



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Writing novels under the New Order: state censorship, complicity, and literary production in Indonesia, 1977-1986

Hanafi, T.

Citation

Hanafi, T. (2022, March 31). *Writing novels under the New Order: state censorship, complicity, and literary production in Indonesia, 1977-1986*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3281344>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3281344>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

WRITING NOVELS UNDER THE NEW ORDER
State Censorship, Complicity, and Literary Production in Indonesia, 1977-1986

Taufiq Hanafi

Layout: Taufiq Hanafi

Cover illustration: '*Cetakan Terlarang*' (Prohibited Printed Matter) by Taufiq Hanafi

Print: UFB/Grafimedia

Copyright © 2022 Taufiq Hanafi. All rights reserved.

WRITING NOVELS UNDER THE NEW ORDER
State Censorship, Complicity, and Literary Production in Indonesia, 1977-1986

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 31 maart 2022
klokke 13.45 uur

door
Taufiq Hanafi
geboren te Bandung, Indonesië
in 1980

Promotores:

Prof.dr. H. Schulte Nordholt

Prof.dr. M. Bloembergen

Promotiecommissie:

Prof. dr. D. E. F. Henley

Prof. dr. Bambang Purwanto (Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta)

Prof. Dr. B. Arps

Dr. Ratna Saptari

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Any academic endeavor five years in the making unavoidably incurs inestimable debts than can never be repaid with a few lines of thanks. And yet, I aspire to do some justice to my intellectual development and to those who have helped shaping it. I am exceptionally and incessantly indebted to my advisors, Henk Schulte Nordholt and Marieke Bloembergen, for their good-natured guidance, patience, tireless encouragement, and tolerance, as well as brutal honesty, without which this dissertation would have remained a private fantasy.

I am equally grateful to Paul Bijl and Sikko Visscher for the many suggestions regarding possible texts to include in this dissertation as well as research methods I should use, and for the constant reminder of the importance of writing as simple, clear, and straightforward as possible. You have been important guides and generous readers.

I also wish to thank Joshua Oppenheimer who throughout our years of living in the ‘Lost Paradise’ has shaped my thinking about Indonesia. Indeed, irony is the gaiety of reflection and the joy of wisdom. To *Pak Ajip Rosidi*, *Pak Ahmad Tohari*, and *Kang Yudhistira Massardi*, not only are you and your works central in my study, but also a force of nature. Simply being in your presence has been a rewarding experience. I am also deeply grateful to Ariel Heryanto, *Pak Bambang Purwanto*, and Giles Scott-Smith, who not only offered helpful suggestions but also made available their own materials on censorship and literary history for my benefit.

I also wish to thank KITLV, LIAS, and LPDP that have been a wonderful home for the past five years. In these institutions, I have profited immensely from the generosity and encouragement of many outstanding individuals whose intelligence and positivity are infectious. I am forever grateful to Gert Oostindie, Rosemarijn Hoefte, David Kloos, Diana Suhardiman, Ellen Sitingjak, Willem van der Molen, Roel Frakking, Alex Stipriaan, Fynn, Ward Berenschot, Esther Captain, Gerry van Klinken, Malcolm Ferdinand, Kasia Mika, Sony Jean, Meindert van der Kaaij, Martijn Eickhoff, Harry Poeze, Abdul Wahid, Pia Teeuw, Jose Brittijn, Maghiel van Crevel, Margreet van Till, and Ratna Prabandari.

I also owe profound gratitude to my PhD colleagues at KITLV: Christiaan Harinck, Stacey Mac Donald, Hoko Horii, Simone Casale, Alison Fischer, Lennie Geerlings, Rosa de Jong, Nicole Medina Collazo, Katja Paijens, Yogi Setya Permana, Sanne Rotmeijer, Tibusay Sankatsing Nava, and most especially Grace Leksana. I would have loved to spend every minute of every day with you all, but some days I had deadlines to catch.

In the Department of Poetry, Wit, and Inappropriately-Clean Humor, Ireen Hoogenboom, Yayah Siegers-Samaniri, James Scambary, Tom van den Berge, Tom Hoogervorst, Fridus Steijlen, Kathryn Wellen, Joeri Arion, Thiti Jamkajornkeiat, and Anton Aliabbas have been a continual source of inspiration and maintainers of happiness and mental health during the very slow process of the maturation of this dissertation. I owe each one of you a pair of happy socks.

