# THUKUL'S POEMS OF RESISTANCE IN AKU INGIN JADI PELURU

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Abstract: Those who attempt to voice critically about the injustice done by the state frequently face the government's "iron hands". Indonesia history has noted how some Indonesian critics from various fields are accused of threatening national stability so that they have to be culturized through many kinds of terror. Conscience writers (Mangunwijaya's term) are the easy targets of state violence because they portray the powerless, "wong cilik" (the common folk/little people) as the victims of development, and the inappropriateness of the elites' behavior. For an authoritative regime, such criticism doesn't sound good because it makes look bad in front of the public. In the New Order regime, Wiji Thukul is one of Indonesian poets who does an advocacy for "wong cilik". His poems are screams of the people from huts, factories, and graves.

Key Words: New Order, resistance, literature, wong cilik

#### INDONESIAN LITERATURE

Along the journey of Indonesian literary world, banning and censorship to literary works and writers aren't uncommon. In the colonialism era, the Dutch government established the people Reading Commission (Komisi Bacaan Rakyat) which was responsible for selecting and determining the appropriateness of a published literary work. The commission was a watchdog to the "wild readings" assumed to have the potential to endanger the colonist's stability. Like colonists elsewhere, the Dutch government was

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worried at the potential of the wild readings ability to arouse patriotic spirits, and grow people's awareness on nation independence. One example was the exile of Semaoen in 1923 for his *Hikayat Kadiroen* which was assumed to awaken the colonized people to establish and join (political) organizations. Balai Pustaka (Printing and Publishing House) was also the colonist governments' legalized publisher, which did tight censorship on published works so the literary writings are in line with the colonist's interest. The same treatment was done in the era of Japan's colonialism. The militaristic Japanese government established a culture commission which was responsible for writing, selecting, and spreading the public readings (Suhanda 2000: 126 -129).

The birth of the Indonesian Republic in 1945 gave literary writers enough freedom to express themselves in sharing the spirit of revolution. The fresh air of the new independence gave literary writers unimpeded space in expressing themselves. But it didn't last long. Starting 1950s, the young state started to have a tight control on public publication. The period since 1966, the highly centralized hierarchical structure of command under the political direction of the New Order regime with Soeharto as the most powerful president and the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) as the power behind the regime, had its own distinctive reputation in dealing with works of Literature.

#### NEW ORDER REGIME<sup>2</sup> AND LITERATURE

Under the motto: national and political stability for development, the New Order government had a tight control on every domain of life. All efforts of the New Order regime were aimed at achieving rapid economic growth, improving Indonesian people's levels of prosperity, pursuing masyarkat yang adil dan makmur (just and prosperous citizens). In order to sustain the economic development, "political and social stability are prerequisite" (Rinakit, 1999:144). This would remind us on Aldous Huxley's novel, Brave New World<sup>3</sup>, in which Huxley satirically presented an one-

New Order refers to the period since March 1966, when General Soeharto took over the government from the country's founding father, president Soekarno, up to 21 May 1998, when Soeharto announced his resignation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Further discussion Huxley's Brave New World can be read in the article: The Cost of Technology in Aldous Huxley's Brave New World.

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world government that aimed to have all activities toward the interest of the states' motto: *community, identity, stability*. The state's social stability was gained by biological engineering and conditioning people to be emotionless, to think and to look the same, and to have no self-expression. For an ultimate economic policy, the government only needed totally obedient people who would faithfully keep factories busy (Wohangara, 2001, 91-93)

