Proofreader notes for the article are concerned with the translations of the Indonesian sources. Might the author note who translated the Bahasa Indonesia into English?

Below are specific notes for the article:

Page 1: Please generate 5 to 7 keywords, and please ensure keywords are not repeated in title and abstract

Page 1: Please note the spacing with the word "anti-communist"

Page 1: Should Fall in Connecticut be changed into "Fall into Connecticut"?

Page 9: Please include source for the translation

Page 10: Please include source for the translation

Page 11: Please include source for the translation

Page 12: Please include source for the translation

Page 12: Please italicize the following citation: "Kenapa pada hari perkawinan kita, kita bicara soal sunat?"

Page 13: Please include source for the translation

Page 14: Please include source for the translation

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Anna M. Alves

Fiction Workshop Instructor, 2nd Semester 2020, Fine Arts Dept.

Copy Editor, *Kritika Kultura*, Issue #35, Spring 2020, English Dept.

8. Tanggapan terhadap Komentar Kedua



Paulus Sarwoto <psarwoto@gmail.com>

Fwd: KK 35: Paulus Sarwoto, Reimagining the Fluidity of the Communist, Chinese, and Jews in Umar Kayam's Stories

Paulus Sarwoto <psarwoto@gmail.com>
To: Anna Alves <annaalgeralves@gmail.com>

Wed, Jun 3, 2020 at 2:51 PM

Hi Anna, thank you for the email.

The following is my response to the suggestions:

1. Suggestion: Page 1: Please generate 5 to 7 keywords, and please ensure keywords are not repeated in title and abstract

Keywords: New Order, Gestapu, Lekra, Marxism, marriage, *abangan*, race, prejudice

2. Suggestion: Page 1: Should Fall in Connecticut be changed into "Fall into Connecticut"?

I do not think so because the meaning will be different, not to mention that it is the official English title for the story.

3. Suggestion: Please include source for the translation .

Response: The translation, unless indicated with the documentation of the source, is my own translation that I have consulted with Prof. Harry Aveling, the translator of many of Kayam's stories.

I am good with the rest of the suggested revision.

Best wishes,

Paulus Sarwoto, Ph.D.
Chair of the Graduate Program in English Language Studies
Universitas Sanata Dharma
Yogyakarta, INDONESIA

9. Revisi II



Paulus Sarwoto <psarwoto@gmail.com>

revised draft

Paulus Sarwoto <psarwoto@gmail.com>
To: "ma. luisa reyes" <lu2reyes2x@gmail.com>

Sun, Jun 21, 2020 at 9:58 PM

Dear Bu Lulu,

I have revised the draft as suggested. I also have done separate revisions based on the emails sent by Anna Alves which I sent to her directly.

Let me know if I still have to revise it.

Best wishes,

Paulus Sarwoto, Ph.D.
Chair of the Graduate Program in English Language Studies
Universitas Sanata Dharma
Yogyakarta, INDONESIA

 KK Literary Liquidity_edit6_full_Sarwoto.docx
101K

10. Revisi III



Paulus Sarwoto <psarwoto@gmail.com>

Fwd: Revised KK 35: Paulus Sarwoto, Reimagining the Fluidity of the Communist, Chinese, and Jews in Umar Kayam's Stories

Paulus Sarwoto <psarwoto@gmail.com>
To: Anna Alves <annaalgeralves@gmail.com>

Thu, Jul 2, 2020 at 7:52 PM

Dear Anna,


Please find attached a couple of my notes for some suggested revisions.
Other than those, I am good with the editing.

Thank you for your kind help.

Best wishes,

Paulus Sarwoto, Ph.D.
Chair of the Graduate Program in English Language Studies
Universitas Sanata Dharma
Yogyakarta, INDONESIA

On Thu, Jul 2, 2020 at 2:31 PM Anna Alves <annaalgeralves@gmail.com> wrote:
[Quoted text hidden]

 [PR] VER 2 KK 35 Paulus SARWOTO, Reimagining the Fluidity.pdf
2366K

11. Pemberitahuan publikasi

KK 35: publication

Kritika Kultura [LS] <kk.soh@ateneo.edu>

Tue 22/09/2020 14:45

To: Kritika Kultura [LS] <kk.soh@ateneo.edu>

Dear authors, I hope this email finds you safe and in good health.

I'm pleased to let you know that *Kritika Kultura* no. 35 is now live.

<https://journals.ateneo.edu/ojs/kk>

On behalf of my co-editors and production staff, I'd like to thank you for your contributions, and for your patience throughout our evaluation and production process. It was a pleasure and an honour to work with you all.

We wish you success in your current research and creative projects, and hope you will consider *Kritika Kultura* as a possible venue for your future manuscripts.

Kind regards
Vincenz Serrano
Editor
Kritika Kultura

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Reimagining the Fluidity of the Communist, Chinese, and Jews in Umar Kayam's Stories

Paulus Sarwoto, Ph.D.

Abstract

This article scrutinizes how Umar Kayam's stories reveal the logic underlying the New Order political legacy through the reproduction of the myth of ethnic purity and anti-communist discourse. I argue that Kayam stories, especially "Musim Gugur Kembali di Connecticut" (Fall in Connecticut) (1967), "Sri Sumarah" (1970), "Bawuk" (1973), *Para Priyayi* (The Nobles) (1992) and his last novel *Jalan Menikung* (The Winding Road) (1999), reflect how that essentialist discourse has been deployed effectively in Indonesian political arena to induce false consciousness. Kayam challenged this by offering a figuration of fluid identity of the Communist, Chinese and Jewish characters. The stories also signify the narrowing of Homi K Bhabha's third space, leaving fewer options for *Priyayi* (the Javanese noble) action with the result that corruption becomes the more prominent option. Third space envisaged by Bhabha (2002) emerges in Kayam's essentialist *Priyayi* characters not as a progressive reconstruction of the site of postcolonial politics, but as a failure to find a moral centre for the emergent nation.

Introduction

Comprising of more than 300 ethnic groups with long history of colonization, Indonesia has been a site of endless contestation and manipulation for domination.

Contestation among local sultanates in colonial time was manipulated by the colonial machinery for easier control of the colony. Social classes within an ethnic group like Javanese Noble (*Priyayi*) and peasantry (*Abangan*), had also been engineered to make colonial machine more effective and efficient at the cost of the lowest class, the peasantry¹. In the post-war period, the New Order kept exploiting the diverse ethnic groups and social gaps for political hegemony through the exercise of power. Now in the supposedly more democratic Indonesia, it turns out that the myth of ethnic purity maintained by colonial and New Order system has never really gone. It has even exacerbated with the present political trend to exploit religious sentiment for vote gathering in both local and national elections.

Indonesian literature and literary criticism have been used to being non-political, especially since 1965. A passing mention of political chaos involving the Indonesian Communist Party, like the one in Ahmad Tohari's *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* (1982), resulted in Tohari's being interrogated by the local military commander for days in 1986 (Nugroho, 2015). The military accused Tohari of communist membership just because he depicted an incident about the destruction of a village in a communist witch hunt. It is therefore interesting to see some works problematizing incidents around 1965, such as Kayam's "Musim Gugur Kembali di Connecticut" (Fall in Connecticut) (1967), "Sri Sumarah" (1970), and "Bawuk" (1973) got published without complication in although, at the time of publication, Indonesia already witnessed what Wijaya Herlambang (2014) calls the transformation from cultural violence to physical violence in a Communist witch hunt. Kayam's position perceived as part of the New Order structure – he has been a director general under Soeharto presidency and a professor in a state university, Universitas Gadjah Mada - might have helped the publication of the works, not to mention his euphemistic

writing style in which he criticizes Communism while sympathizing with the former communist figures. I will elaborate further this paradox in the analysis.

As an insider of *Priyayi* class and New Order regime, Kayam's subject position as a fiction writer is unique. Born to a petty *Priyayi* family, Kayam is able to portray the supposedly rigid triadic category of this class critically as an insider. Through his stories, he deconstructs Clifford Geertz' triadic division of Javanese society of *Santri*, *Priyayi* and *Abangan* into a more liquid category whose boundaries often overlap not only among the three categories but also with the Chinese and the Jews, the race category often viewed antagonistically. As an insider of the New Order regime, it is the fluidity of Communist political grouping that Kayam negotiates through the stories. These fictions show in different ways how the third space is liquid categorization and the *Priyayi* class' failure to grasp its fluidity has turned them to figures without a moral centre for the emergent nation. In the following analysis, I would explore how Kayam's strategy of re-imagining ethnic and political categories for a more plural and egalitarian society through the figuration of his *Priyayi* characters.

Javanese *Priyayi*

Priyayi is the Javanese term for Javanese nobility. Etymologically the term *Priyayi* may have been derived from two Javanese words: *para* and *yayi*, meaning the younger brothers (of the king).² This etymological speculation is in line with Geertz's statement saying that *Priyayi* originally refers to "a man who could trace his ancestry back to the great semi-mythical kings of pre-colonial Java" (Geertz, 1964, p. 229). Two other dominant social groups in Java are the Moslem *Santri* and the syncretic *Abangan*.

The dominance of this tri-partite distinction is driven by Clifford Geertz's groundbreaking study of Javanese society in Mojokuto from 1953 to 1954, published as *Religion of Java* in 1960, which categorized the Javanese into three typologies: syncretistic *Abangan*, Muslim *Santri*, and *Priyayi*. Geertz bases his grouping on people's occupations and religious systems of values. Based on their occupation, *Abangan*, *Santri* and *Priyayi* are understood as Java's peasantry, traders, and gentry respectively (Geertz, 1960, pp. 228-229). Mapped onto religious structures, the *Abangan* believe in a combination of animism and some imported values derived from Hinduism and Islam; the *Santri* adhere to the orthodoxy and orthopraxy of Islam more rigorously; while the *Priyayi*, by contrast, although adopting Hinduism like *Abangan*, do so in a more subtle way (Geertz, 1960, pp. 234-235).

Three periods of Indonesian history are crucial to understanding the development of the social status of the *Priyayi* in the colonial period and after independence as reflected in Kayam's works, namely the context of colonialism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, marked by the beginning of the processes of modernization in the Dutch East Indies; the struggle for Indonesian independence after the Japanese defeat in 1945; and the effects of 1965, the year of the abortive Communist coup of September 30th, also known as *Gestapu*³ and *Gestok*, leading to the eventual rise to power of Soeharto and his New Order. Kayam's figuration of *Priyayi* class is marked with ambivalence between refuting essentialism and accepting new political and racial configuration. His textual strategy is seen in his figuration of *priyayi-hood* beyond political and racial category in the *Priyayi* protagonists who engage personally with the demonised Communist, Chinese and Jews with compassion.

The Communist

Kayam's complex relationship to the 1965 events is reflected in his *Gestapu*¹ stories. Kayam works relating to the *Gestapu* events in 1965 are "Musim Gugur Kembali ke Connecticut" ("Fall in Connecticut") (1967), "Bawuk" (1970), "Sri Sumarah" (1973) and *Para Priyayi* (1992). The collection of the the stories was translated in English by Harry Aveling in a collection of short stories titled *Sri Sumarah and other Stories* (1976), whereas *Para Priyayi* was translated in English by Vladislav Zhukov in *The Javanese Gentry* (2013). In this post-independence context, some of the *Priyayi* characters in those narratives are involved in *Gestapu* events to various degrees and all main characters are accused of being members or former members of the Communist Party. Kayam relates his characters, Sri Sumarah in "Sri Sumarah", Bawuk in "Bawuk", Tono in "Musim Gugur" and Harimurti in *Para Priyayi*, with the Communist Party with subtlety. They are connected to the demonized party and therefore have to suffer social ostracism because of their being associated with a communist family member or because of their past involvement in a communist organ despite the fact their involvement was driven by compassion for the suffering mass. This paradoxical juxtaposition, the demonized Communist Party and compassionate characters, is Kayam's strategy to re-imagine the fluidity of social categories, *Priyayi*, *Abangan* and *Santri* postulated in Clifford Geertz's magnum opus *The Religion of Java* (1960).

Sri Sumarah and Bawuk are associated with *Gestapu* not because of their direct involvement in the Indonesian Communist Party but their familial relationship with a Communist figure. While in "Sri Sumarah", Sri's stigmatization as a Communist is because of her Communist daughter (Tun) and son-in-law (Yos), in Bawuk's story, her ostracism is

caused by marrying a Communist cadre whose social status is below her *Priyayi* class, Hassan. The failed coup in Jakarta has sent Hassan on the run since the Communist cleansing sponsored by the Army under General Soeharto is not only conducted in Jakarta but also other smaller cities in Java and beyond. Bawuk refuses to stay put and decides to go underground in search of her fugitive husband. Kayam described her decision to marry Hassan and her stubbornness to accompany Hassan in hiding instead of seeking refuge in her extended *Priyayi* family as the evidence of her solidarity for the common people who have been framed by the new regime and her support for their struggle for social justice:

Tapi mas-mas, mbak-mbak, mammie-pappie, itulah dunia pilihanku. Dunia abangan yang bukan priyayi, dunia yang selalu resah dan gelisah, dunia yang penuh ilusi yang memang seringkali bisa indah sekali. (Kayam, 1975, p. 121)

“But I chose his world, the world of the common people, a restless, anxious world, full of sometimes beautiful illusions.” (Kayam, 1980, p. 81)

Kayam describes both Bawuk and Sri Sumarah as an anachronistic figure of traditional *Priyayi* victimized by sudden political shift in a modern setting in different ways. If Bawuk’s anachronism lies in her transgression of *Priyayi* decorum for the sake of social justice, Sri’s anachronism evidences in her ambivalent status between *priyayi-hood* and common populace. In the opening of “Sri Sumarah”, proper names are explicitly discussed as one of the defining features of the *Priyayi*, an issue that is also revisited by Kayam in *Para Priyayi*. ‘Martokusumo’ the name that Sri Sumarah adopts after getting married - since it is customary in Java to address a married woman with the husband’s name - is indicative of *Priyayi* status. The word ‘kusumo’ added to ‘marto’ signifies that he is descended from *Priyayi* family – a family with white collar occupation in contrast to common populace who sell their labor power for wages. The additional ‘kusumo’ differentiates him from other Martos, such

as Martogrobak or Martoglinding whose suffixes denote common people's occupations: e.g., someone who pulls a cart (Kayam, 1975, p. 6). '*kusumo*' is considered more refined compared to '*grobak*' or '*glinding*' and suitable only for state officials, including teachers like Martokusumo himself. From this perspective, Sri Sumarah's nickname: Bu Guru Pijit (Mrs. Masseur Teacher), a name she adopted after the death of her husband, sounds peculiar. *Pijit* or *tukang pijit*, masseuse, is a non-*Priyayi* occupation whereas *guru*, teacher, is a *Priyayi* one. This nickname signifies her hybrid and ambivalent position that she has transformed herself into a position located between the *Priyayi* and the working class because sudden political reposition in 1965 has made her a dangerous person contaminated with Communism.

De facto, by the end of the story Sri belongs to the exploited working class despite her *Priyayi* status. The defining features of *Priyayi* set in the beginning of the story are evaluated here. She is called Bu Martokusumo because her late husband was a *Priyayi* by that name. Now when she becomes a professional masseuse her nickname is Bu Guru Pijit (Mrs. Masseur Teacher). Sri is described as a *Priyayi* who is taken by surprise and victimized by the modern development but somehow, the *Priyayi* values that have contributed to her downfall also make her able to survive in the changing situation. In a modern state, being a *Priyayi* without economic power and political position, like Sri, makes a person doomed to be a pariah. The *Priyayi* identity she has is now less clear cut than that in the beginning. Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* (1994) talks about hybridity as being at the two places at the same time or being both but also none in the context of colonial assimilation, but in "Sri Sumarah" the hybrid identity is in the context of the complex Javanese transition from the post independent state to the modern independent state where traditional values are challenged by modernity. Sri's consciousness is that of an elite *Priyayi* but the material reality

of her life situates her among the common populace that has been *subalternized* by the government and the society due to her alleged association with the Communist Party. This assimilation or degradation of her status to that of the common populace blurs the borders between *Wong Cilik* (common people) and *Priyayi* that have been the justification for her choices in life. She becomes both and none of them. Her tenuous association with the Communist Party in fact has trapped her in a status which is even below or outside that of the common populace. She is a true subaltern as Gayatri Spivak defines it: a sexed subaltern who has no space from which she can speak (Spivak, 1988, p. 307). Not only does Sri have no space to speak, she is also silenced by the bigger narrative of the New Order state and by the remaining *Priyayi* feudal expectations that believes that the powerful can do no wrong. Practically she loses her house, land, community and the right to reclaim her identity as a full citizen of Javanese *Priyayi* descent let alone as a modern Indonesian. She becomes, in a notorious Indonesian term, '*orang tidak bersih lingkungan*' (a contaminated person – because of one's relation with a communist) whose contamination is passed to her succeeding generations, a political strategy of the regime leading to what Ariel Heryanto (2006) calls "the implosion of stigma." A person with such a label will have no access to economic resources, political rights and to government employment.

This kind of economic, social, and political blacklisting imposed by the new regime befalls the other characters as well. Harimurti in *Para Priyayi* is fired from his office because of his past involvement in the Communist Party's cultural organ, LEKRA. Although Harimurti's activities in LEKRA is motivated by compassion for the peasants and ideas for social justice, his membership in this Communist cultural organ has positioned him as the enemy of the state right after the 1965. Tono in "Musim Gugur" has to face similar end. His

past membership in the Communist Scholars' organization and LEKRA is also driven by the desire to create a just state, a state that does not marginalize the poor and the peasants. Although he finally left both organizations, he is still considered dangerous and has led to his arrest by the Army.

Kayam portrays Bawuk, Tono, Harimurti and Sri Sumarah in ways which signify the *Priyayi* class's failure to redefine itself in the face of this authoritarian regime. The *Priyayi* figures that transgress class boundaries have found themselves obsolete in the post-independence state. Kayam characterized them to look anachronistic in the new regime despite their high moral standards. Characters' efforts to redefine *priyayi-hood* by crossing the borders between the *Priyayi* and the oppressed peasant have been manipulated by both the Communist Party and the New Order. Since their humanitarian motives are channeled and coopted by both parties, consequently they become involuntary supporters of political agendas. When they finally try to clarify their involvement with the Communist Party, their voice becomes *subalternized* and hence unheard or misunderstood.

Looking back at what constitutes the essence of *priyayi-hood* as formulated by Kayam in his previous novel *Para Priyayi*, that service for the 'little people' is precisely what Harimurti, Bawuk and Tono strive to achieve. However *priyayi-hood* also has other dimensions, i.e. authoritarianism and discrimination. It is this other dimension that is actually adopted by the state and turned against the more humane aspects of *priyayi-hood* as represented by Bawuk, Tono, Harimurti and Sri Sumarah. The victory of authoritarianism and discrimination against alleged communists signifies the failure of the third space to be a transforming site. The official history of the Communist coup written by the New Order regime provides no space for an alternative story without it being labelled treason against

the state. Their figuration as compassionate characters sympathizing with the proletarian causes has to meet a tragic end. Such marginalization of ex-Communist and his descendants is contrasted with the basically good characters of the victims. This certainly raises a question why these *Gestapu* stories passed the censorship of the New Order regime that framed Communists as traitors of the state.