I would be remiss if I failed to acknowledge the support provided by a few genuine, kindhearted friends, without whom adventures in Leiden would have never begun: Kurniawan Saefullah, Julinta Hutagalung, Hari Nugroho, Nurenzia Yannuar, Fachrizal Afandi, Julia Se, Mubarika Nugraheni, Dian Akram, Hans de Bekker, Risky Tjokrosonto, Ayu Swaningrum, Rosalia Namsai Engchuan, Dito Manurung, Syahril Siddik, Mega Atria, Nazarudin, Zamzam Fauzanafi, Al Farabi, Tjahjono Prasodjo, Aditya Budiarsa, Arfiansyah Arfnor, Ivonne Martin, Eri Sidharta, Astri Kusumawardhani, Nor Ismah, Andika Sidar, Nurmayana Prahatmaja, Kusnandar, Maya Febriyanti, Raini Diah, Harlan Dimas, Rayan Suryadikara, Ody Dwicahyo, Mark van de Water, Muhammad Latif Fauzi, Ajeng Arainikasih, Sudarmoko, Yance Arizona, Wijayanto, Ade Jaya Suryani, Yunus Sulistyono, Victor Firmana, Nelly Samosir, Katriani Puspita, Angga Fuady, Arum Perwitasari, Bilal Dewansyah, Melita Tarisa, Natasha Santoso, Louie Buana, Deni Ismail, Mardiantio, Retno Hartiwi, Renu Lubis, Eduard Roesdi, Meira Setiawati, Retno Hartiwi, Maaïke Dijkstra, Edegar da Conceicao, Yosephin Apriastuti Rahayu, Els Bogaerts, Marije Plomp, Bart Berendregt, Lea Pamungkas, Tuti Coelen-Atmawidjaja, Thiijs Ambagts, Marloes Ambagts-van Rooijen, and Aloysius Agung Haryanto. Your thoughts, writings, and experiences have helped me so much in so many ways.

To *Emak, Bapa, Yanti, Mas Andi, Iwang, Bowo, Tiwi, Diah, Awal, Nanang, Rahma, Oke, Ita, Kiki, Mara, Shinta*, my gratitude is deep. And, finally, to *Ratna and Kala*, my chief source of consolation, being three, we are one in love. *Salawasna pacangreud pageuh, paheut sabeungkeut, kusabab deudeuh.*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1

Introduction	1
Statement of Problem	1
Research Questions	4
The Study in Context of Existing Scholarship	5
New Order Indonesia: A Setting.....	7
National Development, Culture, and Language.....	8
Censorship: a Preliminary Reading	11
Research Methodology	14
Chapter Overview and Organization	16

Chapter 2

The New Order and Cultural/Literary Development	19
Indonesian Mass Killings 1965-1966	20
New Order, New Beginning	28
Phase One: Recovery (1966-1974)	29
Phase Two: Steady Growth (1974-1983).....	34
Phase Three: Thrust in Economic Policy (1983-1990).....	36
Cultural Development	37
Conclusion	45

Chapter 3

Inside the Panopticon: Censorship under the New Order	47
Censorship in ‘New Order’: Historical Continuities	52
Surveillance Society: Censors and Agencies	63
Building a Panopticon	68
Censorship in Action: Mechanism and Procedure	71
Criteria for a Ban	76
Conclusion	78

Chapter 4

The Complexity of Censorship: Interlaced Systems of Author-Editor-Publisher Relations	80
Cultivating Political Ties: the Publisher and the State	82
Kompas	84
Gramedia.....	86
P.K. Ojong and Jakob Oetama.....	87
Categorizing Novels: Serious vs Popular	89
Self-censorship: from Manuscripts to Prints	93
Collecting and Selecting Manuscripts	93
Collection.....	93
Selection	97
Editing.....	101
Novel Print: Size and Layout.....	115
Conclusion.....	116

Chapter 5

Literary Mode: Narrative, Perspective, and Language	118
Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk	122
Synopsis	122
Analysis	124
Mencoba Tidak Menyerah.....	130
Synopsis	130
Analysis	131
Anak Tanahair: Secercah Kisah	136
Synopsis	136
Analysis	137
Conclusion.....	147

Chapter 6

Conclusion: Complexity, Complicity, and the Logic of <i>Antisipasi</i>	149
Bibliography	155
SUMMARY	171
SAMENVATTING (Summary in Dutch)	173
CURRICULUM VITAE	175