To maintain the stability, the availability of uniformed directed institutions was extremely imperative. The ultimate drive for national stability through guidance and vigilance was such that "what flourish in Indonesia is that which has been allowed to flourish" (Dick and Hooker, 1995: 2). To pursue unity and loyalty, the New Order regime established various kinds of legalized organizations and institutions, such as KORPRI (Indonesian Civil Servants Corps), DHARMA WANITA (the Association for Wives of all Government Employees) HKTI (Assembly of Indonesian Farmer Families), HNSI (All Indonesian Assembly of Fisherman), SPSI (All-Indonesian Workers' Union). Members of ABRI (the Armed Forces of Republic of Indonesia) were appointed to hold strategic bureaucratic positions from high till low rank governmental apparatus. The New Order era had become the golden era for Armed Forces to practice their dual functions: to maintain security and "to ensure and guard national unity in all fields including politics" (Kristiadi 1999: 100). The Armed Forces' doctrine of dual functions indeed provided stability but it also caused immense human sufferings. Through the governmental-sponsored political organization, GOLKAR (Functional Group), the government controlled its political vehicle (Legowo, 1999:81-82). For media and film the regime enacted The Press Law in which journalists were "helped" to identify sensitive areas in reporting and defined their obligation and responsibility to the government. On Literature, however, the regime didn't issue a particular regulation but called for all potentials to have responsibility, selfcontrol, and self-denial for common good.

Literary works as one kind of cultural expressions were not free from the regime's controlling spirit. Besides the contemplative and aesthetic enjoyment that a literary work may offer, its critical ability in presenting problems of humanity such as poverty, alienation, injustice, and violence inevitably put literary writers and their works in the opposite side of the state. Mangunwijaya argued that politics must be understood as all initiatives growing from sense of belonging to people's ups and downs where one

Thukul's poems are so contextual<sup>4</sup> for daily lives of those regarded as the powerless. His poems are this beloved country's social documentation and a portrait of social facts. Thomas Warton, as quoted by Wellek and Warren, points out that

literature has the ability to record the characteristic of its age. It has the peculiar merit of faithfully recording the features of the times, and preserving the most picturesque and expressive representation of manner (1995:122).

Wiji Thukul, whose real name is Wiji Widodo, was born in Kampung Sorogenen, Solo, on 23 August 1963. Along his life, he lived in a poor urban resident where people wrestle with the realities of poverty and violence. As a member of society, Thukul exercises his function as an artist who sees "what we have before us everyday and to imagine what we have known conceptually and factually" (Eastman as quoted by Wellek, 1995:31). To keep survival, he does various works such as selling newspapers and movie tickets, helping his wife-Sipon, working as a tailor, a day laborer, and writing poems. He also becomes a door-to-door singer and *pengamen puisi* (reading poems for money).

After the 27 July 1996 riot following the military-backed invasion of the PDI headquarters in Jakarta, PRD (Party of Democratic Society), an organization outlawed by the New Order regime for its radical ideas, was accused as scapegoat. As a member of the PRD or one whose ideas are in line with the PRD, Thukul went into hiding from the military's quest. He secretly met his wife and children in December 1997, and made last contacts with some of his friends by April 1998 (Curtis, 2000:1). Since then, there was no information about him. Some people say that Thukul was hiding abroad. In a talk show on a private TV, a caller informed that he saw Thukul in a traditional market in Jakarta. Some of his friends believed that Thukul had become a victim of an involuntary disappearance by the New Order regime.

This article will present some of Thukul's poems compiled in a book entitled Aku Ingin Jadi Peluru (AIJP) (I want to be bullets), published by Indonesia Tera in 2000. The compilation containing 135 poems is divided into five books, Book I: Lingkungan Kita Si Mulut Bear (Our Neighborhood Big Mouths); Book II: Ketika Rakyat Pergi (When the People Leave); Book III: Darmawan dan Lain-Lain (Darman Etcetera); Book IV: Puisi Pelo

(Babble Poem); Book V: Baju Loak Sobek Pundaknya (Used Blouse Torn on its Shoulder).

Because it is unworkable to present all poems, the writer will limit his discussion on given poems, selected based on the writers' purpose to see how the mentioned poet communicates his resistance against the ruling government with its apparatus, especially the Armed Forces, and poses fundamental questions on humanity problems. The writer also will do paraphrasing, bracketed, for better understanding of the poems.