Kayam's sympathy for the *Gestapu* victims in his stories and the fact that the stories got published without censorship during the heyday of the New Order might be explained in several ways. On the formal level, in contrasting the compassionate figures and the demonized Communist Party, the narratives never question possible fabrication of the *Gestapu* official narrative and the multifaceted Marxist ideology, but take it for granted. It means that Kayam sympathizes with the victims but not the Communist Party and Marxism. In depicting and sympathizing with the victims (Sri, Bawuk, Tono, and Harimurti), Kayam seems to argue that they have been manipulated by the Communist Party instead of the New Regime. In other words, the stories accept the view that the Communist Party corrupts the people and that what happens after 1965 is the price they have to pay for choosing the malignant party. It is only within these boundaries, i.e. the disproportionate sin and punishment on behalf of the tenderhearted victims manipulated by the Communist Party that Kayam negotiates his disagreement against the state through the stories. As for the unrepentant Communist characters, such as Hassan and Yos, Kayam appears to agree that they deserve the punishment for their ideological belief. Kayam's particular sympathy of the repentant victims and his uncritical acceptance on the evil nature of Communism and Marxism might have made the New Order Regime tolerate his stories.

The other possible reason why the regime took Kayam's stories lightly was because of his support for the New Order from its inception. Upon his return from the United States, he was appointed as the Director General of Radio, Television and Film, staying in the position until from 1966 until 1969. Until his death in Jakarta in 16th March 2002 he was active as Director in many significant positions such as at the Jakarta Art Council (1969-1972), the Centre of Social Sciences Training Universitas Hasanudin and Universitas Gadjah Mada (in 1975-1976 and 1977-1997 respectively). Pursuing his lifelong career as a civil servant under the regime must have earned the regime's strong confidence in Kayam's support despite his compassionate figuration of the 1965 victims.

The Chinese and the Jews

In *Jalan Menikung* Kayam generalises *Priyayi* values by including Chinese and Jewish American figures as major characters in his narrative. They are two social groups that have often experienced racism in part because of their successful business enterprises whilst being racial minorities in countries in which they are seen as outsiders (Chirot & Reid, 1997, p. 6). In Indonesia, discrimination against the Chinese has been going since the colonial times, part of a larger and more complex set of arguments about racial purity.⁴ Generally speaking, racial purity is a discourse commonly held by racial groups who believe that their racial identity possesses distinctive and higher quality features which are separable from those possessed by other racial groups. And it is a common discourse adopted by colonizing countries in order to sustain their colonial policy. In a colonial discourse in which purity is signified by skin colour, whiteness is seen as the sign that needs to be maintained. In colonial East Indies, the social pyramid was arranged with the White being at the top, the Chinese and Arabs in the middle and the Javanese at the bottom of the structure. After independence, the discourse of racial purity has been reclaimed by the Javanese, positioning them as the most rightful citizen of the Republic while relegating the Chinese as the second class citizens. The power structure has changed but the fate of the Chinese remains as manipulable exclusive minority (Rakindo, 1975, p. 126).

The position of the Indonesian Chinese during the New Order was problematical. On the one hand they benefited financially from cronyism and a corrupt system but on the other hand they were stripped of their socio-cultural legacy – a situation that might be called as “ghettoization of citizen-Chinese – political exclusion and economic privilege” (Anderson, 1983, p. 491). Consequently the very rich Chinese near the power centre were capable of influencing national economic policy while the less rich in the periphery had to cope with corrupt officials in order to improve their lot. Further, they were not allowed to retain their Chinese language and names but encouraged instead to adopt Indonesian names. Although they were recognized as Indonesian citizens (*Warga Negara Indonesia* – WNI) but it is with another qualifier: *keturunan* hence *WNI keturunan*, meaning Indonesian citizen but non-native. The difficult political position of the Indonesian Chinese is explored by Kayam in his last novel, *Jalan Menikung*.

An inter-racial marriage in Kayam's *Jalan Menikung* manifests itself in the fourth generation of Sastrodarsono's family, with Anna marrying a Chinese Indonesian and Eko marrying a Jewish American. Their marriage is met with mixed feelings and even some degree of antagonism by their *Priyayi* parents. Tommi's antagonism against Anna, her daughter, marrying a Chinese is similar to Noegroho's antagonism against his daughter, Marie, marrying a peasant's son. Through this inter-racial and inter-social class marriage parallel of these *Priyayi* descendants, namely Eko, Anna, and Marie Kayam offers a more fluid category of race and class because this younger generation of *Priyayi* is depicted as marrying into a social group often regarded as subaltern class, the Indonesian Chinese, and enemy of the Islamist, the Jewish.

In reality, the subalternity of the Indonesian Chinese is demonstrated by their being marginalized from the government positions and some other discriminatory measures, especially during the New Order.⁵ Several incidents involving racial riots in 1970s, 1980s and 1990s indicate that social dissatisfaction against the government was often deflected towards the Chinese Indonesians.⁶ They were often used as a target of racial antagonism to divert people's anger and disappointment about the lack of social and economic progress away from the government. They were also barred from pursuing their career in civil servant and military services. During the most recent incident, the Jakarta riot in May 1998, many Chinese Indonesians had to flee abroad.⁷ In the novel this discriminatory treatment is identified by Harimurti saying:

Di atas kertas mereka sama haknya dengan kami, apa yang disebut pribumi. Tapi, dalam praktek, hak mereka tidak sepenuhnya dilindungi.

....

Mereka ini, keturunan Cina kita ini, mungkin nasibnya masih seperti Yahudi jaman dahulu. Di mana-mana diburu-buru, dipojokkan, diperas, dikurangi haknya (Kayam, 1999, p. 144).

Theoretically they [the Chinese] have the same rights as us, indigenous. But in reality their rights are not protected.

....

These Chinese Indonesians' fate is similar to the Jews in the past. They are everywhere hunted, cornered, blackmailed and their rights are violated.

The unfavourable attitude to the Chinese is also depicted in Tommi's figuration. He expresses his strong opposition to his daughter, Anna, marrying a Chinese boy:

Kalian tahu, saudara-saudaraku, nama Handoyo itu sebenarnya? Han Swie Kun! Coba, adik-adikku, darah Sastrodarsono mau dicampur dengan darah Han Swie Kun. Apa tidak kacau nanti! (Kayam 78)

Ini soal darah cucu-cucu saya nanti, Hari. Saya tidak mau kalau darah priyayi Sastrodarsono, ditambah darah pejuang angkatan '45 Nugroho, lantas tercampur dengan darah Cina. (Kayam 83)

Do you know what Handoyo's real name is? Han Swie Kun! Imagine brothers, Sastrodarsono's blood will mix with Han Swie Kun's. What a mess! This is about my grandchildren's blood, Hari. I don't want Sastrodarsono's *Priyayi* blood and Nugroho's warrior blood to gets mixed with the Chinese blood.

Despite Tommi's leaving behind the ideals of *priyayi-hood*, he still holds the orthodox view on the purity of a *Priyayi* biological identity by challenging his daughter's decision to marry a Chinese Indonesian. Kayam's criticism of this racist attitude is of course clearly depicted in his characterization of the Chinese character as embodying true *Priyayi* values.

While the Chinese is relegated to second class citizenship in post-independent Indonesia, the Jewish figures in Kayam's last novel, *Jalan Menikung*, are seen in enmity by the *Priyayi* characters whose religious affiliation is more to Islamic identity. Paradoxically, Kayam configures the Jewish characters without racist sentiment. Generally postcolonial literature highlights the consequences of the unequal social positioning of people who are identified as belonging to different races, especially in an inter-racial marriage, because the experience of colonialism highlights the perceived markers of difference. When Eko in *Jalan Menikung* is hosted by the Levins, a Jewish American family, during his U.S. study there is no indication of such a colonial or postcolonial component in his reception. Although Claire, their only daughter, also stays at the same house, they do not hesitate to host Eko. Claire seems to enjoy Eko's company and even falls in love with him. When finally Eko and Claire express their intention to get married, Claire's parents also accept this without reservations.

A very different reaction is seen from the Javanese family's side. Upon receiving a telegram informing them of their son's wedding plan, they, especially Sulistianingsih, the mother, feel offended:

Anak ini sudah luntur, hilang tata karma Indonesianya. Sudah jadi orang Amerika apa? Kalau orang-orang tua kita itu masih ada, oooh akan bagaimana mereka! Melihat cucunya kawin dengan orang asing, Yahudi lagi! (Kayam 38)

This kid has lost his Indonesian politeness. Has he become an American? I couldn't imagine how our ancestors would have reacted: their grandchild is marrying a foreigner, a Jew!

The fact that Eko does not consult his family in deciding his future wife is considered impolite. Secondly, the fact that Claire is a Jewish complicates the problem. As we notice in Kayam's stories, such as "Sri Sumarah", "Bawuk", and *Para Priyayi*, typically a *Priyayi*'s purity is maintained by marriage between two *Priyayi* descendants and is usually arranged. This is the case for Sastrodarsono and his children, for example.

A further complication is that with this twist in the plot of the novel Kayam explicitly engages with the supposedly traditional enmity between Islamists and Jews in the context of Java and Indonesia's growing involvement in world politics. Perhaps it is because Harimusti's family has adopted a stronger Islamic political identity that this enmity leaves its traces in his mother's worries:

"Eko mau disuruh jadi Yahudi? No way! Tak usah, ya! Paling-paling yang cocok dengan mereka, kita sama-sama mengharamkan daging babi. Tapi masuk agama Yahudi?" (Kayam 39)

"They want Eko to be a Jew? No way! Out of the question! Our only common ground is that both religions forbid us to eat pork. But becoming a Jew?"

Kayam situates this antagonism in a Javanese postcolonial context. In this context the West is pluralized to include the Jews that Eko's mother detests. If in colonial times the Javanese alignment with the Dutch was considered favourable, in post-independence times Eko's alignment with the Jewish family is seen as a big problem by this *Priyayi* family. Their stronger Islamic identity as *Priyayi Islam* rather than *Priyayi abangan* (which would be more syncretistic and tolerant) has situated them in a position opposing Jewish identity vehemently.

Kayam offers a different perspective amid this enmity. His stories seem to suggest that despite their racial and religious sentiment there are some common ground on which his characters negotiate their comfort zones. In this case, Kayam universalises *Priyayi* values by going beyond class and race. An American immigrant writer, such as Tahira Navqi, has explored the similarity between Muslims and Jews in his short story "Thank God for the Jews." Kayam, who might have read the story, also describes the melting pot that the two faiths share. Kosher and *halal* are two similar categories to label certain food that is religiously edible:

"Kau itu, Alan, sering membingungkan saya. Seakan pastrami kosher atau tidak kosher itu jadi persoalan penting betul buat kamu."

"Iya, dong. Saya kan orang Yahudi. Sebentar lagi kau juga jadi menantu orang Yahudi. Penting dong kosher itu. Seperti agama Islam, kan? Halal!" (Kayam, 1999, p. 64)

"Alan, you have often puzzled me. You act as if whether or not the pastrami were kosher an important issue for you."

"Of course, it is important. I am Jewish. You will soon marry a Jewish girl. Kosher is definitely important. Just like in Islam: Halal!"

Kayam also portrays another shared belief in that the Jews and Muslims consider circumcision as an important religious observance as reflected in the dialogue between Eko and Claire:

"Kenapa pada hari perkawinan kita, kita bicara soal sunat?"

"Entahlah. Mungkin karena saya semakin mantap Islam dan Yahudi banyak persamaannya."

"Karena agama-agama kita sama-sama mengharuskan laki-laki sunat dan sama-sama mengharamkan daging babi dan memotong leher ayam harus sampai mengucurkan darah dan menodainya?" (Kayam, 1999, p. 75)

"Why do you talk about circumcision in our wedding day?"

"I don't know. Perhaps because I am getting more convinced that Islam and Judaism have a lot in common."

"Because our religions require men to be circumcised and forbid eating pork and stipulate that when slaughtering chickens we have to shed their blood?"

As the novel progresses Kayam constructs a typically Javanese mystical thought, namely that underneath religious differences there is a similar principle, i.e. the need to be aware of the differences between good and evil. By disregarding the superficial religious and racial differences, Eko's marriage with a Jewish American revises his ancestors' idea of racial and religious purity. An Islamic identification that is still a strong part of the family up to the third generation represented by Kayam is reinterpreted in a characteristically Javanese mystical way by the fourth generation. Javanese mysticism is more adaptive to new influences than many other religious formations and this helps Eko to become a cultural commuter. Ashcroft (2001, p. 207) notes that "the paradox of global culture is that it makes itself 'at home' in motion rather than in place." Eko as a global citizen does not have to rely on his origin, neither geographical, cultural, nor even religious to feel at home. In fact his

geographical home has refused him due to his father's involvement in the banned Communist Party.

Eko is also depicted by Kayam as a *Priyayi* figure who sees the familial bond in different way – the kind of bond in which individualism is more prominent than collectivism. He is adopting the American concept of being a responsible adult to whom individualism is more valued than the familial bond:

Kemudian, kalau sudah tamat, apalagi sudah mencapai umur dewasa, mereka harus bertanggung jawab kepada dirinya sendiri. Anak itu sudah harus mandiri. Dia juga sudah menjadi "merdeka". Dan Orang tua, apalagi keluarga besar, tidak akan menuntut janji apa-apa dari anak-anaknya. Hidup dijalani sendiri. (Kayam, 1999, p. 22).

After graduation, especially if he is an adult, he has to be responsible for his own life. He has to be independent. He also becomes "free". And his parents, moreover his extended family, will not ask for anything from their child. Life has to be lived alone."

This is clearly seen in his marriage procedure that does not comply with traditional *Priyayi* standards anymore. He marries a Jewish American in a civil ceremony without seeking the advice from his extended family – in contrast to the traditional practice upheld by the Sastrodarsono's extended family at some cost. Kayam portrays Harimurti's family as the first to set Eko free from familial and class bond. Eko's universalism is achieved through individualism. Indeed in the novel Kayam seems to argue that collectivism emphasising harmony and kinship in Javanese culture has become potentially corrupting when set against an international background.

In a discussion hosted by the *Kompas* daily in 1986, Kayam points out two important traditional values potentially corrupting Indonesian minds, namely *keharmonisan* (harmony) and *kekeluargaan* (kinship, 'cronyism')⁸. These aspects of Javanese wisdom are

not evil in themselves but when wrongly enacted, can be shown to be a fertile source of economic and political corruption. In the same forum, Kayam also critically reassesses some Javanese ascetic practices, such as sleeping on the floor and fasting, and concludes that such practices are often motivated by greed: to be rich therefore able to live in luxury. In this context, the ascetic practices are considered as a temporary *laku*, practice, to gain a strong financial, social or political position for himself or his descendants. As such, uncritical reverence for the traditional values will only damage the nation. Kayam calls this uncritical reverence for one's own culture "*kompleks narsisme budaya*" (cultural narcissism complex) (dn/efix, 1986).

In the novel, this unthinking reverence for traditional values has led the Javanese blaming the Chinese for the social gap that this postcolonial state has created:

Salah mereka karena mereka bekerja keras lebih dari bangsaku dan sering jauh lebih berhasil, yang menerbitkan rasa cemburu bangsaku yang lebih malas, mau enak-enak saja, mau memetik hasil kerja keras keturunan Cina itu (Kayam, 1999, pp. 114-115).

It was their [the Indonesian Chinese] own fault because they worked harder and were much more successful than my people. This incited jealousy. My people were lazier, never worked hard and just wanted to reap what the Chinese had struggled for.

This auto-criticism that Kayam expresses through *Jalan Menikung* makes it clear that the *Priyayi* racial prejudice against the subaltern classes is unfounded. Against the stereotypical image of Chinese Indonesians, Kayam presents the reverse. Anna's Chinese husband, Boy, for instance, is described as "*pintar, cerdas, tidak sok, baik hati, rendah hati, simpatik*" (clever, smart, not vain, kind, humble and sympathetic) (79). Against the anti-Semitic sentiment Kayam presents the Levins as compassionate and kind. They do not see their daughter's relation with a Javanese boy with racial prejudice

By putting forward this issue, Kayam proposes the idea that the quality of *priyayi-hood* is not and should not be determined by racial, religious or class identity but by inner qualities of restraint and selfless service for the people. With these inter racial marriages the novel argues that the quality of *priyayi-hood* is not only found in the Javanese *Priyayi* but is also found in other races. Consequently individual qualities are more important than class and racial identity.

Conclusion

Failure of living by rigid racial and class categories is enacted in Kayam's Gestapu stories *Jalan Menikung*. Faced with an authoritarian and corrupt state system, the only options that appear to be left to Kayam's ethnocentric characters are to join the corrupt system and thrive, or refuse the system and perish. These fictions show in different ways how the 'third space' envisaged by Bhabha (2002) emerges in Indonesia not as a progressive reconstruction of the site of postcolonial politics, but as a failure to find a moral center for the emergent nation. While refusing the fluidity of class and racial categories, the essentialist *Priyayi* figures manipulate the third space as a site for corrupt attitudes, providing them with material prosperity. On the contrary, the compassionate *Priyayi* characters do not have a room to raise their concerns and have to be ostracized for their postmodern outlook, viewing racial and class categories as fluid.

The fluidity of *priyayi-hood* in *Jalan Menikung* goes beyond racial and national borders. The novel reveals that the Javanese and Indonesia have failed to revitalize *Priyayi* values to empower the postcolonial state. Refuting the chauvinistic discourse of the Javanese *Priyayi*, the novel presents a universal view that the values initially seen as particularly Javanese are also found in the so-called subaltern groups. The Jewish and the Indonesian

Chinese figures are presented as embodying *Priyayi* values that the Javanese characters fail to sustain. The characters of Alan Barnstein, Claire and the Levins portray the friendly and welcoming side of the West. The stereotype of selfish and money-oriented Indonesian Chinese is depicted the other way around in the figuration of Boy.

Jalan Menikung apparently presents Kayam's reconstruction of the liquidity of ideal values with a special emphasis on the subaltern groups and individualism. This is apparent, for instance, when Kayam names the newborn Jewish-Javanese baby, Eko and Claire's son, Solomon, who, in Kayam's reckoning, is a universal character found in Torah, Bible and Quran. As such the identity of the traditional *Priyayi* is no longer important because global interaction has dissolved racial borders and always creates another space to inhabit by the younger generations. This liquid identity is represented by Kayam as a peaceful site of existence though in reality it is still rift with unequal power relations respective to race, gender and class.

Notes

1. Heather Sutherland elaborates this mechanism in "Pangreh Pradja: Java's Indigenous Administrative Corps and Its Role in the Last Decades of Dutch Colonial Rule" (1973).
2. See Kartodirdjo, Sudewo, and Hatmosuprobo, *Perkembangan Peradaban Priyayi* (1987, p. 3) and Sutherland, Pangreh Pradja (1975, p. 57).
3. Gestapu refers to the failed *coup d'état* staged by a group that called themselves Gerakan Tigapuluh September (the 30th September Movements, referring to the date of their action), allegedly masterminded by the Communist Party. Broadcasting an official statement the next morning at 7:20 a.m. through the Indonesia national radio broadcaster, RRI, the group announced that they had arrested a number of generals who had been planning themselves to carry out a coup d'état on October 5th under the code name of Dewan Jenderal (the Generals Council). It turned out that by the time of the broadcast they had killed six top army generals and one adjutant. The army under General Soeharto soon suppressed the coup and had the leaders of the Gestapu jailed or killed.
4. See for instance John T. Sidel (2007) pp. 20-24

5. For a comprehensive analysis of the discrimination against the Chinese Indonesian during the New Order era, see Charles A. Coppel's *Studying Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia* (2002), especially chapter 1. Analysis of this issue can also be seen in articles by Frans H. Winarta (2004), "Racial Discrimination in the Indonesian Legal System: Ethnic Chinese and Nation-Building" and A. Dahana (2004), "Pri and Non-Pri Relations in the Reform Era: A Pribumi's Perspective."
6. See for example the article by Ingrid Wessel (2001), "The Politics of Violence in New Order Indonesia in the Last Decade of the 20th Century."
7. John T. Sidel (1–2) mentions that "In May of that year, simultaneous rioting in Jakarta and such cities as Solo, Medan, and Palembang led to the destruction of hundreds of Chinese business establishments, the rape of dozens of Chinese women, and the deaths of more than one thousand people in Jakarta alone."
8. Reported in Kompas daily (Kristanto and Krastawan, 1986): "Harmoni Sumber Kemandulan" (Harmony as the root of the problem).

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Short bio

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Email: sar@usd.ac.id

Blue = my revision

Legend:

Red = part that needs to be better/more clearly articulated or explained because the expression is not clear, confusing, or needs a better/sharper articulation)

Green = my suggested correction (Please check out these parts and see if you agree with the correction? Please you don't, please provide an alternative. Color code your own corrections; use a different color.

Purple = question/comment (to guide you with your revision of a particular part which is color coded in red)

Request: For all your corrections in your revised version, please use a different color code to distinguish them from my own colors. Meaning, please don't use red, green, purple or orange.

Reimagining the **Fluidity** Fluid Categorization (of what? in what sense? This has to be explained clearly in the body of the paper.) of the Communist, Chinese, and Jews in Umar Kayam's Stories

Paulus Sarwoto, Ph.D.

Abstract

This article *examines* ~~scrutinizes~~ (*examines? Yes, examines*) how Umar Kayam's stories reveal the logic underlying the New Order political legacy through the reproduction of the myth of ethnic purity and anti-communist discourse. I argue that Kayam stories, especially "Musim Gugur Kembali di Connecticut" (Fall in Connecticut) (1967), "Sri Sumarah" (1970), "Bawuk" (1973), Para Priyayi (The Nobles) (1992) and his last novel and Jalan Menikung (The Winding Road) (1999), reflect how that *essentialist discourse believing in the primacy of certain ethnic and class categories, (briefly define this here)* has been deployed effectively in the Indonesian political arena *to create induce* (*create? Yes, create*) *false consciousness among the masses (in or among whom?)*. Kayam challenged this by *offering a fictional figuration of fluid identity, identity whose quality is not determined by*

boundaries of race and class categories (fictional figuration? Also, define briefly “fluid identity here) of the Communist, Chinese and Jewish characters. The stories also signify the narrowing (unclear what you mean by “narrowing” What I mean by narrowing is that the third space in the Javanese priyayi context does not become a site of empowerment but corruption and manipulation.) of Homi K Bhabha’s third space, leaving fewer options for Priyayi (the Javanese noble) action with the result that corruption becomes the more prominent option. Third space envisaged by Bhabha emerges in Kayam’s essentialist Priyayi characters, characters who believe in the primacy of Javanese priyayi class, (Explain briefly what you mean by “essentialist Priyayi characters) not as a progressive reconstruction of the site of postcolonial politics, but as a failure to find a moral center for the emergent nation.

Introduction

Comprising of more than 300 ethnic groups with a long history of colonization, Indonesia has been a site of endless contestation and manipulation for domination. Contestation among local sultanates in colonial time was manipulated by the colonial machinery for easier control of the colony. Social classes within an ethnic group like the Javanese Noble (Priyayi) and peasantry (Abangan), were also engineered to make the colonial machinery more effective and efficient at the cost of the lowest class, the peasantry¹. In the post-war period, the New Order kept exploiting the diverse ethnic groups and social gaps inequality for political hegemony through the exercise of power. Now in the supposedly more democratic Indonesia, it turns out that the myth of ethnic purity maintained by colonial and New Order system has never really gone away. It has even exacerbated (exacerbated what?) with the present political trend to exploit religious sentiment for vote-gathering in both local and national elections.

Indonesian literature and literary criticism were non-political (non-political or apolitical?), especially since 1965. A passing mention of political-chaos social violence in

¹ Heather Sutherland elaborates this mechanism in *Pangreh Pradja: Java's Indigenous Administrative Corps and Its Role in the Last Decades of Dutch Colonial Rule* (1973)

Paruk village because the villagers were labelled communists involving the Indonesian Communist Party (Chaos? What happened?), like the one in Ahmad Tohari's *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* (1982) , resulted in Tohari (Tohari) being interrogated by the local military commander for days in 1986 (Nugroho, 2015). The military accused Tohari of membership in the Communist Party just because he depicted an incident about the destruction of a village during a communist witch hunt. It is therefore interesting It begs an explanation ("interesting" is vague; find a more precise word) that some works problematizing incidents around 1965, such as Kayam's "Musim Gugur Kembali di Connecticut" (Fall in Connecticut) (1967), "Sri Sumarah" (1970), and "Bawuk" (1973) got published without complication although, at the time of publication, Indonesia had already witnessed what Wijaya Herlambang (2014) calls the transformation from cultural violence to physical violence in a Communist witch hunt. The transformation of violence taking place in 1980s marks the return of physical violence by the state against those accused of supporting communism, including several civil servants who were fired due their association, both real and imagined, with communism and communist figures. (Needs a follow-up sentence here explaining what the "transformation" was about and why it is significant to mention it here) Kayam's position as a professor in a state university (What kind of "Position"? University appointment? Political leaning?) was perceived to be a part of the New Order structure – he has been a director general under Soeharto presidency and a professor in a state university, Universitas Gadjah Mada – and this perception might have helped the publication of the works, not to mention his euphemistic ambivalent (unclear) writing style in which he criticizes Communism while sympathizing with the former communist figures.

I will elaborate this ambivalence further in the analysis. (How is this writing style “euphemistic”?)

As a member of the *Priyayi* class himself and a part of New Order regime, Kayam’s subject position as a fiction writer is unique. Born to a petty *Priyayi* family (what does it mean to come from a “petty priyayi family? Please explain this in the body of the paper if you cannot explain it here in the introduction), Kayam is able to critically portray what Clifford Geertz refers to as the rigid triadic category of this class. Through his stories “Musim Gugur Kembali di Connecticut” (Fall in Connecticut) (1967), “Sri Sumarah” (1970), “Bawuk” (1973), *Para Priyayi* (The Nobles) (1992) and his last novel and *Jalan Menikung* (The Winding Road) (1999), (Like which one? Provide a title that you plan to discuss later in the paper.) he deconstructs Geertz’ triadic division of Javanese society of *Santri*, *Priyayi* and *Abangan* into a more liquid category whose class and race boundaries (what boundaries? Of class division?) often overlap not only among the three categories based on social class but also across race involving the Chinese and the Jews, two race categories often viewed antagonistically (confusing: are you talking about class or race division? Here? Actually I am talking about both class and race categories). As an insider of the New Order regime, it is the fluidity of Communist and non-Communist political groupings set up by the state (what groupings? Based on what? Who grouped them?) that Kayam negotiates through the stories. These fictions (which are you referring to? I have added the information about the works above) show in different ways how the third space, a term I adopted from Homi K Bhabha to mean the in-between-ness of different races and social classes, (define this term the first time you mention it) is a liquid categorization (In what specific sense is it “liquid”? You also used the term “fluid” earlier and later. Please explain

in what sense you're using these terms. I think both terms, liquid and fluid, are interchangeable because they refer to the quality of ever-changing) and the *Priyayi* class' failure to grasp its fluidity has turned them into figures without a moral centre for Indonesia which was by then an emergent nation. In the following analysis, I will explore Kayam's strategy of re-imagining ethnic and political categories for a more plural and egalitarian society through the figuration of his *Priyayi* characters.

Javanese *Priyayi*

Priyayi is the Javanese term for Javanese nobility. Etymologically the term *Priyayi* may have been derived from two Javanese words: *para* and *yayi*, meaning, the younger brothers (of the king).² This etymological speculation is in line with Geertz's assertion that *Priyayi* originally refers to "a man who could trace his ancestry back to the great semi-mythical kings of pre-colonial Java" (Geertz, 1964, p. 229). The two other dominant social groups in Java are the Moslem *Santri* and the syncretic *Abangan*.

The dominance of this tri-partite distinction is driven by Geertz's ground-breaking study of Javanese society in Mojokuto from 1953 to 1954, published as *Religion of Java* in 1960, which categorized the Javanese into three typologies: syncretistic *Abangan*, Muslim *Santri*, and *Priyayi*. Geertz bases his grouping on people's occupations and religious systems of values. Based on their occupation, *Abangan*, *Santri* and *Priyayi* are understood as Java's peasantry, traders, and gentry respectively (Geertz, 1960, pp. 228-229). Mapped onto religious structures, the *Abangan* believe in a combination of animism and certain values derived from Hinduism and Islam; the *Santri* adhere to the orthodoxy and

² See Kartodirdjo, Sudewo, & Hatmosuprobo (Kartodirdjo, Sudewo, & Hatmosuprobo, 1987, p. 3)(1987, p. 3) and Sutherland (H. Sutherland, 1975, p. 57).

orthopraxy of Islam more rigorously than the *Abangan* (more than who?); while the *Priyayi*, by contrast, although adopting Hinduism like *Abangan*, do so in a more subtle way in terms of its philosophical interpretation of Hindu teachings and praxis (more subtle in what sense?) (Geertz, 1960, pp. 234-235).

Three periods of Indonesian history are crucial to understanding the development of the social status of the *Priyayi* in the colonial period and after independence as reflected in Kayam's works, namely, the context of colonialism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, marked by the beginning of the processes of modernization in the Dutch East Indies; the struggle for Indonesian independence after the Japanese defeat in 1945; and the effects of 1965, the year of the alleged (alleged?) abortive Communist coup of September 30th, also known as *Gestapu* and *Gestok*, leading to the rise to power of Soeharto and his New Order. As this study would like to show, Kayam's figuration of the *Priyayi* class is marked with ambivalence between refuting racial and class essentialism ("essentialism" of what? this "essentialism" will have to be explained) and accepting new political and racial configuration. His textual strategy is seen in his figuration of *priyayi-hood* beyond political and racial category in the *Priyayi* protagonists who engage personally with the demonized Communist, Chinese and Jews with compassion.

The Communist

Kayam's complex relationship to the *Gestapu* events of 1965 is reflected in his *Gestapu*³ stories, including "Musim Gugur Kembali ke Connecticut" ("Fall in Connecticut")

³ *Gestapu* refers to the failed coup d'état staged by a group called themselves *Gerakan Tiga puluh September* (the 30th September Movements, referring to the date of their action), allegedly masterminded by the Communist Party. Broadcasting an official statement the next morning at 7.20 a.m. through the Indonesia national radio broadcaster, RRI, the group announced that they had arrested a number of generals who had been planning themselves to carry out a *coup d'état* on October 5th under the code

(1967), “Bawuk” (1970), “Sri Sumarah” (1973) and *Para Priyayi* (1992). Except for “*Para Priyayi*” which had been translated into English by Vladislav Zhukov and subsequently published in (2013), the rest of the stories had been translated by Harry Aveling, which came out in the collection titled *Sri Sumarah and other Stories* (1976). In this post-independence context, some of the *Priyayi* characters in those narratives are involved in *Gestapu* events to various degrees and all main characters are accused of being members or former members of the Communist Party. Kayam problematizes the relationship between ~~relates~~ his characters, Sri Sumarah in “Sri Sumarah”, Bawuk in “Bawuk”, Tono in “Musim Gugur” and Harimurti in *Para Priyayi*, with the Communist Party. ~~with subtlety~~ (what is meant by “relate with subtlety” exactly?). Notwithstanding their compassion for the suffering masses, because of their association with the demonized Communist Party, they are condemned to suffer social ostracism due to having a family member who is a member of the Communist party, or their past involvement with a communist organ. This paradoxical juxtaposition of the demonized Communist Party on one hand, and compassionate characters on the other hand, is Kayam’s strategy to re-imagine the fluidity of social categories (Re-imagine the fluidity in what sense?Pls explain.), *Priyayi*, *Abangan* and *Santri*, as postulated in Clifford Geertz’s magnum opus *The Religion of Java* (1960). The fact the *priyayi* characters, such as Bawuk, Tono and Harimurti decided to side the common populace, the *abangan*, in the struggle for social justice is the evidence of Kayam’s re-imagination of fluid class categories.

name of *Dewan Jenderal* (the Generals Council). It turned out that by the time of the broadcast they had killed six top army generals and 1 adjutant. The army under General Soeharto soon suppressed the coup and had the leaders of the *Gestapu* jailed or killed.

Sri Sumarah and Bawuk are associated with *Gestapu* not because of their direct involvement in the Indonesian Communist Party but their familial relationship with a Communist figure, *Tun, Yos and Hassan (Who?)*. While Sri's stigmatization as a "Communist" is because of her Communist daughter (Tun) and son-in-law (Yos) in "Sri Sumarah", in Bawuk's story, her ostracism is caused by marrying a Communist *cadre, Hassan*, whose social status is below her *Priyayi* class. The failed coup in Jakarta has sent Hassan on the run since the Communist cleansing sponsored by the Army under General Soeharto is not only conducted in Jakarta but also in other smaller cities in Java and beyond. Bawuk refuses to stay put and decides to go underground in search of her fugitive husband. Kayam describes her decision to marry Hassan and her stubbornness to accompany Hassan in hiding instead of seeking refuge in her extended *Priyayi* family. This decision shows her solidarity for the common people who have been framed by the new regime and her support for their struggle for social justice:

Tapi mas-mas, mbak-mbak, mammie-pappie, itulah dunia pilihanku. Dunia abangan yang bukan priyayi, dunia yang selalu resah dan gelisah, dunia yang penuh ilusi yang memang seringkali bisa indah sekali. (Kayam, 1975, p. 121)

"But I chose his world, the world of the common people, a restless, anxious world, full of sometimes beautiful illusions." (Kayam, 1980, p. 81)

Kayam describes both Bawuk and Sri Sumarah as an anachronistic figure of traditional *Priyayi* victimized by sudden political shift in a modern setting in different ways. If Bawuk's anachronism lies in her transgression of *Priyayi* decorum for the sake of social justice, Sri's anachronism evidences in her ~~ambivalent hybrid status between priyayi hood and common populace~~ as a working class *priyayi* (Ambivalent in what sense?), even suggestive a kind of downward class mobility in the aftermath of the 1965 coup. In the

opening of “Sri Sumarah”, ~~proper~~ the class significance of Javanese names are explicitly discussed by Kayam highlighting the importance of name as a symbol of *priyayi* class. (Explicitly discussed by whom? Why is it being discussed? What’s happening in the opening of the story? I discussed the issue in following sentences) as one of the defining features of the *Priyayi*, an issue that is also revisited by Kayam in *Para Priyayi*. ‘Martokusumo’ the name that Sri Sumarah adopts after getting married - since it is customary in Java to address a married woman with the husband’s name - is indicative of her *Priyayi* status. The word ‘kusumo’ added to ‘marto’ signifies that he is descended from *Priyayi* family – a family with white collar occupation in contrast to common populace who sell their manual labor power for wages. ‘Kusumo’ differentiates him from other Martos, such as Martogrobak or Martoglinding whose suffixes denote common people’s occupations, like someone who pulls a cart for a living (Kayam, 1975, p. 6). ‘Kusumo’ is considered more refined compared to ‘grobak’ or ‘glinding’ and suitable only for state officials, including teachers like Martokusumo himself. From this perspective, Sri Sumarah’s nickname: Bu Guru Pijit (Mrs. Masseuse Teacher), a name she adopted after the death of her husband, sounds peculiar. *Pijit* or *tukang pijit*, masseuse, is a non-*Priyayi* occupation whereas *guru*, teacher, is a *Priyayi* one. This nickname signifies her newly acquired hybrid and ambivalent position as a result of her transformation. Her position now is located between the *Priyayi* and the working class as a result of the sudden political changes that transpired in 1965 contaminating her with Communism by association and making her a dangerous person.

By the end of the story Sri has become a member of the exploited working class despite her *Priyayi* status. The defining features of *Priyayi* set in the beginning of the story

are evaluated here. (Do you need this statement? Yes, I think so in order to emphasize the fluidity of *priyayi* identity.) While still *Priyayi*, she is called bu Martokusumo because her late husband who went by that name, was a *Priyayi*. Now when she becomes a professional masseuse her nickname is Bu Guru Pijit (Mrs. Masseuse Teacher). Sri, a traditional *Priyayi* who is victimized by the modern development; yet, somehow, the very *Priyayi* values that have contributed to her downfall have also enabled her to survive in the changing situation. In a modern state, being a *Priyayi* without economic power and political position, like Sri, means being condemned to the life of a pariah. Her *Priyayi* identity is no longer clear-cut as it was when the story began.

In *The Location of Culture* (1994) Bhabha talks about hybridity as being in two places at the same time or being influenced by both colonizer and colonized but not fully belong to one of them either (Unclear. Pls restate for clarity.) in the context of colonial assimilation. But in "Sri Sumarah" the hybrid identity is in the context of the complex Javanese transition from the post-independent state to the modern independent state where traditional values are challenged by modernity. Sri's consciousness is that of an elite *Priyayi* but the material reality of her life situates her among the common populace that has been "subalternized" by the government and the society due to her alleged association with the Communist Party. This degradation of her status to that of the common populace blurs the borders between the *Wong Cilik* (common people) and the *Priyayi* that have been the justification for her choices in life had defined the distinctions about the choices she had made in her life. (had defined the distinctions about the choices she had made in her life? Yes, thanks.). She becomes at once both of them and none of them. Her association with the Communist Party, no matter how tenuous, in fact, has trapped her in a status which is even

below ~~or outside~~ (What do you mean by “outside here? I prefer to omit the word.) that of the common populace. She is a true subaltern as Gayatri Spivak defines it: a sexed subaltern who has no space ~~from~~ which she can speak (Spivak, 1988, p. 307). Not only does Sri have no space to speak ~~from~~, she is also silenced by the bigger narrative of the New Order state and by the remaining *Priyayi* feudal expectations that ~~believe~~ that the powerful can do no wrong. She loses her house, land, community and her ~~very~~ right to reclaim her identity as a full citizen of Javanese *Priyayi* descent ~~let alone as a~~ in modern Indonesia (Why “let alone”?). She becomes, in a notorious Indonesian term, ‘*orang tidak bersih lingkungan*’ (a contaminated person – because of one’s relation with a communist) whose contamination is passed ~~on~~ to her succeeding generations, a political strategy of the regime leading to what Ariel Heryanto (2006) ~~calls~~ “the implosion of stigma.” A person with such a label will have no access to economic resources, political rights ~~and government~~ employment.

This kind of economic, social, and political blacklisting imposed by the new regime befalls the other characters as well. Harimurti in *Para Priyayi* is fired from his office because of his past involvement in the Communist Party’s cultural organ, LEKRA. Although Harimurti’s activities in LEKRA is motivated by compassion for the peasants and ideas for social justice, his membership in this Communist cultural organ has positioned him as the enemy of the state right after the 1965. Tono in “Musim Gugur” has to face ~~a~~ similar end. His past membership in the Communist Scholars’ organization and LEKRA is also driven by the desire to create a just state, ~~one~~ that does not marginalize the poor and the peasants. ~~Even after leaving~~ both organizations, he is still considered dangerous and has led to his arrest by the Army.