In a work of translation, besides the incompetence of the translator, the possible losses of certain aspects of language and culture, such as dictions or sense, are definite. It also applies in translating Thukul's poems from Indonesian into English. Despite of the shortage, the writer, however, simply regards his work as an effort of an amateur (etymologically from *amator*, Latin, meaning lover) who appreciates a literary work.

#### RESIST! SPEAK UP!

In an interview, Thukul admits," [in my poems] I defend nobody. I defend myself. It is a coincidence that when I convey my problems, others' are also articulated" (Thukul 2000: 168). His poems are stories of his own life and times, and of the people marginalized by the existing government. His personal bitter experience of surveillance, threats, and intimidation, but fails to scare and make him obedient, is expressed in the following poems.

#### In Catatan (Memo):

... a half year I have left [home]/ Still feel my pounding heart and steps/ [run from] this possessed and fascist regime

I will be home/maybe at midnight/in the dawn/I will/might be/but don't you wait [for me]/

I will be home and leave again/ for [our] rights/ have been torn off/ not in campus/ not in factory/not in court/ even not in our home/ they snatch [our home]/step on our face/

if children wonder my frequently coming home/tell [them]/ your father doesn't want to be a hero/ but forced to be a criminal/by the [arbitrary] authority/

if they [the children] question, "what am I looking for"/tell them/He leaves for his robbed and stolen rights/ (AIJP: 134)

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In Buron (Fugitive), Thukul writes that being oneself is a crime in Indonesia:

different clothes/different pants/ different hair style/different book/ different talk/different names/different identity/different expression/ to be oneself/ [is] subversive in this country/therefore/be alert/policeman and soldiers/law and bars/for those refusing to be other self (AIJP: 142)

Soldiers and policeman also examine Thukul's house in Solo<sup>6</sup>. This arrogance is described in **Tanpa Judul** (Untitled):

I heard news from home/you confiscate my house/you loot my books/

but I say thank you/ cause to my children you introduce yourselves/ and teach them about the meaning of oppression so early/

this [oppression] isn't taught at school. But this regime introduce to us all/everyday/everywhere/ while carrying guns/

your violence/[is] an unwritten lesson/(AIJP: 140)

Although in 1989, the New Order Regime campaigned of *keterbukaan* (openness) and *perbedaan pendapat* (diverging opinions) as dynamic forces for national development, in fact, these "dynamic forces" such as the freedom of expression including critical views to the governments, in many cases, were strangled for being suspected of creating instability, insinuation, or worthless sensation. In practice, the openness policy only allows marginally public space for debate without increasing access to, or influence in decision-making. In **Puisi Menolak Patuh** (Poem of Rejecting Obedience), Thukul confronts the government by stating as follows:

Thukul's wife, Pon can't prevent her children (Fitri Nganti Wani and Fajar Merah) to hate soldiers and policemen for the children think that the government apparatus has kidnapped their father. They themselves experience violence when their house was searched. In his residence, Thukul organizes Sanggar Suka Banjir (Loving Flood Sanggar- Sanggar, in the context of art, a studio) where poor children around express themselves through paintings. The children's paintings were seized and one of them is Wani's. When holding Wani's painting with the name Wani on it, an officer yells," What is this? You are still a child and have been taught to resist the government." Indeed, Wani (Javanese) means brave (Basis No. 11-12. Tahun ke-50, November-Desember 2001).

.../how can you shut me up/ ... even prison fails to teach me obedience/ (AIJP: 155)

### In Merontokkan Pidato (To Ruin Speech):

for weeks and hundred hours/ I was forced/to be friendly with corner of room/ventilation/flies/ants/and cockroach/

but note/ [that] they fail to force [me]/

I won't confess guilty/for thinking independently isn't a guilt isn't a sin isn't a flaw to be hidden/

I flap your speech/ in my head until (it) is shattered/: the authority's words are always justified with guns

but listen/I won't ask for forgiveness/to this freedom/ (AIJP: 153)

In Aku Masih Utuh dan Kata-Kata Belum Binasa ( I am still Complete and Words Haven't been Wiped Out), Thukul realizes that his struggle has its own cost. However, no matter what, he will keep talking. His power is his words.