Kayam portrays Bawuk, Tono, Harimurti and Sri Sumarah in ways which signify the *Priyayi* class's failure to redefine itself in the face of this authoritarian regime. The *Priyayi* figures that transgress class boundaries have found themselves obsolete in the post-independence state. Kayam depicts them to be anachronistic in the new regime despite their high moral standards. Characters' efforts to redefine *priyayi-hood* by crossing the borders between the *Priyayi* and the oppressed peasant have been manipulated by both the Communist Party and the New Order. Since their humanitarian motives are channeled and coopted by both parties, consequently they become involuntary supporters of political agendas. When they finally try to clarify their involvement with the Communist Party, their voice becomes *subalternized* and hence unheard or misunderstood. The state apparatuses will not accept their argument that they are not involved in *Gestapu* movements in Jakarta and consequently they treat them as the traitors of the state. (Needs clarification.)

~~Looking back at what constitutes the essence meaning (by "essence," did you mean meaning? Yes) of *priyayi-hood* as formulated by Kayam in his previous novel *Para Priyayi*, that service for the 'little people' is precisely what Harimurti, Bawuk and Tono strive to achieve.~~ In *Para Priyayi*, Kayam refers to the essence of *priyayi-hood* as service for the 'little people,' the goal of characters like Harimurti, Bawuk, and Tono (This is not a complete sentence. Did you mean to say this? – In *Para Priyayi*, Kayam refers to the essence of *priyayi-hood* as service for the 'little people,' the goal of characters like Harimurti, Bawuk, and Tono. Yes thanks!) However *priyayi-hood* also has other dimensions, i.e. authoritarianism and discrimination. It is this other dimension that is actually adopted by the state in its draconian rule and turned against the more caring aspects of *priyayi-hood* as represented by compassionate Bawuk, Tono, Harimurti and Sri Sumarah. (How is this

dimension adopted by the state? “Humane aspects? How are these represented by these characters exactly?) The victory of authoritarianism and discrimination against alleged communists signifies ~~the failure of the third space to be a transforming site.~~ The third space as a site of negotiation among the residue of colonialism, traditionalism and emerging nationalism is unable to produce a new state system based on justice and equality(Explain this failure.) The official history of the Communist coup written by the New Order regime provides no space for an alternative story without it being labelled treason against the state. Their figuration as compassionate characters sympathizing with the proletarian causes has to meet a tragic end. ~~Such marginalization through ostracism of ex-Communist and his descendants is contrasted with the compassionate characters of the victims.~~ (This sentence needs to be clear. “Marginalization” in what way? In what sense “contrasted”?) This certainly raises a question: How did these *Gestapu* stories pass the censorship of the New Order regime that framed Communists as traitors of the state.

Kayam’s sympathy for the *Gestapu* victims in his stories and the fact that the stories got published without censorship during the heyday of the New Order might be explained in several ways. On the formal level, in contrasting the compassionate figures and the demonized Communist Party, the narratives ~~never-question~~ do not seem to challenge (vague or unclear expression) possible fabrication of the *Gestapu* official narrative and explore the multifaceted Marxist ideology, ~~but take it for granted.~~ (vague or unclear expression) It means that Kayam sympathizes with the victims but not with the Communist Party and Marxism. In depicting and sympathizing with the victims (Sri, Bawuk, Tono, and Harimurti), Kayam seems to argue that they have been manipulated by the Communist Party instead of the New Regime. In other words, the stories accept the view that the

Communist Party corrupts the people and that what happens after 1965 is the price they have to pay for choosing the malignant party. It is only within these boundaries, i.e. the disproportionate sin and punishment on behalf of the tenderhearted victims manipulated by the Communist Party that Kayam negotiates his disagreement against the state through the stories. As for the unrepentant Communist characters, such as Hassan and Yos, Kayam appears to agree that they deserve the punishment for their ideological belief. Kayam's particular sympathy for the repentant victims and his uncritical acceptance of the belief that the Communism and Marxism were evil might have made the New Order Regime tolerate his stories.

The other possible reason why the regime took Kayam's stories lightly was because of his support for the New Order from its inception. Upon his return from the United States, he was appointed as the Director General of Radio, Television and Film, staying in the position until from 1966 until 1969. Until his death in Jakarta in 16th March 2002 he was active as Director of many significant offices such as at the Jakarta Art Council (1969-1972), the Centre of Social Sciences Training Universitas Hasanudin and Universitas Gadjah Mada (in 1975-1976 and 1977-1997 respectively). Pursuing his lifelong career as a civil servant under the regime must have earned the regime's strong confidence in Kayam's support despite his compassionate depiction of the 1965 victims.

The Chinese and the Jews

In *Jalan Menikung* Kayam generalises *Priyayi* values by including Chinese and Jewish American figures as major characters in his narrative. They are two social groups that have often experienced racism in part because of their successful business enterprises whilst being racial minorities in countries in which they are seen as outsiders (Chirot & Reid, 1997, p. 6). In Indonesia, discrimination against the Chinese has been going since the

colonial times, which is part of a larger and more complex set of arguments about racial purity.⁴ Generally speaking, racial purity is a discourse commonly held by racial groups who believe that their racial identity possesses distinctive and higher quality features which are separable from those possessed by other racial groups. And it is a common discourse adopted by colonizing countries in order to sustain their colonial policy. In a colonial discourse in which purity is signified by skin colour, whiteness is seen as the sign that needs to be maintained. In colonial East Indies, the social pyramid was arranged with the White being at the top, the Chinese and Arabs in the middle and the Javanese at the bottom of the structure. After independence, the discourse of racial purity has been reclaimed by the Javanese, positioning them as the most rightful citizens of the Republic while relegating the Chinese as the second class citizens. The power structure has changed but the fate of the Chinese remains as manipulable exclusive minority (Rakindo, 1975, p. 126).

The position of the Indonesian Chinese during the New Order was problematical. On the one hand they benefited financially from cronyism and a corrupt system but on the other hand they were stripped of their socio-cultural legacy – a situation that might be called as “ghettoization of citizen-Chinese – political exclusion and economic privilege” (Anderson, 1983, p. 491). Consequently the very rich Chinese near the power centre were capable of influencing national economic policy while the less rich in the periphery had to cope with demands of corrupt officials in order to improve their lot. Further, they were not allowed to retain their Chinese language and names but encouraged instead to adopt Indonesian names. Although they were recognized as Indonesian citizens (*Warga Negara Indonesia* – WNI); however, the recognition came with another qualifier, *keturunan*. WNI *keturunan*, means Indonesian citizen but non-native. The difficult political position of the Indonesian Chinese is explored by Kayam in his last novel, *Jalan Menikung*.

⁴ See for instance John T. Sidel (2007) pp. 20-24

An inter-racial marriage in Kayam's *Jalan Menikung* takes place in the fourth generation of Sastrodarsono's family, with Anna marrying a Chinese Indonesian and Eko marrying a Jewish American. Their marriage is met with mixed feelings and even some degree of antagonism by their *Priyayi* parents. Tommi's antagonism against Anna, her daughter, marrying a Chinese is similar to Noegroho's antagonism against his daughter, Marie, marrying a peasant's son. Through this inter-racial and inter-social class marriage parallel of these *Priyayi* descendants, namely Eko, Anna, and Marie, Kayam deconstructs stereotypical categorization of race and class. The younger generation of *priyayi* is depicted as marrying into a social group often regarded as subaltern class, the Indonesian Chinese, and enemy of the Islamist, the Jewish. (Confusing ideas. Restate for clarity.)

As opposed to Kayam's re-imagination of racial equality (Meaning? As Opposed to what?), the subalternity of the Indonesian Chinese is demonstrated by their being marginalized from the government positions and some other discriminatory measures, especially during the New Order.⁵ Several incidents involving racial riots in 1970s, 1980s and 1990s indicate that social dissatisfaction against the government was often deflected towards the Chinese Indonesians.⁶ They were often used as a target of racial antagonism to divert people's anger and disappointment about the lack of social and economic progress away from the government. They were also barred from pursuing their career as civil servant and in military services. During the Jakarta pogrom in May 1998, many Chinese

⁵ For a comprehensive analysis of the discrimination against the Chinese Indonesian during the New Order era, see Charles A. Coppel's *Studying Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia* (Coppel, 2002), especially chapter 1. Analysis of this issue can also be seen in articles by Frans H. Winarta (Winarta, 2004), "Racial Discrimination in the Indonesian Legal System: Ethnic Chinese and Nation-Building" and A. Dahana (Dahana, 2004), "Pri and Non-Pri Relations in the Reform Era: A Pribumi's Perspective."

⁶ See for example the article by Ingrid Wessel (Wessel, 2001), "The Politics of Violence in New Order Indonesia in the Last Decade of the 20th Century."

Indonesians had to flee abroad.⁷ In the novel this discriminatory treatment is identified by

Harimurti:

Di atas kertas mereka sama haknya dengan kami, apa yang disebut pribumi. Tapi, dalam praktek, hak mereka tidak sepenuhnya dilindungi.

....

Mereka ini, keturunan Cina kita ini, mungkin nasibnya masih seperti Yahudi jaman dahulu. Di mana-mana diburu-buru, dipojokkan, diperas, dikurangi haknya (Kayam, 1999, p. 144).

Theoretically they [the Chinese] have the same rights as us, indigenous. But in reality their rights are not protected.

....

These Chinese Indonesians' fate is similar to the Jews in the past. They are everywhere hunted, cornered, blackmailed and their rights are violated.

In the novel, the unfavourable discriminatory (discriminatory?) attitude to the Chinese is also depicted in Tommi's character. (Vague. Did you mean his depiction as a character? Description?) He expresses his strong opposition to his Anna's, his daughter, marrying a Chinese boy:

Kalian tahu, saudara-saudaraku, nama Handoyo itu sebenarnya? Han Swie Kun! Coba, adik-adikku, darah Sastrodarsono mau dicampur dengan darah Han Swie Kun. Apa tidak kacau nanti! (Kayam, 1999, p. 78)

Ini soal darah cucu-cucu saya nanti, Hari. Saya tidak mau kalau darah priyayi Sastrodarsono, ditambah darah pejuang angkatan '45 Nugroho, lantas tercampur dengan darah Cina. (Kayam, 1999, p. 83)

Do you know what Handoyo's real name is? Han Swie Kun! Imagine brothers, Sastrodarsono's blood will mix with Han Swie Kun's. What a mess!

This is about my grandchildren's blood, Hari. I don't want Sastrodarsono's Priyayi blood and Nugroho's warrior blood gets mixed with the Chinese blood.

⁷ John T. Sidel (2007, pp. 1-2) mentions that "In May of that year, simultaneous rioting in Jakarta and such cities as Solo, Medan, and Palembang led to the destruction of hundreds of Chinese business establishments, the rape of dozens of Chinese women, and the deaths of more than one thousand people in Jakarta alone.

Despite Tommi's leaving behind the ideals of *priyayi-hood*, he still holds the ~~orthodox~~ dominant (dominant?) view on the purity of a *Priyayi* biological identity by challenging his daughter's decision to marry a Chinese Indonesian. Kayam's criticism of this racist attitude is of course clearly depicted in his characterization of the Chinese character as embodying true *priyayi* values.

While the Chinese is relegated to second class citizenship in post-independent Indonesia, the Jewish figures in Kayam's last novel, *Jalan Menikung*, are seen in enmity by the *Priyayi* characters whose religious affiliation is more to Islamic identity. Paradoxically, Kayam configures the Jewish characters without racist sentiment. Generally postcolonial literature highlights the consequences of the unequal social positioning of people who are identified as belonging to different races, especially in an inter-racial marriage, because the experience of colonialism highlights the perceived markers of difference. When Eko in *Jalan Menikung* is hosted by the Levins, a Jewish American family, during his U.S. study there is no indication of such a colonial or postcolonial component in his reception. Although Claire, their only daughter, also stays at the same house, they do not hesitate to host Eko. Claire seems to enjoy Eko's company and even falls in love with him. When finally Eko and Claire express their intention to get married, Claire's parents also accept this without reservations.

A very different reaction is seen from the Javanese family's side. Upon receiving a telegram informing them of their son's wedding plan, they, especially Sulistianingsih, the mother, feel offended:

Anak ini sudah luntur, hilang tata karma Indonesianya. Sudah jadi orang Amerika apa? Kalau orang-orang tua kita itu masih ada, oooh akan bagaimana mereka! Melihat cucunya kawin dengan orang asing, Yahudi lagi! (Kayam, 1999, p. 38)

This kid has lost his Indonesian politeness. Has he become an American? I couldn't imagine how our ancestors would have reacted: their grandchild is marrying a foreigner, a Jew!

Firstly, the fact that Eko does not consult his family in deciding his future wife is considered impolite. Secondly, the fact that Claire is Jewish complicates ~~the problem~~ his marriage (what problem?). As we notice in Kayam's stories, such as "Sri Sumarah", "Bawuk", and *Para Priyayi*, typically a *Priyayi*'s purity is maintained by marriage between two *Priyayi* descendants and is usually arranged. This is the case for Sastrodarsono and his children, whose marriage was arranged by their parents. (Unclear: example of what?) A further complication is that ~~with this twist in the plot of the novel~~ (How is it a twist in the plot?) With this interracial marriage, Kayam explicitly engages with the supposedly traditional enmity between Islamists and Jews in the context of Java and Indonesia's growing involvement in world politics. Perhaps it is because Harimusti's family has adopted a stronger Islamic political identity that this enmity leaves its traces in his mother's worries:

"Eko mau disuruh jadi Yahudi? No way! Tak usah, ya! Paling-paling yang cocok dengan mereka, kita sama-sama mengharamkan daging babi. Tapi masuk agama Yahudi?" (Kayam, 1999, p. 39)

"They want Eko to be a Jew? No way! Out of the question! Our only common ground is that both religions forbid us to eat pork. But becoming a Jew?"

Kayam situates this antagonism in a Javanese postcolonial context. In this context the West is ~~pluralized~~—seen not as a single entity such as White European (Pluralized in

what sense?) but it includes the American Jews that Eko's mother detests. If in colonial times the Javanese alignment with the Dutch was considered favourable, in post-independence times Eko's alignment with the Jewish family is seen as a big problem by this Priyayi family. Their stronger Islamic identity as *Priyayi Islam* rather than *Priyayi abangan* (which would be more syncretistic and tolerant) (In what sense is it more syncretic and tolerant?) has made them oppose Jewish identity vehemently.

Kayam offers a different perspective amid this enmity. His stories seem to suggest that despite ~~their~~ (who?) the ubiquitous racial and religious sentiment among the Muslims there are some common grounds on which his characters negotiate their comfort zones. In this case, Kayam universalises extends Priyayi values by going beyond class and race. ("Universalizes," how?) An American immigrant writer, such as Tahira Naqvi, has explored the similarity between Muslims and Jews in his short story "Thank God for the Jews." Kayam, who might have read the story, also describes the ~~melting-pot~~ common ground (common ground?) that the two faiths share. Kosher for the Jews and halal for the Muslims refer to dietary laws in accordance with their scriptures. The characters in Naqvi's fiction thank the Jews because they believe that kosher meat in Jewish stores is halal due to similar slaughter method prescribed by Islamic scripture. (Please restate this. Idea is unclear.) Kayam also explores the similarities between Islam and Judaism in this last novel:

"Kau itu, Alan, sering membingungkan saya. Seakan pastrami kosher atau tidak kosher itu jadi persoalan penting betul buat kamu."

"Iya, dong. Saya kan orang Yahudi. Sebentar lagi kau juga jadi menantu orang Yahudi. Penting dong kosher itu. Seperti agama Islam, kan? Halal!" (Kayam, 1999, p. 64)

"Alan, you have often puzzled me. You act as if whether or not the pastrami were kosher an important issue for you."

"Of course, it is important. I am Jewish. You will soon marry a Jewish girl. Kosher is definitely important. Just like in Islam: *Halal!*"

Kayam also portrays another shared belief in that the Jews and Muslims consider circumcision as an important religious observance as reflected in the dialogue between Eko and Claire:

"Kenapa pada hari perkawinan kita, kita bicara soal sunat?"

"Entahlah. Mungkin karena saya semakin mantap Islam dan Yahudi banyak persamaannya."

"Karena agama-agama kita sama-sama mengharuskan laki-laki sunat dan sama-sama mengharamkan daging babi dan memotong leher ayam harus sampai mengucurkan darah dan menodainya?" (Kayam, 1999, p. 75)

"Why do you talk about circumcision in our wedding day?"

"I don't know. Perhaps because I am getting more convinced that Islam and Judaism have a lot in common."

"Because our religions require men to be circumcised and forbid eating pork and stipulate that when slaughtering chickens we have to shed their blood?"

As the novel progresses Kayam constructs a typically Javanese mystical thought, namely that underneath religious differences there is a similar principle, i.e. the need to be aware of the differences between good and evil. By disregarding ~~the superficial~~ (in what sense "superficial"?) outer religious and racial differences, Eko's marriage with a Jewish American challenges revises (How did the revision happen in the novel?) his ancestors' idea of racial and religious purity. An Islamic identification that is still a strong part of the family up to the third generation represented by Kayam is reinterpreted in a characteristically Javanese mystical way by the fourth generation. Javanese mysticism is

more adaptive to new influences than many other religious formations and this helps Eko to become a cultural commuter. Eko welcomes different religion as part of himself represented by his Jewish wife without qualm since he feels comfortable relating with Jewish values while still embracing his version of Islam. (How is it more “adaptive”? How is this shown in the novel?) Ashcroft (2001, p. 207) notes that “the paradox of global culture is that it makes itself ‘at home’ in motion rather than in place.” (Explain this quote a little bit in relation to your literary analysis so far.) Eko as a global citizen does not have to rely on his origin, neither geographical, cultural, nor even religious to feel at home. In fact, his geographical home has refused him due to his father’s involvement in the banned Communist Party. His exilic life and his interracial marriage have taught him to be home in motion, unlike his *priyayi* relatives who prefer to settle in Java to make them at home.

Eko is also depicted by Kayam as a *Priyayi* figure who sees the familial bond in different way – the kind of bond in which individualism is more prominent than collectivism. He is adopting the American concept of being a responsible adult to whom individualism is more valued than the familial bond:

Kemudian, kalau sudah tamat, apalagi sudah mencapai umur dewasa, mereka harus bertanggung jawab kepada dirinya sendiri. Anak itu sudah harus mandiri. Dia juga sudah menjadi “merdeka”. Dan Orang tua, apalagi keluarga besar, tidak akan menuntut janji apa-apa dari anak-anaknya. Hidup dijalani sendiri. (Kayam, 1999, p. 22).

After graduation, especially if he is an adult, he has to be responsible for his own life. He has to be independent. He also becomes “free”. And his parents, moreover his extended family, will not ask for anything from their child. Life has to be lived alone.”

This is clearly seen in his marriage procedure that does not comply with traditional *Priyayi* standards anymore. He marries a Jewish American in a civil ceremony without seeking the advice of his extended family in contrast to the traditional practice upheld by the Sastrodarsono's extended family ~~at some cost~~. (What do you mean by "at some cost"?) Kayam portrays Harimurti's family as the first to set Eko free from familial and class bond. ~~Eko's universalism freedom from is achieved through individualism~~. (How is "universalism" relevant to the point you're making her? I think I'd better omit the whole sentence) Indeed in the novel Kayam seems to argue that collectivism emphasising harmony and kinship in the Javanese culture has become potentially corrupting when set against an international background. The figuration of wealthy but corrupt priyayi, like Tomi, thriving in the young republic is contrasted with Eko who is ostracized by his state merely because his father's past involvement with the cultural organ of the Communist party. (How does he argue this point in the novel?)

In a discussion hosted by the *Kompas* daily in 1986, Kayam points out two important traditional values potentially corrupting Indonesian minds, namely *keharmonisan* (harmony) and *kekeluargaan* (kinship, 'cronyism')⁸. These aspects of Javanese wisdom were not evil in themselves but when wrongly enacted, can be shown to be a fertile source of economic and political corruption. In the same forum, Kayam also critically reassessed some Javanese ascetic practices, such as sleeping on the floor and fasting, and concluded that such practices were often motivated by greed desire for wealth: to be rich therefore able to live in luxury (How is this being greed? Unclear. In this context, the ascetic practices are considered an temporary opportunistic (opportunistic?) laku, practice,

⁸ Reported in *Kompas* daily (Kristanto & Krastawan, 1986): "*Harmoni Sumber Kemandulan*" (Harmony as the root of the problem).

to gain a strong financial, social or political position for himself or his descendants. As such, Kayam calls this uncritical reverence for the traditional values of one's own culture damaging to the nation "*kompleks narsisme budaya*" (cultural narcissism complex) (dn/efix, 1986).

In the novel, this unthinking reverence for traditional values has led the Javanese to blame the Chinese for the economic inequality social gap (between classes?) that this postcolonial state has created:

Salah mereka karena mereka bekerja keras lebih dari bangsaku dan sering jauh lebih berhasil, yang menerbitkan rasa cemburu bangsaku yang lebih malas, mau enak-enak saja, mau memetik hasil kerja keras keturunan Cina itu (Kayam, 1999, pp. 114-115).

It was their [the Indonesian Chinese] own fault because they worked harder and were much more successful than my people. This incited jealousy. My people were lazier, never worked hard and just wanted to reap what the Chinese had struggled for.

This auto-criticism that Kayam expresses through *Jalan Menikung* makes it clear that the *Priyayi* racial prejudice against the subaltern classes is unfounded since the Chinese work harder than the *priyayi* ("Unfounded" in what sense? Why?). Against the stereotypical image (What is the stereotypical; image of the Chinese Indonesians?) of stingy Chinese Indonesians, Kayam presents the reverse. Anna's Chinese husband, Boy, for instance, is described as "*pintar, cerdas, tidak sok, baik hati, rendah hati, simpatik*" (clever, smart, not vain, kind, humble and sympathetic) (79). Against Contrary to (Contrary to?Unlike?) the anti-Semitic sentiment Kayam presents the Levins as compassionate and kind. They do not see their daughter's relation with a Javanese boy with racial prejudice

By putting forward compassionate Jewish characters ~~this issue~~, (What issue?) Kayam posits that the quality of *priyayi-hood* is not and should not be determined by racial, religious or class identity but by inner qualities of restraint and selfless service for the people, as represented by young Harimurti, the Levins, and Boy. (How is this depicted in the novel?) With these interracial marriages, Anna with the Chinese and Eko with the Jew, (how many?) the novel argues that the quality of *priyayi-hood* is not only found in the Javanese *Priyayi* but is also found in other races, such Boy the kind hearted Chinese and the Levins – the compassionate Jews. (Such as? Mention a key example here) Consequently, individual qualities are more important than class and racial identity.

Conclusion

The absurdity of rigid racial and class categories (“Failure of living”? Unclear.) is enacted in Kayam’s Gestapu stories *Jalan Menikung*. Faced with an authoritarian and corrupt state system, the only options that appear to be left to Kayam’s ethnocentric characters are to join the corrupt system and thrive, or refuse the system and perish. These works of fiction show in different ways how the ‘third space’ envisaged by Bhabha (2002) emerges in Indonesia not as a progressive reconstruction of the site of postcolonial politics, but as a failure to find a moral center for the emergent nation. While refusing the fluidity of class and racial categories, the essentialist *Priyayi* figures manipulate the third space as a site for corrupt attitudes, providing them with material prosperity. On the contrary, the compassionate *Priyayi* characters are deprived of their rights ~~do not have a room to raise their concerns~~ (Unclear: Are deprived of the right? Yes!) and have to be ostracized for their postmodern outlook, viewing racial and class categories as fluid. (Very important for your conclusion: How is this fluidity depicted in the works of fiction, how

would you characterize such “fluidity”? And what is the significance of such fluidity? This is important to articulate clearly as you conclude your paper.)

The fluidity of *priyayi-hood* in *Jalan Menikung* goes beyond racial and national borders. The novel reveals that ~~the Javanese and the state Indonesia~~ (Who?) have failed to revitalize *Priyayi* values ~~to empower the postcolonial state, marked by their failure to re-interpret *priyayihood* in a supposedly democratic system.~~ (How could have the *Priyayi* values revitalized the postcolonial state?) Refuting the chauvinistic discourse of the Javanese *Priyayi*, the novel presents a universal wider (This word needs to be defined earlier so as not to confuse the reader.) view that the values initially seen as particularly Javanese are also found in the so-called subaltern groups. The Jewish and the Indonesian Chinese figures are presented as embodying *Priyayi* values that the Javanese characters fail to uphold ~~sustain~~ (Find a more apt word.) . The characters of Alan Barnstein, Claire and the Levins portray the friendly and welcoming side ~~of the American West~~ (“The West” in general?). The stereotype of selfish and money-oriented Indonesian Chinese ~~is deconstructed depicted the other way around~~ (Vague. Use a more precise expression.) in the figuration of Boy.

Jalan Menikung apparently presents Kayam’s reconstruction of ~~the liquidity of ideal *priyayi* values~~ (Explain this. Better if this is defined earlier in the paper.) with a special emphasis on the subaltern groups and individualism. This is apparent, for instance, when Kayam names the newborn Jewish-Javanese baby, Eko and Claire’s son, Solomon, who, in Kayam’s reckoning, is a universal character found in Torah, Bible and Quran. As such the identity of the traditional *Priyayi* is no longer important because global interaction has dissolved racial borders, ~~creating another space for the younger generations to inhabit.~~

This liquid identity is represented by Kayam as a peaceful site of existence though in reality it is still ~~rift~~ **rife** (rife?) with unequal power relations respective to race, gender and class. (This needs a proper concluding sentence.) Relevant research on the re-imagination of race and class categories in contemporary Indonesian context from other texts is much needed, especially with the current trend in Indonesian politics to deploy populist and sectarian rhetoric for political bargaining power.

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Short bio

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Reimagining the Fluidity of the Communist, Chinese, and Jews in Umar Kayam's

~~Stories~~Fiction

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Abstract

This article scrutinizes how Umar Kayam's ~~stories-fiction~~ reveals the logic underlying the New Order political legacy through the reproduction of the myth of ethnic purity and anti- communist discourse. It argues that Kayam's ~~storiesworks~~, especially "Musim Gugur Kembali di Connecticut" (Fall in Connecticut,) (1967), "Sri Sumarah" (1970), "Bawuk" (1973), ~~Para Priyayi (The Nobles,) (1992)~~, and his last novel ~~and Jalan Menikung (The Winding Road,) (1999)~~, reflect how that essentialist discourse has been deployed effectively in- ~~the~~ Indonesian political arena to induce- false consciousness. Kayam challenged this by offering a figuration of fluid identity ~~of in the his Communist~~ communist, Chinese, and Jewish characters. ~~The stories-texts~~ also signify the narrowing of Homi K. Bhabha's (2002) third space, leaving fewer ~~options courses for of action for Priyayi-priyayi (the Javanese nobles), action with the result that~~ corruption becomings the more prominent option. ~~The~~ third space envisaged by Bhabha (2002) emerges in Kayam's essentialist ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ characters not as a progressive reconstruction of the site of postcolonial politics, but as a failure to find a moral centre for the emergent nation.

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Commented [NHL5]: Will refer to "priyayi" and other social classes ("santri," "abangan,") in lowercase as it is not capitalized even in original Bahasa Indonesia texts in this article; italicized only on first instance or when used as term. Reverse if needed

Introduction

Comprising ~~of~~ more than 300 ethnic groups with a long history of colonization, Indonesia has been a site of endless contestation among local sultanates in colonial times and manipulation ~~for domination. Contestation among local sultanates in colonial time was~~ manipulated by the colonial machinery for easier control ~~of the colony~~. Social classes within ~~an~~ ethnic groups like Javanese ~~Noble—nobility~~ (*Priyayi priyayi*) and peasantry (*Abangan abangan*), had also been engineered to make the colonial machinery ry more effective and efficient at the cost of the lowest class, the peasantry.¹ In the post-war period, the New Order kept exploiting the diverse ethnic groups and social gaps for political hegemony through the exercise of power. Now in the supposedly more democratic Indonesia, it turns out that the myth of ethnic purity maintained by the colonial and New Order systems s has never really gone away. It has even exacerbated with the present political trend to exploit religious sentiment for votes s gathering-gathered in both local and national elections.

Authors of Indonesian literature and literary criticism have ~~be~~ come ~~en~~ used to being non-political, especially since 1965. A passing mention of political chaos involving the Indonesian Communist Party, like the one in Ahmad Tohari's *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* (1982), resulted in Tohari's being interrogated by the local military commander for days in 1986 (Nugroho, ~~2015~~). The military accused Tohari of communist membership just because he depicted an incident about the destruction of a village in a communist witch hunt. It is therefore interesting to see that some works problematizing incidents around 1965, such as Kayam's "Musim Gugur Kembali di Connecticut" (Fall in Connecticut, ~~1967~~), "Sri Sumarah" (1970), and "Bawuk" ~~-(1973)~~ got published without complication ~~in~~, although, at the time of publication, Indonesia already witnessed what Wijaya Herlambang (2014) calls the

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transformation from cultural violence to physical violence in a ~~Communist-communist~~ witch hunt. Kayam's position perceived as part of the New Order structure ~~(—~~ he has been a director general under ~~the~~ Soeharto presidency and a professor in a state university, Universitas Gadjah Mada) ~~—~~ might have helped the publication of the works, not to mention his euphemistic writing style in which he criticizes ~~Communism-communism~~ while sympathizing with the former communist figures. I will elaborate further ~~on~~ this paradox in the analysis.

As an insider of ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ class and New Order regime, Kayam's subject position as a fiction writer is unique. Born to a petty ~~p~~Priyayi family, Kayam is able to portray the supposedly rigid triadic category of this class critically as an insider. Through his ~~stories~~works, he deconstructs Clifford Geertz's triadic division of Javanese society of ~~Santrisantri~~, ~~Priyayipriyayi~~, and ~~Abangan-abangan~~ into a more liquid category whose boundaries often overlap not only among the three categories but also with the Chinese and the Jews, ~~the~~ race ~~category-categories~~ often viewed antagonistically. As an insider of the New Order regime, it is the fluidity of ~~Communist-communist~~ political grouping that Kayam negotiates through the ~~stories~~texts. These fictions show in different ways how the third space is ~~a~~ liquid categorization and the ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ class' failure to grasp its fluidity has turned them ~~into~~ figures without a moral centre for the emergent nation. In the following analysis, I ~~would~~ explore how Kayam's strategy of re-imagining ethnic and political categories for a more plural and egalitarian society through the figuration of his ~~Priyayi~~ ~~priyayi~~ characters.

Javanese Priyayi

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Priyayi is the Javanese term for Javanese nobility. Etymologically the term *Priyayi* *privayi* may have been derived from two Javanese words: *para* and *yayi*, meaning the younger brothers (of the king).² This etymological speculation is in line with Geertz's statement saying that *Priyayi* originally refers to "a man who could trace his ancestry back to the great semi-mythical kings of pre-colonial Java" (Geertz, 1964, p. 229). Two other dominant social groups in Java are the Moslem *Santri-santri* and the syncretic *Abanganabangan*.

The dominance of this tri-partite distinction is driven by Clifford Geertz's groundbreaking study of Javanese society in Mojokuto from 1953 to 1954, published as *Religion of Java* in 1960, which categorized the Javanese into three typologies: syncretistic *Abanganabangan*, Muslim-Moslem *Santrisantri*, and *Priyayipriyayi*. Geertz bases his grouping on people's occupations and religious systems of values. Based on their occupation, *Abanganabangan*, *Santri-santri*, and *Priyayi-priyayi* are understood as Java's peasantry, traders, and gentry, respectively (Geertz, 1960, pp. 228-229). Mapped onto religious structures, the *Abanganabangan* believe in a combination of animism and some imported values derived from Hinduism and Islam; the *Santri-santri* adhere to the orthodoxy and orthopraxy of Islam more rigorously; while the *Priyayipriyayi*, by contrast, although adopting Hinduism like *Abanganabangan*, do so in a more subtle way (Geertz, 1960, pp. 234-235).

Three periods of Indonesian history are crucial to understanding the development of the social status of the *Priyayi-priyayi* in the colonial period and after independence as reflected in Kayam's works, namely the context of colonialism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, marked by the beginning of the processes of modernization in the Dutch

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East Indies; the struggle for Indonesian independence after the Japanese defeat in 1945; and the effects of 1965, the year of the abortive ~~Communist~~communist coup of September 30th, ~~also~~ known as *Gestapu*³ and *Gestok*, leading to the eventual rise to power of Soeharto and his New Order. Kayam's figuration of ~~Priyayi~~priyayi class is marked with ambivalence between refuting essentialism and accepting a new political and racial configuration. His textual strategy is seen in his figuration of *priyayi-hood* beyond political and racial category in the ~~Priyayi~~priyayi protagonists who engage personally with the demonised ~~Communist~~communists, Chinese, and Jews with compassion.

The Communist

Kayam's complex relationship to the 1965 events is reflected in his ~~Gestapu~~⁴ ~~stories~~texts. Kayam works relating to the ~~Gestapu~~ events in 1965 are "Musim Gugur Kembali ke Connecticut" ("Fall in Connecticut," (1967), "Bawuk" (1970), "Sri Sumarah" (1973), and *Para Priyayi* (*The Nobles*, 1992). The ~~collection of the the stories~~ was~~were~~ translated in English by Harry Aveling in a collection of short stories titled *Sri Sumarah and other Stories* (1976), whereas *Para Priyayi* was translated in English by Vladislav Zhukov in *The Javanese Gentry* (2013). In this post-independence context, some of the ~~Priyayi~~priyayi characters in those narratives are involved in ~~Gestapu~~ events to various degrees and all main characters are accused of being members or former members of the Communist Party. Kayam relates his characters ~~(~~Sri Sumarah in "Sri Sumarah," Bawuk in "Bawuk," Tono in "Musim Gugur," and Harimurti in *Para Priyayi*,~~)~~ with~~to~~ the Communist Party with subtlety. They are connected to the ~~demonized~~demonised party and therefore have to suffer social ostracism

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because of their being associated with a communist family member or because of their past involvement in a communist organ despite the fact their involvement was driven by compassion for the suffering masses. This paradoxical juxtaposition, the ~~demonized~~ demonised Communist Party and compassionate characters, is Kayam's strategy to re-imagine the fluidity of the social categories, Priyayi-priyayi, Abangan-abangan, and Santri santri as postulated ~~in by Clifford Geertz in 's magnum opus~~ The Religion of Java (1960).

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Sri Sumarah and Bawuk are associated with Gestapu not because of their direct involvement in the Indonesian Communist Party, but their familial relationship with a Communist-communist figure. While in "Sri Sumarah", Sri's stigmatization as a Communist communist is because of her Communist-communist daughter (Tun) and son-in-law (Yos), in Bawuk's story, her ostracism is caused by marrying a Communist-communist cadre, Hassan, whose social status is below her Priyayi-priyayi class, Hassan. The failed coup in Jakarta has sent Hassan on the run since the Communist-communist cleansing sponsored by the Army-army under General Soeharto is not only conducted in Jakarta but also other smaller cities in Java and beyond. Bawuk refuses to stay put and decides to go underground in search of her fugitive husband. Kayam described ~~her~~ Bawuk's decision to marry Hassan and her stubbornness to accompany Hassan in hiding instead of seeking refuge in her extended Priyayi-priyayi family as the evidence of her solidarity for the common people who have been framed by the new regime and her support for their struggle for social justice:

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Tapi mas-mas, mbak-mbak, mamie-pappie, itulah dunia pilihanku. Dunia abangan yang bukan priyayi, dunia yang selalu resah dan gelisah, dunia yang penuh ilusi yang memang seringkali bisa indah sekali. (Kayam, 1975, p. 121)

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"But I chose his world, the world of the common people, a restless, anxious world, full of sometimes beautiful illusions." (Kayam, 1980, p. 81)

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Kayam describes both ~~Bawuk~~ and Sri Sumarah as ~~an~~-anachronistic figures of traditional Priyayi victimized by a sudden political shift in a modern setting in different ways.

If Bawuk's anachronism lies in her transgression of Priyayi decorum for the sake of social justice, Sri's anachronism evidences in her ambivalent status between *priyayi-hood* and common populace. In the opening of "Sri Sumarah," proper names are explicitly discussed as one of the defining features of the Priyayi, an issue that is also revisited by Kayam in *Para Priyayi*. 'Martokusumo,' the name that Sri Sumarah adopts after getting married (—since it is customary in Java to address a married woman with the husband's name)—is indicative of Priyayi status. The word 'kusumo' added to 'marto' signifies that her husband is descended from a Priyayi family, — a family with white-collar occupations in contrast to the common populace who sell their labor power for wages. The additional 'kusumo' differentiates him/her from other Martos, such as Martogrobak or Martoglinding, whose suffixes denote common people's occupations: —e.g., such as someone who pulls a cart (Kayam, 1975, p. 6). 'Kusumo' is considered more refined compared to 'grobak' or 'glinding' and suitable only for state officials, including teachers like Martokusumo himself. From this perspective, Sri Sumarah's nickname, Bu Guru Pijit (Mrs. Masseuse Teacher), a name she adopted after the death of her husband, sounds peculiar. Pijit or tukang pijit, masseuse, is a non-Priyayi occupation whereas guru, teacher, is a Priyayi one. This nickname signifies her hybrid and ambivalent position that she has transformed herself into a position located between the Priyayi and the working class because sudden political reposition in 1965 has made her a dangerous person contaminated with Communism.

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~~De facto, b~~By the end of the story Sri belongs to the exploited working class despite her ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ status. The defining features of ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ set in the beginning of the story are evaluated here. She is called *bu Martokusumo* because her late husband was a ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ by that name. ~~Now, but~~ when she becomes a professional masseuse her nickname is Bu Guru Pijit (Mrs. Masseuse Teacher). Sri is described as a ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ who is taken by surprise and victimized by ~~the~~ modern developments but somehow, the ~~Priyayi priyayi~~ values that have contributed to her downfall also make her able to survive in the changing situation. In a modern state, being a ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ without economic power and political position, like Sri, makes a person doomed to be a pariah. The ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ identity she has is now less clear-cut than that in the beginning. Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* (1994) talks about hybridity as being at the two places at the same time or being both but also none in the context of colonial assimilation, but in "Sri Sumarah" the hybrid identity is in the context of the complex Javanese transition from the post-independent state to the modern independent state where traditional values are challenged by modernity. Sri's consciousness is that of an elite ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ but the material reality of her life situates her among the common populace that has been *subalternized* by the government and the society due to her alleged association with the Communist Party. This assimilation or degradation of her status to that of the common populace blurs the borders between *Wong Cilik* (common people) and ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ that have been the justification for her choices in life. She becomes both and none of them. Her tenuous association with the Communist Party in fact has trapped her in a status which is even below or outside that of the common populace. She is a true subaltern as Gayatri Spivak defines it: a sexed subaltern who has no space from which she can speak (Spivak, 1988, p. 307). Not only does Sri have no space to speak, she is

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also silenced by the bigger narrative of the New Order state and by the remaining ~~Priyayi~~ ~~privayi~~ feudal expectations that believes ~~that~~ the powerful can do no wrong. Practically she loses her house, land, community, and the right to reclaim her identity as a full citizen of Javanese ~~Priyayi-privayi~~ descent, let alone as a modern Indonesian. She becomes, in a notorious Indonesian term, '*orang tidak bersih lingkungan*'-*lingkungan* ('a contaminated person'—because of one's relation with a communist) whose contamination is passed to her succeeding generations, a political strategy of the regime leading to what Ariel Heryanto (2006) call~~s~~ "the implosion of stigma." A person with such a label will have no access to economic resources, ~~political rights~~, and ~~to~~ government employment.