I am not an artist, a newsmaker/ but I indeed bad news to authority/

my poem aren't poem/but dark words/sweating and rushing looking for an outlet/ it is immortal/ though my eyeballs replaced/though separated from home/stabbed by loneliness/it is immortal/[I] have paid for it/age-strength-wounds/

I am still complete/and words haven't been wiped out (AIJP: 160)

#### In Puisi Sikap ( Poem of Standpoint):

You only want to talk endlessly/but deaf are your ears don't want to listen/

You want me to be a faithful listener/mute

Yes you have tanks/but you make a big mistake for expecting me obedient/

if there is another life after this/ I will tell all creatures/that in my whole life/I put my fear in my heels/[that] I have spent my life to challenge you/hey! Tyrannical regime (AIJP: 145)

#### In Sajak Suara (Poem of Voice):

the voice, in fact, can't be stifled/mouth might be silenced/but who is able to stop songs of confusion and questions from the tongue of my soul/

these voices can't be imprisoned/there resides an independence/if you force [me] to be silent/ I will prepare [for you]: a rebellion

the voices, in fact, don't want to rob and loot your property/they only want to ask why do you point you gun, and trembling when the voices call for justice?/

the voices, in fact, will be words teaching [me] to question/ and you can't help answering/ if you don't [give an answer]/I will hunt you like a curse/ (AIJP: 58)

In **Tujuan Kita Satu Ibu** (We Have One Common Goal Mother), Thukul especially consoles the mother losing their children of the violence of the state. History records how New Order regime labels those who criticize government's policies as communism, dissidents, and threats of national stability. Therefore, "these culprits" must be hold in custody (diamankan) to be intimidated, tortured, or "tamed" in prison or silenced for good in grave.

I bow my head/with the mourning people/for you in the forest/and killed in mountain/there in the east/in people's heart /[I] call your name/in my heart/ I am a poet building monument/prolonging your yelling/ a luta continua/

I bow my head/for friends thrown into state prison / my deepest respect to you/you pass a test/a petrifying test/

I bow my head/for the mothers/[cause] this speechless law/ taking away your children's rights/

but not only your sons, mother/hunted tormented slandered/brought to this unjust court/thus, I am also your son/cause I am oppressed/like your son/

We aren't alone/we are on the same path/we have one goal, mother: freedom!/

I bow my head/to you all victims/and only to you this head does/ to the tyrant/never I bow [to you]/I always stand right/ (AIJP: 158)

In Peringatan (Warning), Thukul warns the regime about the consequences of alienating people from participation in public criticism, policies, and debates

> if the people leave/while rulers deliver speech/we must watch out/ perhaps they lost hope/

> if the people hide away/ and whisper/ when discussing their problems/ the rulers should beware and learn to listen/

> if people don't dare complain/then things are dangerous/and if the ruler's talk/may not be rejected/truth must surely be under threat/

> and if suggestion are refused without consideration/voices silenced, criticism banned without reason/accused of subversion and disturbing security/then there is only one word: resist!/(AIJP: 61)

As the executor of the state, government is supposed to create such conditions that people from all social strata fell safe in doing daily activities. Yet, the government may turn to corrupt, to be a tyrant, an evil, bringing humanity calamities through a systematic crime with various anti-democratic political motives. In Momok Hiyong<sup>7</sup> Thukul metaphorically identifies the regime as *Momok Hiyong* who terrorizes, intimidates, and make people suffer.