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This kind of economic, social, and political blacklisting imposed by the new regime befalls the other characters as well. Harimurti in *Para Priyayi* is fired from his office because of his past involvement in the Communist Party's cultural organ, LEKRA. Although Harimurti's activities in LEKRA ~~is~~ ~~are~~ motivated by compassion for the peasants and ideas for social justice, his membership in this ~~Communist~~ ~~communist~~ cultural organ has positioned him as the enemy of the state right after ~~the~~ 1965. Tono in "Musim Gugur" ~~has~~ ~~to~~ ~~is~~ faced ~~with a~~ similar end. His past membership in the Communist Scholars' organization and LEKRA is also driven by the desire to create a just state, a state that does not marginalize the poor and the peasants. Although he finally left both organizations, he is still considered dangerous and has led to his arrest by the ~~Army~~ ~~army~~.

Kayam portrays Bawuk, Tono, Harimurti, and Sri Sumarah in ways which signify the ~~Priyayi-privayi~~ class's failure to redefine itself in the face of this authoritarian regime. The ~~Priyayi~~ figures that transgress class boundaries have found themselves obsolete in the post-independence state. Kayam characterized them to look anachronistic in the new regime

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despite their high moral standards. - Characters' efforts to redefine *priyayi-hood* by crossing the borders between the ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ and the oppressed peasant have been manipulated by both the Communist Party and the New Order. Since their humanitarian motives are channeled and co-opted by both parties, consequently they become involuntary supporters of political agendas. When they finally try to clarify their involvement with the Communist Party, their voice becomes *subalternized* and hence unheard or misunderstood.

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Looking back at what constitutes the essence of *priyayi-hood* as formulated by Kayam in his previous novel *Para Priyayi*, that service for the "little ~~people-people~~" is precisely what Harimurti, Bawuk, and Tono strive to achieve. However, *priyayi-hood* also has other dimensions, ~~i.e.~~ authoritarianism and discrimination. It is ~~this-these~~ other dimensions that ~~is-are actually~~ adopted by the state and turned against the more humane aspects of *priyayi-hood* —as represented by Bawuk, Tono, Harimurti, and Sri Sumarah. The victory of authoritarianism and discrimination against alleged communists signifies the failure of the third space to be a transforming site. The official history of the ~~Communist-communist~~ coup written by the New Order regime provides no space for an alternative story without it being labelled treason against the state. Their figuration as compassionate characters sympathizing with the proletarian causes ~~has to meet~~ a tragic end. Such marginalization of ex-~~Communists-communists~~ and ~~his-their~~ descendants is contrasted with the basically good characters of the victims. This certainly raises a question why these Gestapu stories passed the censorship of the New Order regime that framed ~~Communists-communists~~ as traitors of the state.

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Kayam's sympathy for the Gestapu victims in his ~~stories-works~~ and the fact that ~~these stories~~ got published without censorship during the heyday of the New Order might be

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explained in several ways. On the formal level, in contrasting the compassionate figures and the demonized Communist Party, the narratives never question possible fabrication of the Gestapu official narrative and the multifaceted Marxist ideology, but take it for granted. It means that Kayam sympathizes with the victims, but not the Communist Party and Marxism. In depicting and sympathizing with the victims (Sri, Bawuk, Tono, and Harimurti), Kayam seems to argue that they have been manipulated by the Communist Party instead of the New Regime. In other words, the stories-texts accept the view that the Communist Party corrupts the people and that what happens after 1965 is the price they have to pay for choosing the malignant party. It is only within these boundaries, (i.e., the disproportionate sin and punishment on behalf of the tenderhearted victims manipulated by the Communist Party) that Kayam negotiates his disagreement against the state through the stories-texts. As for the unrepentant Communist-communist characters, such as Hassan and Yos, Kayam appears to agree that they deserve the punishment for their ideological belief. Kayam's particular sympathy of-for the repentant victims and his uncritical acceptance on the evil nature of Communism-communism and Marxism might have made the New Order Regime tolerate his stories-works.

The other possible reason why the regime took Kayam's stories-works lightly was because of his support for the New Order from its inception. Upon his return from the United States, he was appointed as the Director General of Radio, Television and Film, staying in the position until from 1966 until 1969. Until his death in Jakarta in 16th March 2002 he was active as Director-director in many significant positions such as at the Jakarta Art Council (1969–1972), the Centre of Social Sciences Training in–Universitas Hasanudin and Universitas Gadjah Mada (in 1975–1976 and 1977–1997, respectively). Pursuing his

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lifelong career as a civil servant under the regime must have earned the regime's strong confidence in Kayam's support despite his compassionate figuration of the 1965 victims.

The Chinese and the Jews

In *Jalan Menikung* Kayam generalises ~~Privayi~~ ~~privayi~~ values by including Chinese and Jewish American figures as major characters in his narrative. They are two social groups that have often experienced racism in part because of their successful business enterprises whilst being racial minorities in countries in which they are seen as outsiders (Chirot & Reid, 1997, p. 6). In Indonesia, discrimination against the Chinese has been going since the colonial times, part of a larger and more complex set of arguments about racial purity.⁴ Generally speaking, racial purity is a discourse commonly held by racial groups who believe that their racial identity possesses distinctive and higher quality features which are separable from those possessed by other racial groups. And it is a common discourse adopted by colonizing countries in order to sustain their colonial policy. In a colonial discourse in which purity is signified by skin colour, whiteness is seen as the sign that needs to be maintained. In colonial East Indies, the social pyramid was arranged with the White being at the top, the Chinese and Arabs in the middle, and the Javanese at the bottom of the structure. After independence, the discourse of racial purity has been reclaimed by the Javanese, positioning them as the most rightful citizens of the Republic while relegating the Chinese as the second-class citizens. The power structure has changed but the fate of the Chinese remains as manipulable exclusive minority (Rakindo, 1975, p. 126).

The position of the Indonesian Chinese during the New Order was problematical. On the one hand they benefited financially from cronyism and a corrupt system, but on the other

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hand they were stripped of their socio-cultural legacy—a situation that might be called as “ghettoization of citizen-Chinese—political exclusion and economic privilege” (Anderson, 1983, p. 491). Consequently, the very rich Chinese near the power centre were capable of influencing national economic policy while the less rich in the periphery had to cope with corrupt officials in order to improve their lot. Further, they were not allowed to retain their Chinese language and names but encouraged instead to adopt Indonesian names. Although they were recognized as Indonesian citizens (*Warga Negara Indonesia*—WNI) but it is with another qualifier: *keturunan*, hence WNI *keturunan*, meaning Indonesian citizen but non-native. The difficult political position of the Indonesian Chinese is explored by Kayam in his last novel, *Jalan Menikung*.

An inter-racial marriage in Kayam’s *Jalan Menikung* manifests itself in the fourth generation of Sastrodarsono’s family, with Anna marrying a Chinese Indonesian and Eko marrying a Jewish American. Their marriage is met with mixed feelings and even some degree of antagonism by their ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ parents. Tommi’s antagonism against Anna, her daughter, marrying a Chinese is similar to Noegroho’s antagonism against his daughter, Marie, marrying a peasant’s son. Through this inter-racial and inter-social class marriage parallel of these ~~pPriyayi~~ descendants, namely Eko, Anna, and Marie, Kayam offers a more fluid category of race and class because this younger generation of ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ is depicted as marrying into a social group often regarded as subaltern class, the Indonesian Chinese, and ~~enemy-enemies~~ of the Islamists, the Jewish.

In reality, the subalternity of the Indonesian Chinese is demonstrated by their being marginalized from ~~the~~ government positions and some other discriminatory measures, especially during the New Order.⁵ Several incidents involving racial riots in ~~the~~ 1970s, 1980s

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and 1990s indicate that social dissatisfaction against the government was often deflected towards the Chinese Indonesians.⁶ They were often used as a target of racial antagonism to divert people's anger and disappointment about the lack of social and economic progress away from the government. They were also barred from pursuing ~~their~~ careers in civil ~~servant~~ and military services. During the most recent incident, the Jakarta riot in May 1998, many Chinese Indonesians had to flee abroad.⁷ In the novel this discriminatory treatment is identified by Harimurti saying:

Di atas kertas mereka sama haknya dengan kami, apa yang disebut pribumi. Tapi, dalam praktek, hak mereka tidak sepenuhnya dilindungi. ...

Mereka ini, keturunan Cina kita ini, mungkin nasibnya masih seperti Yahudi jaman dahulu. Di mana-mana diburu-buru, dipojokkan, diperas, dikurangi haknya (Kayam, 1999, p. 144).

Theoretically they [the Chinese] have the same rights as us, indigenous. But in reality their rights are not protected. ...

These Chinese Indonesians' fate is similar to the Jews in the past. They are everywhere hunted, cornered, blackmailed and their rights are violated.

The unfavourable attitude to the Chinese is also depicted in Tommi's figuration. He expresses his strong opposition to his daughter, Anna, marrying a Chinese boy:

Kalian tahu, saudara-saudaraku, nama Handoyo itu sebenarnya? Han Swie Kun! Coba, adik-adikku, darah Sastrodarsono mau dicampur dengan darah Han Swie Kun. Apa tidak kacau nanti! (Kayam 78)

Ini soal darah cucu-cucu saya nanti, Hari. Saya tidak mau kalau darah priyayi Sastrodarsono, ditambah darah pejuang angkatan '45 Nugroho, lantas tercampur dengan darah Cina. (Kayam 83)

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Do you know what Handoyo's real name is? Han Swie_Kun! Imagine brothers, Sastrodarsono's blood will mix with Han Swie Kun's. What a mess!

This is about my grandchildren's blood, Hari. I don't want Sastrodarsono's ~~Priyayi~~ priyayi blood and Nugroho's warrior blood to get mixed with the Chinese blood.

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Despite Tommi's leaving behind the ideals of *priyayi-hood*, he still holds the orthodox view on the purity of a ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ biological identity by challenging his daughter's decision to marry a Chinese Indonesian. Kayam's criticism of this racist attitude is of course clearly depicted in his characterization of the Chinese character as embodying true ~~Priyayi~~ priyayi values.

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While the Chinese is relegated to second-class citizenship in post-independent Indonesia, the Jewish figures in Kayam's last novel, *Jalan Menikung*, are seen in enmity by the ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ characters whose religious affiliation is more to Islamic identity. Paradoxically, Kayam configures the Jewish characters without racist sentiment. Generally postcolonial literature highlights the consequences of the unequal social positioning of people who are identified as belonging to different races, especially in an inter-racial marriage, because the experience of colonialism highlights the perceived markers of difference. When Eko in *Jalan Menikung* is hosted by the Levins, a Jewish American family, during his U.S. ~~study-studies~~, there is no indication of such a colonial or postcolonial component in his reception. Although Claire, their only daughter, also stays at the same house, they do not hesitate to host Eko. Claire seems to enjoy Eko's company and even falls in love with him. When finally Eko and Claire express their intention to get married, Claire's parents also accept this without reservations.

A very different reaction is seen from the Javanese family's side. Upon receiving a telegram informing them of their son's wedding plans, they, especially Sulistianingsih, the mother, feel offended:

Anak ini sudah luntur, hilang tata karma Indonesianya. Sudah jadi orang Amerika apa? Kalau orang-orang tua kita itu masih ada, oooh akan bagaimana mereka! Melihat cucunya kawin dengan orang asing, Yahudi lagi! (Kayam 38)

This kid has lost his Indonesian politeness. Has he become an American? I couldn't imagine how our ancestors would have reacted: their grandchild is marrying a foreigner, a Jew!

The fact that Eko does not consult his family in deciding his future wife is considered impolite. Secondly, the fact that Claire is a Jewish complicates the problem. As we notice in Kayam's *storiesworks*, such as "Sri Sumarah", "Bawuk", and "Para Priyayi", typically a Priyayi's purity is maintained by marriage between two Priyayi descendants and is usually arranged. This is the case for Sastrodarsono and his children, for example.

A further complication is that with this twist in the plot of the novel Kayam explicitly engages with the supposedly traditional enmity between Islamists and Jews in the context of Java and Indonesia's growing involvement in world politics. Perhaps it is because Harimusti's family has adopted a stronger Islamic political identity that this enmity leaves its traces in his mother's worries:

"Eko mau disuruh jadi Yahudi? No way! Tak usah, ya! Paling-paling yang cocok dengan mereka, kita sama-sama mengharamkan daging babi. Tapi masuk agama Yahudi?" (Kayam 39)

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"They want Eko to be a Jew? No way! Out of the question! Our only common ground is that both religions forbid us to eat pork. But becoming a Jew?"

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Kayam situates this antagonism in a Javanese postcolonial context. In this context the West is pluralized to include the Jews that Eko's mother detests. If in colonial times the Javanese alignment with the Dutch was considered favourable, in post-independence times Eko's alignment with the Jewish family is seen as a big problem by this *pPriyayi* family. Their stronger Islamic identity as *pPriyayi Islam* rather than *pPriyayi abangan* (which would be more syncretistic and tolerant) has situated them in a position opposing Jewish identity vehemently.

Kayam offers a different perspective amid this enmity. His ~~stories-works~~ seem to suggest that despite their racial and religious sentiments there ~~are~~ is some common ground on which his characters negotiate their comfort zones. In this case, Kayam universalises *pPriyayi* values by going beyond class and race. An American immigrant writer, such as Tahira Navqi, has explored the similarity between Muslims and Jews in his short story "Thank God for the Jews." Kayam, who might have read the story, also describes the melting pot that the two faiths share. Kosher and *halal* are two similar categories to label certain food that is religiously edible:

"Kau itu, Alan, sering membingungkan saya. Seakan pastrami kosher atau tidak kosher itu jadi persoalan penting betul buat kamu."

"Iya, dong. Saya kan orang Yahudi. Sebentar lagi kau juga jadi menantu orang Yahudi. Penting dong kosher itu. Seperti agama Islam, kan? Halal!" (Kayam, 1999, p. 64)

"Alan, you have often puzzled me. You act as if whether or not the pastrami ~~were~~ was kosher was an important issue for you."

"Of course, it is important. I am Jewish. You will soon marry a Jewish girl. Kosher is definitely important. Just like in Islam: *Halal!*"

Kayam also portrays another shared belief in that the Jews and Muslims consider circumcision as an important religious observance as reflected in the dialogue between Eko and Claire:

*"Kenapa pada hari perkawinan kita, kita bicara soal sunat?"
"Entahlah. Mungkin karena saya semakin mantap Islam dan Yahudi banyak persamaannya."
"Karena agama-agama kita sama-sama mengharuskan laki-laki sunat dan sama-sama mengharamkan daging babi dan memotong leher ayam harus sampai mengucurkan darah dan menodainya?" (Kayam, 1999, p. 75)*

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*"Why do you talk about circumcision in our wedding day?"
"I don't know. Perhaps because I am getting more convinced that Islam and Judaism have a lot in common."
"Because our religions require men to be circumcised and forbid eating pork and stipulate that when slaughtering chickens we have to shed their blood?"*

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As the novel progresses Kayam constructs a typically Javanese mystical thought, namely that underneath religious differences there is a similar principle, (i.e., the need to be aware of the differences between good and evil). By disregarding the superficial religious and racial differences, Eko's marriage with a Jewish American revises his ancestors' idea of racial and religious purity. An Islamic identification that is still a strong part of the family up to the third generation represented by Kayam is reinterpreted in a characteristically Javanese mystical way by the fourth generation. Javanese mysticism is more adaptive to new influences than many other religious formations and this helps Eko to become a cultural commuter. Ashcroft (2001, p. 207) notes that "the paradox of global culture is that it makes itself 'at home' in motion rather than in place." Eko as a global citizen does not have to rely on his origin, neither geographical, cultural, nor even religious to feel at home. In fact his

geographical home has refused him due to his father's involvement in the banned Communist Party.

Eko is also depicted by Kayam as a Priyayi figure who sees the familial bond in a different way—the kind of bond in which individualism is more prominent than collectivism. He is adopting the American concept of being a responsible adult to whom individualism is more valued than the familial bond:

Kemudian, kalau sudah tamat, apalagi sudah mencapai umur dewasa, mereka harus bertanggung jawab kepada dirinya sendiri. Anak itu sudah harus mandiri. Dia juga sudah menjadi "merdeka". Dan Orang tua, apalagi keluarga besar, tidak akan menuntut janji apa-apa dari anak-anaknya. Hidup dijalani sendiri. (Kayam; 1999, p. 22).

After graduation, especially if he is an adult, he has to be responsible for his own life. He has to be independent. He also becomes "free." And his parents, moreover his extended family, will not ask for anything from their child. Life has to be lived alone."

This is clearly seen in his marriage procedure that does not comply with traditional Priyayi standards anymore. He marries a Jewish American in a civil ceremony without seeking the advice from his extended family—in contrast to the traditional practice upheld by the Sastrodarsono's extended family at some cost. Kayam portrays Harimurti's family as the first to set Eko free from familial and class bond. Eko's universalism is achieved through individualism. Indeed in the novel Kayam seems to argue that collectivism emphasising harmony and kinship in Javanese culture has become potentially corrupting when set against an international background.

In a discussion hosted by the *Kompas* daily in 1986, Kayam points out two important traditional values potentially corrupting Indonesian minds, namely *keharmonisan* (harmony) and *kekeluargaan* (kinship, "cronyism").⁸ These aspects of Javanese wisdom are

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not evil in themselves but when wrongly enacted, can be shown to be a fertile source of economic and political corruption. In the same forum, Kayam also critically reassesses some Javanese ascetic practices, such as sleeping on the floor and fasting, and concludes that such practices are often motivated by greed: to be rich therefore able to live in luxury. In this context, the ascetic practices are considered as a temporary *laku*, practice, to gain a strong financial, social, or political position for himself or his descendants. As such, uncritical reverence for the traditional values will only damage the nation. Kayam calls this uncritical reverence for one's own culture "*kompleks narsisme budaya*" (cultural narcissism complex) (dn/efix, 1986).

In the novel, this unthinking reverence for traditional values has led the Javanese to blaming-blame the Chinese for the social gap that this postcolonial state has created:

Salah mereka karena mereka bekerja keras lebih dari bangsaku dan sering jauh lebih berhasil, yang menerbitkan rasa cemburu bangsaku yang lebih malas, mau enak-enak saja, mau memetik hasil kerja keras keturunan Cina itu (Kayam, 1999, pp. 114–115).

It was their [the Indonesian Chinese] own fault because they worked harder and were much more successful than my people. This incited jealousy. My people were lazier, never worked hard and just wanted to reap what the Chinese had struggled for.

This auto-criticism that Kayam expresses through *Jalan Menikung* makes it clear that the Priyayi-priyayi racial prejudice against the subaltern classes is unfounded. Against the stereotypical image of Chinese Indonesians, Kayam presents the reverse. Anna's Chinese husband, Boy, for instance, is described as "*pintar, cerdas, tidak sok, baik hati, rendah hati, simpatik*" (clever, smart, not vain, kind, humble and sympathetic) (Kayam, 79). Against the anti-Semitic sentiment Kayam presents the Levins as compassionate and kind. They do not see their daughter's relation with a Javanese boy with racial prejudice.

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By putting forward this issue, Kayam proposes the idea that the quality of *priyayi-hood* is not and should not be determined by racial, religious, or class identity but by inner qualities of restraint and selfless service for the people. With these inter-racial marriages the novel argues that the quality of *priyayi-hood* is not only found in the Javanese *Priyayi-priyayi* but is also found in other races. Consequently, individual qualities are more important than class and racial identity.

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Conclusion

Failure of *to living* by rigid racial and class categories is enacted in Kayam's *Gestapu storiesfiction, especially Jalan Menikung*. Faced with an authoritarian and corrupt state system, the only options that appear to be left to Kayam's ethnocentric characters are to join the corrupt system and thrive, or refuse the system and perish. These *works of fictions* show in different ways how the "third *space-space*" envisaged by Bhabha (2002) emerges in Indonesia not as a progressive reconstruction of the site of postcolonial politics, but as a failure to find a moral center for the emergent nation. While refusing the fluidity of class and racial categories, the essentialist *Priyayi-priyayi* figures manipulate the third space as a site for corrupt attitudes, providing them with material prosperity, all while refusing the fluidity of class and racial categories. In contrastOn the contrary, the compassionate *Priyayi-priyayi* characters do not have a room to raise their concerns and have to be ostracized for their postmodern outlook, viewing racial and class categories as fluid.

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The fluidity of *priyayi-hood* in *Jalan Menikung* goes beyond racial and national borders. The novel reveals that the Javanese and Indonesia have failed to revitalize *Priyayi priyayi* values to empower the postcolonial state. Refuting the chauvinistic discourse of the Javanese *Priyayipriyayi*, the novel presents a universal view that the values initially seen as

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particularly Javanese are also found in the so-called subaltern groups. The Jewish and the Indonesian Chinese figures are presented as embodying ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ values that the Javanese characters fail to sustain. The characters of Alan Barnstein, Claire, and the Levins portray the friendly and welcoming side of the West. The stereotype of selfish and money-oriented Indonesian Chinese is depicted the other way around in the figuration of Boy.

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Jalan Menikung apparently presents Kayam's reconstruction of the liquidity of ideal values with a special emphasis on the subaltern groups and individualism. This is apparent, for instance, when Kayam names the newborn Jewish-Javanese baby ~~(Eko and Claire's son)~~ Solomon, who, in Kayam's reckoning, is a universal character found in Torah, Bible and Quran. As such the identity of the traditional ~~Priyayi-priyayi~~ is no longer important because global interaction has dissolved racial borders and always creates another space to inhabit by the younger generations. This liquid identity is represented by Kayam as a peaceful site of existence, though in reality it is still ~~high-rife~~ with unequal power relations respective to race, gender and class.

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Notes

1. Heather Sutherland elaborates this mechanism in "Pangreh Pradja: Java's Indigenous Administrative Corps and Its Role in the Last Decades of Dutch Colonial Rule" (1973).
2. See Kartodirdjo, Sudewo, and Hatmosuprobo, *Perkembangan Peradaban Priyayi* (1987, p. 3) and Sutherland, "Pangreh Pradja" (1975, p. 57).
3. Gestapu refers to the failed *coup d'état* staged by a group that called themselves Gerakan Tigapuluh September (the 30th September Movements, referring to the date of their action), allegedly masterminded by the Communist Party. Broadcasting an official statement the next morning at 7:20 a.m. through the Indonesia national radio broadcaster, RRI, the group announced that they had arrested a number of generals who had been planning themselves to carry out a coup ~~-d'état~~ on October 5th under the code name of Dewan Jenderal (the Generals Council). It turned out that by the time of the broadcast they had killed six top army

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generals and one adjutant. The army under General Soeharto soon suppressed the coup and had the leaders of the Gestapu jailed or killed.

4. See for instance John T. Sidel (2007) pp. 20--24.

5. For a comprehensive analysis of the discrimination against the Chinese Indonesian during the New Order era, see Charles A. Coppel's *Studying Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia* (2002), especially chapter 1. Analysis of this issue can also be seen in articles by Frans H. Winarta (2004), "Racial Discrimination in the Indonesian Legal System: Ethnic Chinese and Nation-Building" (2004) and A. Dahana (2004), "Pri and Non-Pri Relations in the Reform Era: A Pribumi's Perspective." (2004).

6. See for example the article by Ingrid Wessel (2001), "The Politics of Violence in New Order Indonesia in the Last Decade of the 20th Century." (2001).

7. John T. Sidel (1-2) mentions that "In May of that year, simultaneous rioting in Jakarta and such cities as Solo, Medan, and Palembang led to the destruction of hundreds of Chinese business establishments, the rape of dozens of Chinese women, and the deaths of more than one thousand people in Jakarta alone."

8. Reported in *Kompas-daily* (Kristanto and Krastawan, 1986): "Harmoni Sumber Kemandulan" (Harmony as the root of the problem. 1986).

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Short bio

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REIMAGINING THE FLUIDITY OF THE COMMUNIST, CHINESE, AND JEWS IN UMAR KAYAM'S FICTION

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Abstract

This article scrutinizes how Umar Kayam's fiction reveals the logic underlying the New Order political legacy through the reproduction of the myth of ethnic purity and anti-communist discourse. It argues that Kayam's works, especially "Musim Gugur Kembali di Connecticut" (Fall in Connecticut, 1967), "Sri Sumarah" (1970), "Bawuk" (1973), *Para Priyayi* (*The Nobles*, 1992), and his last novel *Jalan Menikung* (*The Winding Road*, 1999), reflect how that essentialist discourse has been deployed effectively in the Indonesian political arena to induce false consciousness. Kayam challenged this by offering a figuration of fluid identity in his communist, Chinese, and Jewish characters. The texts also signify the narrowing of Homi K. Bhabha's (2002) third space, leaving fewer courses of action for *priyayi* (Javanese nobles), with corruption becoming the more prominent option. The third space envisaged by Bhabha emerges in Kayam's essentialist *priyayi* characters not as a progressive reconstruction of the site of postcolonial politics, but as a failure to find a moral centre for the emergent nation.

Keywords

About the Author

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INTRODUCTION

Comprising more than 300 ethnic groups with a long history of colonization, Indonesia has been a site of endless contestation among local sultanates in colonial times and manipulation by the colonial machinery for easier control. Social classes within ethnic groups like Javanese nobility (*priyayi*) and peasantry (*abangan*), had also been engineered to make the colonial machinery more effective and efficient at the cost of the lowest class, the peasantry.¹ In the postwar period, the New Order kept exploiting the diverse ethnic groups and social gaps for political hegemony through the exercise of power. Now in the supposedly more democratic Indonesia, it turns out that the myth of ethnic purity maintained by the colonial and New Order systems has never really gone away. It has even exacerbated with the present political trend to exploit religious sentiment for votes gathered in both local and national elections.

Authors of Indonesian literature and literary criticism have become used to being non-political, especially since 1965. A passing mention of political chaos involving the Indonesian Communist Party, like the one in Ahmad Tohari's *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* (1982), resulted in Tohari's being interrogated by the local military commander for days in 1986 (Nugroho). The military accused Tohari of communist membership just because he depicted an incident about the destruction of a village in a communist witch hunt. It is therefore interesting to see that some works problematizing incidents around 1965, such as Kayam's "Musim Gugur Kembali di Connecticut" (Fall in Connecticut, 1967), "Sri Sumarah" (1970), and "Bawuk" (1973) got published without complication, although at the time of publication Indonesia already witnessed what Wijaya Herlambang (2014) calls the transformation from cultural violence to physical violence in a communist witch hunt. Kayam's position perceived as part of the New Order structure (he has been a director general under the Soeharto presidency and a professor in a state university, Universitas Gadjah Mada) might have helped the publication of the works, not to mention his euphemistic writing style in which he criticizes communism while sympathizing with the former communist figures. I will elaborate further on this paradox in the analysis.

As an insider of *priyayi* class and New Order regime, Kayam's subject position as a fiction writer is unique. Born to a petty *priyayi* family, Kayam is able to portray the supposedly rigid triadic category of this class critically as an insider. Through his works, he deconstructs Clifford Geertz's triadic division of Javanese society of *santri*, *priyayi*, and *abangan* into a more liquid category whose boundaries often overlap not only among the three categories but also with the Chinese and the Jews, race categories often viewed antagonistically. As an insider of the New Order regime, it is the fluidity of communist political grouping that Kayam negotiates

through the texts. These fictions show in different ways how the third space is a liquid categorization and the priyayi class' failure to grasp its fluidity has turned them into figures without a moral centre for the emergent nation. In the following analysis, I explore how Kayam's strategy of re-imagining ethnic and political categories for a more plural and egalitarian society through the figuration of his priyayi characters.

JAVANESE PRIYAYI

Priyayi is the Javanese term for Javanese nobility. Etymologically the term *priyayi* may have been derived from two Javanese words: *para* and *yayi*, meaning the younger brothers (of the king).² This etymological speculation is in line with Geertz's statement saying that Priyayi originally refers to "a man who could trace his ancestry back to the great semi-mythical kings of pre-colonial Java" (Geertz 229). Two other dominant social groups in Java are the Moslem santri and the syncretic abangan.

The dominance of this tripartite distinction is driven by Clifford Geertz's groundbreaking study of Javanese society in Mojokuto from 1953 to 1954, published as *Religion of Java* in 1960, which categorized the Javanese into three typologies: syncretistic abangan, Moslem santri, and priyayi. Geertz bases his grouping on people's occupations and religious systems of values. Based on their occupation, abangan, santri, and priyayi are understood as Java's peasantry, traders, and gentry, respectively (Geertz 228–229). Mapped onto religious structures, the abangan believe in a combination of animism and some imported values derived from Hinduism and Islam; the santri adhere to the orthodoxy and orthopraxy of Islam more rigorously; while the priyayi, by contrast, although adopting Hinduism like abangan, do so in a more subtle way (Geertz 234–235).

Three periods of Indonesian history are crucial to understanding the development of the social status of the priyayi in the colonial period and after independence as reflected in Kayam's works, namely the context of colonialism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, marked by the beginning of the processes of modernization in the Dutch East Indies; the struggle for Indonesian independence after the Japanese defeat in 1945; and the effects of 1965, the year of the abortive communist coup of September 30th known as *Gestapu*³ and *Gestok*, leading to the eventual rise to power of Soeharto and his New Order. Kayam's figuration of priyayi class is marked with ambivalence between refuting essentialism and accepting a new political and racial configuration. His textual strategy is seen in his figuration of *priyayi-hood* beyond political and racial category in the priyayi protagonists

who engage personally with the demonised communists, Chinese, and Jews with compassion.

THE COMMUNIST

Kayam's complex relationship to the 1965 events is reflected in his Gestapu texts. Kayam works relating to the Gestapu events in 1965 are "Musim Gugur Kembali ke Connecticut" (Fall in Connecticut, 1967), "Bawuk" (1970), "Sri Sumarah" (1973), and *Para Priyayi* (The Nobles, 1992). The stories were translated in English by Harry Aveling in a collection of short stories titled *Sri Sumarah and other Stories* (1976), whereas *Para Priyayi* was translated in English by Vladislav Zhukov in *The Javanese Gentry* (2013). In this post-independence context, some of the priyayi characters in those narratives are involved in Gestapu events to various degrees and all main characters are accused of being members or former members of the Communist Party. Kayam relates his characters (Sri Sumarah in "Sri Sumarah," Bawuk in "Bawuk," Tono in "Musim Gugur," and Harimurti in *Para Priyayi*) to the Communist Party with subtlety. They are connected to the demonised party and therefore have to suffer social ostracism because of their being associated with a communist family member or because of their past involvement in a communist organ despite the fact their involvement was driven by compassion for the suffering masses. This paradoxical juxtaposition, the demonised Communist Party and compassionate characters, is Kayam's strategy to re-imagine the fluidity of the social categories priyayi, abangan, and santri as postulated by Geertz in *The Religion of Java* (1960).

Sri Sumarah and Bawuk are associated with Gestapu not because of their direct involvement in the Indonesian Communist Party, but their familial relationship with a communist figure. While in "Sri Sumarah" Sri's stigmatization as a communist is because of her communist daughter (Tun) and son-in-law (Yos), in Bawuk's story her ostracism is caused by marrying a communist cadre, Hassan, whose social status is below her priyayi class. The failed coup in Jakarta has sent Hassan on the run since the communist cleansing sponsored by the army under General Soeharto is not only conducted in Jakarta but also other smaller cities in Java and beyond. Bawuk refuses to stay put and decides to go underground in search of her fugitive husband. Kayam described Bawuk's decision to marry Hassan and her stubbornness to accompany Hassan in hiding instead of seeking refuge in her extended priyayi family as the evidence of her solidarity for the common people who have been framed by the new regime and her support for their struggle for social justice:

Tapi mas-mas, mbak-mbak, mammie-pappie, itulah dunia pilihanku. Dunia abangan yang bukan priyayi, dunia yang selalu resah dan gelisah, dunia yang penuh ilusi yang memang seringkali bisa indah sekali. (Kayam, 1975, p. 121)

“But I chose his world, the world of the common people, a restless, anxious world, full of sometimes beautiful illusions.” (Kayam, 1980, p. 81)

Kayam describes both Bawuk and Sri Sumarah as anachronistic figures of traditional priyayi victimized by a sudden political shift in a modern setting in different ways. If Bawuk’s anachronism lies in her transgression of priyayi decorum for the sake of social justice, Sri’s anachronism evidences in her ambivalent status between *priyayi-hood* and common populace. In the opening of “Sri Sumarah,” proper names are explicitly discussed as one of the defining features of the priyayi, an issue that is also revisited by Kayam in *Para Priyayi*. Martokusumo, the name that Sri Sumarah adopts after getting married (since it is customary in Java to address a married woman with the husband’s name) is indicative of priyayi status. The word *kusumo* added to *marto* signifies that her husband is descended from a priyayi family, a family with white-collar occupations in contrast to the common populace who sell their labor power for wages. The additional *kusumo* differentiates her from other Martos, such as Martogrobak or Martoglinding, whose suffixes denote common people’s occupations, such as someone who pulls a cart (Kayam 6). *Kusumo* is considered more refined compared to *grobak* or *glinding* and suitable only for state officials, including teachers like Martokusumo himself. From this perspective, Sri Sumarah’s nickname, Bu Guru Pijit (Mrs. Masseuse Teacher), a name she adopted after the death of her husband, sounds peculiar. *Pijit* or *tukang pijit*, masseuse, is a non-priyayi occupation whereas *guru*, teacher, is a priyayi one. This nickname signifies her hybrid and ambivalent position that she has transformed herself into a position located between the priyayi and the working class because sudden political reposition in 1965 has made her a dangerous person contaminated with communism.

By the end of the story Sri belongs to the exploited working class despite her priyayi status. The defining features of priyayi set in the beginning of the story are evaluated here. She is called *bu Martokusumo* because her late husband was a priyayi by that name, but when she becomes a professional masseuse her nickname is Bu Guru Pijit (Mrs. Masseuse Teacher). Sri is described as a priyayi who is taken by surprise and victimized by modern developments but somehow, the priyayi values that have contributed to her downfall also make her able to survive in the changing situation. In a modern state, being a priyayi without economic power and political position, like Sri, makes a person doomed to be a pariah. The priyayi identity she has is now less clear-cut than that in the beginning. Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* (1994) talks about hybridity as being at the two places at the

same time or being both but also none in the context of colonial assimilation, but in “Sri Sumarah” the hybrid identity is in the context of the complex Javanese transition from the post-independent state to the modern independent state where traditional values are challenged by modernity. Sri’s consciousness is that of an elite priyayi but the material reality of her life situates her among the common populace that has been *subalternized* by the government and the society due to her alleged association with the Communist Party. This assimilation or degradation of her status to that of the common populace blurs the borders between *Wong Cilik* (common people) and priyayi that have been the justification for her choices in life. She becomes both and none of them. Her tenuous association with the Communist Party in fact has trapped her in a status which is even below or outside that of the common populace. She is a true subaltern as Gayatri Spivak defines it: a sexed subaltern who has no space from which she can speak (Spivak 307). Not only does Sri have no space to speak, she is also silenced by the bigger narrative of the New Order state and by the remaining priyayi feudal expectations that believe the powerful can do no wrong. Practically she loses her house, land, community, and the right to reclaim her identity as a full citizen of Javanese priyayi descent, let alone as a modern Indonesian. She becomes, in a notorious Indonesian term, *orang tidak bersih lingkungan* (“a contaminated person”—because of one’s relation with a communist) whose contamination is passed to her succeeding generations, a political strategy of the regime leading to what Ariel Heryanto (2006) calls “the implosion of stigma.” A person with such a label will have no access to economic resources, political rights, and government employment.

This kind of economic, social, and political blacklisting imposed by the new regime befalls the other characters as well. Harimurti in *Para Priyayi* is fired from his office because of his past involvement in the Communist Party’s cultural organ, LEKRA. Although Harimurti’s activities in LEKRA are motivated by compassion for the peasants and ideas for social justice, his membership in this communist cultural organ has positioned him as the enemy of the state right after 1965. Tono in “Musim Gugur” is faced with a similar end. His past membership in the Communist Scholars’ organization and LEKRA is also driven by the desire to create a just state, a state that does not marginalize the poor and the peasants. Although he finally left both organizations, he is still considered dangerous and has led to his arrest by the army.

Kayam portrays Bawuk, Tono, Harimurti, and Sri Sumarah in ways which signify the priyayi class’s failure to redefine itself in the face of this authoritarian regime. The Priyayi figures that transgress class boundaries have found themselves obsolete in the post-independence state. Kayam characterized them to look anachronistic in the new regime despite their high moral standards. Characters’ efforts to redefine *priyayi-hood* by crossing the borders between the priyayi and the

oppressed peasant have been manipulated by both the Communist Party and the New Order. Since their humanitarian motives are channeled and co-opted by both parties, consequently they become involuntary supporters of political agendas. When they finally try to clarify their involvement with the Communist Party, their voice becomes *subalternized* and hence unheard or misunderstood.

Looking back at what constitutes the essence of *priyayi-hood* as formulated by Kayam in his previous novel *Para Priyayi*, that service for the “little people” is precisely what Harimurti, Bawuk, and Tono strive to achieve. However, *priyayi-hood* also has other dimensions: authoritarianism and discrimination. It is these other dimensions that are adopted by the state and turned against the more humane aspects of *priyayi-hood* as represented by Bawuk, Tono, Harimurti, and Sri Sumarah. The victory of authoritarianism and discrimination against alleged communists signifies the failure of the third space to be a transforming site. The official history of the communist coup written by the New Order regime provides no space for an alternative story without it being labelled treason against the state. Their figuration as compassionate characters sympathizing with the proletarian causes meets a tragic end. Such marginalization of ex-communists and their descendants is contrasted with the basically good characters of the victims. This certainly raises a question why these Gestapu stories passed the censorship of the New Order regime that framed communists as traitors of the state.

Kayam's sympathy for the Gestapu victims in his works and the fact that these got published without censorship during the heyday of the New Order might be explained in several ways. On the formal level, in contrasting the compassionate figures and the demonized Communist Party, the narratives never question possible fabrication of the Gestapu official narrative and the multifaceted Marxist ideology, but take it for granted. It means that Kayam sympathizes with the victims, but not the Communist Party and Marxism. In depicting and sympathizing with the victims (Sri, Bawuk, Tono, and Harimurti), Kayam seems to argue that they have been manipulated by the Communist Party instead of the New Regime. In other words, the texts accept the view that the Communist Party corrupts the people and that what happens after 1965 is the price they have to pay for choosing the malignant party. It is only within these boundaries (i.e., the disproportionate sin and punishment on behalf of the tenderhearted victims manipulated by the Communist Party) that Kayam negotiates his disagreement against the state through the texts. As for the unrepentant communist characters, such as Hassan and Yos, Kayam appears to agree that they deserve punishment for their ideological belief. Kayam's particular sympathy for the repentant victims and his uncritical acceptance on the evil nature of communism and Marxism might have made the New Order Regime tolerate his works.