> momok hiyong/ a champion of bringing out chaos/if the situation is unsettled/jump up and down he does/

> creating confusion he is the professional/his cunning mind [is like] a snake tactic /violent like Nero/fascist like Hitler feudalistic like kethoprak\* king/

Among Javanese, Momok Hiyong is a kind of ghost story-told by parents to scare their children who don't want to go to bed.

how smart he is/his deceit is beyond calculation/

democracy is his ball toy/ human rights is interpreted as he likes it/

fond of gold fond of forest/fond of chair/fond of life/ extraordinarily uncommon/

this land is pawned people's future darkened/ made as bail of debt momok hiyong momok hiyong/ are you eternal?/

momok hiyong momok hiyong/ how many more pails/ of blood you are thirsty for/ (AIJP: 154)

One of the strengths of Thukul's poems is the use of figurative languages such as metaphor and simile. These languages are so contextual that readers don't need to spend much time to digest his messages. He portrays wong cilik who become the victims of elitist development as moss which is vulnerable to destruction, rusty ruins thrown away after use, unwanted flower excluded from unjust development, flour, clod of cotton, rotten chili whose prices are getting lower, logs having export quality for being cheap, legs of chair supporting the government elites on their comfortable chairs, empty bottles filled with everything without objection, and numbers calculated to beg for the World Bank and developed countries' mercy to lend money.

### In **Lumut** (Moss):

in alley/neither dark nor bright/I found an allegory/we are moss/ sticking on walls/growing in the edges of ditch/dry in the dry season/ swept away by flood/still survival/ (AIJP: 35)

### In **Puisi Untuk Adik**<sup>9</sup> (Poem for [my]Wife)

will our life be like rusty ruined bike?/oh, no, [my] wife!/we will keep resisting/the insightful time has taught us/how to face suffering/ it's us who smile/ for the future/

Don't give up to fear/we will keep struggling/ (AIJP: 55)

Kethoprak is a modern Javanese stage plays with historical and mythological themes.

In Javanese conjugal relationship, a husband may address his wife adik.

## In Bunga dan Tembok (Flower and Walls):

suppose we are flowers/we are unwanted flowers you don't want to let grow/[cause] you prefer to build/houses/to take over lands/

suppose we are flowers/we are unwanted flowers you don't permit to exist/[cause] you prefer to build roads and iron fence/

suppose we are flowers/we are flowers fallen in our own land/

if we are flowers/you are walls/but in the walls/we have spread our seeds/one day we will grow together/with a faith: you are going to be destroyed!/

in our faith/wherever [it is] a tyranny must tumble down/ (AIJP: 57)

#### In Terus Terang Saja (To be Honest):

am I flour, clod of cotton/ rotten chili whose price declines, logs for export quality/plywood/from the forests/which are now barren/ of log concession<sup>10</sup> and machine saw of development, [of] justice/ and [of] prosperity/and [of] just prosperity/

who am I/ legs of a chair/an empty bottle/ lowland (lebak) people/ who have to mow Kadipaten's<sup>11</sup> front yard/because a high government functionary will pass by/ .../ am I a liberated bakero<sup>12</sup>?/or jugun aianfu<sup>13</sup> is endlessly raped/[by] multinational corporation/ whoever claim for wage increase/seized/and sent to prison?/

am I numbers used as object of dissertation/to hold doctorate degree/brainless/mute/which routinely reported to World Bank/ as bail of state debts/and a pad for *tinggal landas* (taking off)?

now 100% democracy, round, no debate/but I am not a true me/because I am silenced by this 100% democracy/which is inculpable/

Hak Penguasahaan Hutang (HPH). It is widely known that those holding the log concession causes severe deforestation for doing legal and illegal logging in many regions like Kalimantan and Sumatra.

<sup>11</sup> Kadipaten, in colonial era, is an area ruled over by an adipati (government officer in charge of a regency). Now adipati is termed bupati, a head of the second –level administrative unit known as kabupaten (regency), which is a subdivision of a province (propinsi).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> A Japanese word which means idiot, imbecile.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> In Japan colonialism era, Jugun aianfu are women who were forcibly recruited for fulfilling the Japanese soldiers' sexual needs.

but I am skeptical for poverty not yet paralyzed/I am skeptical to 100% truth/to be honest!/ (AIJP: 143-4)

In industrial relations that included workers, government, and employers, the government promoted what was so called *Hubungan Industrial Pancasila* (Pancasila Industrial Relations). New Order's conception of Indonesia as a family state didn't allow labor strikes because "it sets conflicts, and is compatible with familial values" (Rinakit 1999: 15). In many practices, the government tended to defend employers, and blamed workers for labor unrest. In one hand, the governments saw low wage as an added value for encouraging foreign investment, but on the other hand, workers assumed that their wage didn't meet basic sustenance needs.

## In Sajak Kepada Bung Dadi ( Poem to Mr. Dadi):

this is also your country/houses lived by crowded humans and sorrow/ a home land of young women/laborers/leaving at dawn and homing at dusk/with meager wages/home of common folk/[who are] confused with permission letters and policies/made bowing nodding and bending over/

this is your homeland/here we aren't tourists/ (AIJP: 12)

## In Nyanyian Akar Rumput<sup>14</sup>(Song of Grass Root):

roads widened/we are expelled/setting up kampung<sup>15</sup>/we are nomadic/stuck on walls/pulled/discarded/

We are grass/need land/listen!/join us/to be the president's nightmare/ (AIJP: 6)

## In Ucapkan Kata-Katamu (Say Your Words):

if you are not willing to ask/you will be drowned in decisions/if you withhold your words/your mouth can't pronounce desires/robbed/ you will be treated like a stone/thrown away/discarded/ or open mouthed/can be filled with whatever/taking no role in anything/

In political and social language, akar rumput is associated with wong cilik.

Kampung is a residential area for lower class in town or city.

if you no longer to ask/you will the victims of decisions/do not imprison you pronouncement/

if we enslave ourselves to fear/we will lengthen the line of slavery/ (AIJP: 8)

#### CONCLUSION

In a country where human dignity isn't appropriately appreciated, where collectivity and uniformity are worshiped, literature's existence assuming freedom for expression is necessarily difficult to flourish. As members of society, literary writers emancipate both socially and politically in lives process through their works. In itself, literary works look for truth, wisdom, honesty, and sensitivity. Appreciating literary works isn't "a privilege for those who don't know time efficiency, or as hobby of those indulging in fancy stories, or in short, unpractical activities. In contrast, it could be forces affirming man's intentions to be complete personally and socially" (Mangunwijaya 1999: 72). Thus, it is about time to see literature not as idealistic, egoistic, liberal endeavors, but as "a dynamic force" having its role in *mencerdaskan kehidupan bangsa* (developing the mentality of the nation).

Empirically, the failure of politics in humanity in pursuing people's common welfare and prosperity may place both the political power holder and literary writers in the "field of battle". And usually the first, of their legitimacy and power, surpasses the latter through intimidation, terror, and other violence. However, doesn't fear has its limit?

Thukul is one of Indonesian writers (poets) who yells his resistance against the New Order regime. For his militant advocacy to marginalized people such as factory workers and pedicab drivers, he has to hide from the regime's hunt. He experiences a "perfect" violence, violence on his freedom, family, and his own life. He may (be) hide (hidden), or (killed) somewhere. But he is still kept alive in his friends' and family's hope that he will come home soon. He is also always remembered in demonstrators' outcry: ONLY ONE WORD: RESIST!- resistances to any regime suffering *schizophrenia* disease, whose attitudes are violent, brutal, and aggressive.

Literary writers will not stop throwing themselves into the problems of ravaging humanity. They will speak up for right or wrong as right wrong. Truth can't be silenced with any kind of evil deeds. Hiding facts can be a political policy, but hiding the truth is the stupidest thing that a man can ever do.

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