The other possible reason why the regime took Kayam's works lightly was because of his support for the New Order from its inception. Upon his return from the United States, he was appointed as the Director General of Radio, Television and Film, staying in the position from 1966 until 1969. Until his death in Jakarta in 16 March 2002 he was active as director in many significant positions such as at the Jakarta Art Council (1969– 1972), the Centre of Social Sciences Training in Universitas Hasanuddin and Universitas Gadjah Mada (in 1975–1976 and 1977–1997, respectively). Pursuing his lifelong career as a civil servant under the regime must have earned the regime's strong confidence in Kayam's support despite his compassionate figuration of the 1965 victims.

THE CHINESE AND THE JEWS

In *Jalan Menikung* Kayam generalises priyayi values by including Chinese and Jewish American figures as major characters in his narrative. They are two social groups that have often experienced racism in part because of their successful business enterprises whilst being racial minorities in countries in which they are seen as outsiders (Chirot and Reid 6). In Indonesia, discrimination against the Chinese has been going since the colonial times, part of a larger and more complex set of arguments about racial purity.⁴ Generally speaking, racial purity is a discourse commonly held by racial groups who believe that their racial identity possesses distinctive and higher quality features which are separable from those possessed by other racial groups. It is a common discourse adopted by colonizing countries in order to sustain their colonial policy. In a colonial discourse in which purity is signified by skin colour, whiteness is seen as the sign that needs to be maintained. In colonial East Indies, the social pyramid was arranged with the White being at the top, the Chinese and Arabs in the middle, and the Javanese at the bottom of the structure. After independence, the discourse of racial purity has been reclaimed by the Javanese, positioning them as the most rightful citizens of the Republic while relegating the Chinese as second-class citizens. The power structure has changed but the fate of the Chinese remains as manipulable exclusive minority (Rakindo 126).

The position of the Indonesian Chinese during the New Order was problematical. On the one hand they benefited financially from cronyism and a corrupt system, but on the other hand they were stripped of their sociocultural legacy, a situation that might be called as "ghettoization of citizen-Chinese—political exclusion and economic privilege" (Anderson, 491). Consequently, the very rich Chinese near the power centre were capable of influencing national economic policy while the less rich in the periphery had to cope with corrupt officials in order to improve their

lot. Further, they were not allowed to retain their Chinese language and names but encouraged instead to adopt Indonesian names. Although they were recognized as Indonesian citizens (*Warga Negara Indonesia*—WNI) but it is with another qualifier: *keturunan*, hence WNI *keturunan*, meaning Indonesian citizen but non-native. The difficult political position of the Indonesian Chinese is explored by Kayam in his last novel, *Jalan Menikung*.

An interracial marriage in Kayam's *Jalan Menikung* manifests itself in the fourth generation of Sastrodarsono's family, with Anna marrying a Chinese Indonesian and Eko marrying a Jewish American. Their marriage is met with mixed feelings and even some degree of antagonism by their priyayi parents. Tommi's antagonism against Anna, her daughter, marrying a Chinese is similar to Noegroho's antagonism against his daughter, Marie, marrying a peasant's son. Through this interracial and intersocial class marriage parallel of these priyayi descendants, namely Eko, Anna, and Marie, Kayam offers a more fluid category of race and class because this younger generation of priyayi is depicted as marrying into a social group often regarded as subaltern class, the Indonesian Chinese, and enemies of the Islamists, the Jewish.

In reality, the subalternity of the Indonesian Chinese is demonstrated by their being marginalized from government positions and some other discriminatory measures, especially during the New Order.⁵ Several incidents involving racial riots in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s indicate that social dissatisfaction against the government was often deflected towards the Chinese Indonesians.⁶ They were often used as a target of racial antagonism to divert people's anger and disappointment about the lack of social and economic progress away from the government. They were also barred from pursuing careers in civil and military services. During the most recent incident, the Jakarta riot in May 1998, many Chinese Indonesians had to flee abroad.⁷ In the novel this discriminatory treatment is identified by Harimurti saying:

Di atas kertas mereka sama haknya dengan kami, apa yang disebut pribumi. Tapi, dalam praktek, hak mereka tidak sepenuhnya dilindungi. . . . Mereka ini, keturunan Cina kita ini, mungkin nasibnya masih seperti Yahudi jaman dahulu. Di mana-mana diburu-buru, dipojokkan, diperas, dikurangi haknya (Kayam, 1999, p. 144).

Theoretically they [the Chinese] have the same rights as us, indigenous. But in reality their rights are not protected. . . . These Chinese Indonesians' fate is similar to the Jews in the past. They are everywhere hunted, cornered, blackmailed and their rights are violated.

The unfavourable attitude to the Chinese is also depicted in Tommi's figuration. He expresses his strong opposition to his daughter, Anna, marrying a Chinese boy:

Kalian tahu, saudara-saudaraku, nama Handoyo itu sebenarnya? Han Swie Kun! Coba, adik-adikku, darah Sastrodarsono mau dicampur dengan darah Han Swie Kun. Apa tidak kacau nanti! (Kayam 78)

Ini soal darah cucu-cucu saya nanti, Hari. Saya tidak mau kalau darah priyayi Sastrodarsono, ditambah darah pejuang angkatan '45 Nugroho, lantas tercampur dengan darah Cina. (Kayam 83)

Do you know what Handoyo's real name is? Han Swie Kun! Imagine brothers, Sastrodarsono's blood will mix with Han Swie Kun's. What a mess!

This is about my grandchildren's blood, Hari. I don't want Sastrodarsono's priyayi blood and Nugroho's warrior blood to get mixed with the Chinese blood.

Despite Tommi's leaving behind the ideals of *priyayi-hood*, he still holds the orthodox view on the purity of a priyayi biological identity by challenging his daughter's decision to marry a Chinese Indonesian. Kayam's criticism of this racist attitude is of course clearly depicted in his characterization of the Chinese character as embodying true priyayi values.

While the Chinese is relegated to second-class citizenship in post-independent Indonesia, the Jewish figures in Kayam's last novel, *Jalan Menikung*, are seen in enmity by the priyayi characters whose religious affiliation is more to Islamic identity. Paradoxically, Kayam configures the Jewish characters without racist sentiment. Generally postcolonial literature highlights the consequences of the unequal social positioning of people who are identified as belonging to different races, especially in an interracial marriage, because the experience of colonialism highlights the perceived markers of difference. When Eko in *Jalan Menikung* is hosted by the Levins, a Jewish American family, during his US studies, there is no indication of such a colonial or postcolonial component in his reception. Although Claire, their only daughter, also stays at the same house, they do not hesitate to host Eko. Claire seems to enjoy Eko's company and even falls in love with him. When finally Eko and Claire express their intention to get married, Claire's parents also accept this without reservations.

A very different reaction is seen from the Javanese family's side. Upon receiving a telegram informing them of their son's wedding plans, they, especially Sulistianingsih, the mother, feel offended:

Anak ini sudah luntur, hilang tata karma Indonesianya. Sudah jadi orang Amerika apa? Kalau orang-orang tua kita itu masih ada, oooh akan bagaimana mereka! Melihat cucunya kawin dengan orang asing, Yahudi lagi! (Kayam 38)

This kid has lost his Indonesian politeness. Has he become an American? I couldn't imagine how our ancestors would have reacted: their grandchild is marrying a foreigner, a Jew!

The fact that Eko does not consult his family in deciding his future wife is considered impolite. Secondly, the fact that Claire is Jewish complicates the problem. As we notice in Kayam's works, such as "Sri Sumarah," "Bawuk," and *Para Priyayi*, typically a priyayi's purity is maintained by marriage between two priyayi descendants and is usually arranged. This is the case for Sastrodarsono and his children, for example.

A further complication is that with this twist in the plot of the novel Kayam explicitly engages with the supposedly traditional enmity between Islamists and Jews in the context of Java and Indonesia's growing involvement in world politics. Perhaps it is because Harimusti's family has adopted a stronger Islamic political identity that this enmity leaves its traces in his mother's worries:

"Eko mau disuruh jadi Yahudi? No way! Tak usah, ya! Paling-paling yang cocok dengan mereka, kita sama-sama mengharamkan daging babi. Tapi masuk agama Yahudi?" (Kayam 39)

"They want Eko to be a Jew? No way! Out of the question! Our only common ground is that both religions forbid us to eat pork. But becoming a Jew?"

Kayam situates this antagonism in a Javanese postcolonial context. In this context the West is pluralized to include the Jews that Eko's mother detests. If in colonial times the Javanese alignment with the Dutch was considered favourable, in post-independence times Eko's alignment with the Jewish family is seen as a big problem by this priyayi family. Their stronger Islamic identity as *priyayi Islam* rather than *priyayi abangan* (which would be more syncretistic and tolerant) has situated them in a position opposing Jewish identity vehemently.

Kayam offers a different perspective amid this enmity. His works seem to suggest that despite their racial and religious sentiments there is some common ground on which his characters negotiate their comfort zones. In this case, Kayam universalises priyayi values by going beyond class and race. An American immigrant writer, such as Tahira Navqi, has explored the similarity between Muslims and Jews in his short story "Thank God for the Jews." Kayam, who might have read the story,

also describes the melting pot that the two faiths share. Kosher and *halal* are two similar categories to label certain food that is religiously edible:

"Kau itu, Alan, sering membingungkan saya. Seakan pastrami kosher atau tidak kosher itu jadi persoalan penting betul buat kamu."

"Iya, dong. Saya kan orang Yahudi. Sebentar lagi kau juga jadi menantu orang Yahudi. Penting dong kosher itu. Seperti agama Islam, kan? Halal!" (Kayam 64)

"Alan, you have often puzzled me. You act as if whether or not the pastrami was kosher was an important issue for you."

"Of course, it is important. I am Jewish. You will soon marry a Jewish girl. Kosher is definitely important. Just like in Islam: *Halal!*"

Kayam also portrays another shared belief in that the Jews and Muslims consider circumcision as an important religious observance as reflected in the dialogue between Eko and Claire:

"Kenapa pada hari perkawinan kita, kita bicara soal sunat?"

"Entahlah. Mungkin karena saya semakin mantap Islam dan Yahudi banyak persamaannya."

"Karena agama-agama kita sama-sama mengharuskan laki-laki sunat dan sama-sama mengharamkan daging babi dan memotong leher ayam harus sampai mengucurkan darah dan menodainya?" (Kayam 75)

"Why do you talk about circumcision in our wedding day?"

"I don't know. Perhaps because I am getting more convinced that Islam and Judaism have a lot in common."

"Because our religions require men to be circumcised and forbid eating pork and stipulate that when slaughtering chickens we have to shed their blood?"

As the novel progresses Kayam constructs a typically Javanese mystical thought, namely that underneath religious differences there is a similar principle (i.e., the need to be aware of the differences between good and evil). By disregarding the superficial religious and racial differences, Eko's marriage with a Jewish American revises his ancestors' idea of racial and religious purity. An Islamic identification that is still a strong part of the family up to the third generation represented by Kayam is reinterpreted in a characteristically Javanese mystical way by the fourth generation. Javanese mysticism is more adaptive to new influences than many other religious formations and this helps Eko to become a cultural commuter. Ashcroft (207) notes that "the paradox of global culture is that it makes itself 'at home' in motion rather than in place." Eko as a global citizen does not have to rely on his origin, neither geographical, cultural, nor even religious to feel at home. In fact his

geographical home has refused him due to his father's involvement in the banned Communist Party.

Eko is also depicted by Kayam as a priyayi figure who sees the familial bond in a different way—the kind of bond in which individualism is more prominent than collectivism. He is adopting the American concept of being a responsible adult to whom individualism is more valued than the familial bond:

Kemudian, kalau sudah tamat, apalagi sudah mencapai umur dewasa, mereka harus bertanggung jawab kepada dirinya sendiri. Anak itu sudah harus mandiri. Dia juga sudah menjadi “merdeka”. Dan Orang tua, apalagi keluarga besar, tidak akan menuntut janji apa-apa dari anak-anaknya. Hidup dijalani sendiri. (Kayam 22).

After graduation, especially if he is an adult, he has to be responsible for his own life. He has to be independent. He also becomes “free.” And his parents, moreover his extended family, will not ask for anything from their child. Life has to be lived alone.

This is clearly seen in his marriage procedure that does not comply with traditional priyayi standards anymore. He marries a Jewish American in a civil ceremony without seeking the advice from his extended family, in contrast to the traditional practice upheld by the Sastrodarsono's extended family at some cost. Kayam portrays Harimurti's family as the first to set Eko free from familial and class bond. Eko's universalism is achieved through individualism. Indeed in the novel Kayam seems to argue that collectivism emphasising harmony and kinship in Javanese culture has become potentially corrupting when set against an international background.

In a discussion hosted by the *Kompas* daily in 1986, Kayam points out two important traditional values potentially corrupting Indonesian minds, namely *keharmonisan* (harmony) and *kekeluargaan* (kinship, “cronyism”). These aspects of Javanese wisdom are not evil in themselves but when wrongly enacted, can be shown to be a fertile source of economic and political corruption. In the same forum, Kayam also critically reassesses some Javanese ascetic practices, such as sleeping on the floor and fasting, and concludes that such practices are often motivated by greed: to be rich therefore able to live in luxury. In this context, the ascetic practices are considered as a temporary *laku*, practice, to gain a strong financial, social, or political position for himself or his descendants. As such, uncritical reverence for the traditional values will only damage the nation. Kayam calls this uncritical reverence for one's own culture “*kompleks narsisme budaya*” (cultural narcissism complex).

In the novel, this unthinking reverence for traditional values has led the Javanese to blame the Chinese for the social gap that this postcolonial state has created:

Salah mereka karena mereka bekerja keras lebih dari bangsaku dan sering jauh lebih berhasil, yang menerbitkan rasa cemburu bangsaku yang lebih malas, mau enak-enak saja, mau memetik hasil kerja keras keturunan Cina itu (Kayam 114–115).

It was their [the Indonesian Chinese] own fault because they worked harder and were much more successful than my people. This incited jealousy. My people were lazier, never worked hard and just wanted to reap what the Chinese had struggled for.

This autocriticism that Kayam expresses through *Jalan Menikung* makes it clear that the priyayi racial prejudice against the subaltern classes is unfounded. Against the stereotypical image of Chinese Indonesians, Kayam presents the reverse. Anna's Chinese husband, Boy, for instance, is described as "*pintar, cerdas, tidak sok, baik hati, rendah hati, simpatik*" (clever, smart, not vain, kind, humble and sympathetic) (Kayam 79). Against the anti-Semitic sentiment Kayam presents the Levins as compassionate and kind. They do not see their daughter's relation with a Javanese boy with racial prejudice.

By putting forward this issue, Kayam proposes the idea that the quality of *priyayi-hood* is not and should not be determined by racial, religious, or class identity but by inner qualities of restraint and selfless service for the people. With these interracial marriages the novel argues that the quality of *priyayi-hood* is not only found in the Javanese priyayi but is also found in other races. Consequently, individual qualities are more important than class and racial identity.

CONCLUSION

Failure to live by rigid racial and class categories is enacted in Kayam's Gestapu fiction, especially *Jalan Menikung*. Faced with an authoritarian and corrupt state system, the only options that appear to be left to Kayam's ethnocentric characters are to join the corrupt system and thrive, or refuse the system and perish. These works of fiction show in different ways how the third space envisaged by Bhabha (2002) emerges in Indonesia not as a progressive reconstruction of the site of postcolonial politics, but as a failure to find a moral center for the emergent nation. The essentialist priyayi figures manipulate the third space as a site for corrupt attitudes, providing them with material prosperity, all while refusing the fluidity of class and racial categories. In contrast, the compassionate priyayi characters do not

have a room to raise their concerns and have to be ostracized for their postmodern outlook, viewing racial and class categories as fluid.

The fluidity of *priyayi-hood* in *Jalan Menikung* goes beyond racial and national borders. The novel reveals that the Javanese and Indonesia have failed to revitalize priyayi values to empower the postcolonial state. Refuting the chauvinistic discourse of the Javanese priyayi, the novel presents a universal view that the values initially seen as particularly Javanese are also found in the so-called subaltern groups. The Jewish and the Indonesian Chinese figures are presented as embodying priyayi values that the Javanese characters fail to sustain. The characters of Alan Barnstein, Claire, and the Levins portray the friendly and welcoming side of the West. The stereotype of selfish and money-oriented Indonesian Chinese is depicted the other way around in the figuration of Boy.

Jalan Menikung apparently presents Kayam's reconstruction of the liquidity of ideal values with a special emphasis on the subaltern groups and individualism. This is apparent, for instance, when Kayam names the newborn Jewish-Javanese baby (Eko and Claire's son) Solomon, who, in Kayam's reckoning, is a universal character found in Torah, Bible and Quran. As such the identity of the traditional priyayi is no longer important because global interaction has dissolved racial borders and always creates another space to inhabit by the younger generations. This liquid identity is represented by Kayam as a peaceful site of existence, though in reality it is still rife with unequal power relations respective to race, gender and class.

Notes

1. Heather Sutherland elaborates this mechanism in "Pangreh Pradja: Java's Indigenous Administrative Corps and Its Role in the Last Decades of Dutch Colonial Rule" (1973).
2. See Kartodirdjo, Sudewo, and Hatmosuprobo, *Perkembangan Peradaban Priyayi* (1987, p. 3) and Sutherland, "Pangreh Pradja" (1975, p. 57).
3. Gestapu refers to the failed *coup d'état* staged by a group that called themselves Gerakan Tigapuluh September (the 30th September Movements, referring to the date of their action), allegedly masterminded by the Communist Party. Broadcasting an official statement the next morning at 7:20 a.m. through the Indonesia national radio broadcaster, RRI, the group announced that they had arrested a number of generals who had been planning themselves to carry out a coup on October 5th under the code name of Dewan Jenderal (the Generals Council). It turned out that by the time of the broadcast they had killed six top army generals and one adjutant. The army under General Soeharto soon suppressed the coup and had the leaders of the Gestapu jailed or killed.
4. See for instance John T. Sidel in *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad* (2007) pp. 20–24.
5. For a comprehensive analysis of the discrimination against the Chinese Indonesian during the New Order era, see Charles A. Coppel's *Studying Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia* (2002), especially chapter 1. Analysis of this issue can also be seen in articles by Frans H. Winarta, "Racial Discrimination in the Indonesian Legal System: Ethnic Chinese and Nation-Building" (2004) and A. Dahana, "Pri and Non-Pri Relations in the Reform Era: A Pribumi's Perspective" (2004).
6. See for example the article by Ingrid Wessel, "The Politics of Violence in New Order Indonesia in the Last Decade of the 20th Century." (2001).
7. John T. Sidel (1–2) mentions that "In May of that year, simultaneous rioting in Jakarta and such cities as Solo, Medan, and Palembang led to the destruction of hundreds of Chinese business establishments, the rape of dozens of Chinese women, and the deaths of more than one thousand people in Jakarta alone."
8. Reported in Kristanto and Krastawan, "Harmoni Sumber Kemandulan" (Harmony as the root of the problem, 1986).

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