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**FREEDOM OF SPEECH
AND LITERARY EXPRESSION**

**A Case Study of
Langit Makin Mendung by Kipandjikusmin**

**A Thesis
submitted to
the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of
Master of Arts**

by

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ABSTRACT

The precarious relationship between Islam and art remains a moot question. The banning of a short story, a novel, a theatrical play, a film, a poem or any other kind of artistic enterprise is an attestation of such a crucial reference. Exploring the relation of Islam and literature, with Indonesian Islam as a background, this thesis will examine the short story *Langit Makin Mendung* written by Kipandjikusmin. This study will analyze the limitations imposed upon this short story in accordance with what was considered to be the Islamic *Weltanschauung*.

Langit Makin Mendung, which was published in August 1968 in the magazine *Sastra*, was condemned by the majority of Indonesian Muslims, for it was considered to be blasphemous, insulting God, the Prophet, the archangels, the *'ulamā'* and the *kiyai* [traditional scholars], and it was judged to be in contravention of the Constitution of '45. Various stands were maintained either to defend or criticize the short story. In terms of the public reaction to *Langit Makin Mendung*, the critiques concern three aspects; legal, literary and religious views.

Apart from such views, the thesis also examines Islamic teachings on intellectual freedom and on freedom of speech. And to realize that literature is a representation of the milieu it is produced in, this study elucidates the socio-political context in which *Langit Makin Mendung* was written. It will be shown that the political turbulence that occurred during the Old Order regime, especially in the era of the so-called Guided Democracy, and that the Communist movement of the 1960s are foremost among the influences on the milieu in which this short story was written. In addition to the socio-political context, this thesis assesses the theological aspect which focuses on the significant connection of the Islamic *Weltanschauung* and literature as an indicator of the status on freedom of literary expression in a Muslim society.

RÉSUMÉ

La relation précaire entre l'art et l'Islam est une question épineuse. La censure d'une nouvelle, d'un roman, d'une pièce de théâtre, d'un film, d'un poème ou de toute autre forme d'expression artistique en sont des exemples flagrants. En explorant la relation existant entre l'Islam et la littérature, en ayant pour toile de fond l'Islam indonésien, ce mémoire examinera de plus près la nouvelle *Langit Makin Mendung*, écrite par Kipandjikusmin. Cette recherche analysera les limites imposées à cette nouvelle, selon ce qui a été considéré comme étant le *Weltanschauung* islamique.

Langit Makin Mendung a été publié en août 1968 par le magazine *Sastra*. Cette nouvelle fut condamnée par la majorité des musulmans indonésiens comme étant blasphématoire, insultante envers Dieu, le Prophète, les Archanges, les '*ulamā*' ainsi que les *kiyai* [experts traditionnels] et jugée comme étant contrevenante à la constitution de 1945. Plusieurs positions furent soutenues soit pour défendre ou pour critiquer la nouvelle. Considérant la réaction du public à l'égard de *Langit Makin Mendung*, les critiques ont été formulées selon trois points de vues, c'est-à-dire les aspects légaux, littéraires et religieux.

Ces aspects mis à part, ce mémoire examinera aussi les enseignements islamiques concernant la liberté intellectuelle ainsi que la liberté d'expression. De plus, afin de réaliser que la littérature est une représentation du milieu au sein duquel elle fut produite, cette recherche élucidera le contexte socio-politique lors de la rédaction de *Langit Makin Mendung*. Il y sera démontré que les convulsions politiques qui se sont produites pendant le régime de l'Ordre Ancien, en particulier à l'époque de la soit-disante Démocratie Guidée ainsi que du mouvement communiste des années soixante, furent les principales influences affectant le contexte dans lequel cette nouvelle fut écrite. S'ajoutant à ce contexte socio-politique, ce mémoire évaluera aussi l'aspect théologique qui se concentre sur le lien significatif existant entre le *Weltanschauung* islamique et la littérature en tant qu'indicateur du degré de liberté d'expression littéraire au sein d'une société musulmane.

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Montreal, 24 May 1995

Nanang Tahqiq

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country where Islam exerts a very influential role. This premise can be attested to by numerous authentic proofs and examples. For instance, the majority of Indonesians follow the Muslim faith, thus making their land the largest Muslim country in the world. Islam is not only a religion which succeeded in releasing Indonesia from the shackles colonialism, but it is also a major player in the contemporary Indonesian arena.¹ Unfortunately, the previous studies on Indonesian Islam were carried out during the colonial era, and often painted a negative and distorted image of Indonesian Islam and Muslims. Doubtless, the aim of these Dutch endeavours was to detract from the value of Islam, which was perceived as the force behind the call for independence.²

Some scholars divide Indonesian Muslims into three categories, depending on the level of their adherence to the Muslim faith. These categories are: *santri*, *abangan*, and *priyayi*.³ However, Indonesian Muslims did not recognize these categories. For them Islam

¹For a comprehensive study of Indonesian Islam, see, *inter alia*, Deliar Noer, The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-42 [Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press], 1973; Harry J. Benda, The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945 [Den Haag: van Hoeve], 1958; B.J. Boland, The Struggle of Islam in Modern Society 1945-1970 [Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde], 1982; and Karel A. Steenbrink, Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19 (Several Aspects of Islam in Indonesia in the 19th Century) [Jakarta: Buian Bintang], 1984.

²Azyumardi Azra, "Islam di Asia Tenggara: Pengantar Pemikiran" (Islam in Southeast Asia: Introduction), in Azyumardi Azra [ed], Perspektif Islam di Asia Tenggara (The Perspective of Islam in Southeast Asia) [Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia], 1989: viii

³The terms *santri*, *abangan*, and *priyayi* were initiated by Clifford Geertz, The Religion of Java [New York: The Free Press], 1960. However, Geertz assumes that a *priyayi* can be in the same level as the other two. A *santri* was originally a pupil of a *pesantren*. Recently, however, the term *santri* has been used to refer to practicing Muslims. An *abangan* refers to those Javanese who are less strict in their devotional forms, and who emphasize the mystical rather than the legal or ritualistic dimensions of Islam. They call themselves 'Muslims, but not so fanatical', even though they are often called *kejawen* [Javanism] or Javanese Islam [practitioners of Islam Jawa]. A *priyayi*, which etymologically means *para yayi* [young brothers of the king], refers to a social class rather than a religious level. B.J. Boland, 1982: 4; Harsja W. Bachtjar, "The Religion of Java: Sebuah Komentar" (The Religion of Java: A Commentary), in Ahmad Ibrahim et al., Islam di Asia Tenggara: Perkembangan Kontemporer (Islam in Southeast Asia: Contemporary Development) [Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial], 1990: 309-326; Zaini Muchtarom, Santri

is Islam, a Muslim is a Muslim, with no distinction between these categories. A case in point is the Tegal Rejo *pesantren* [Muslim boarding school, *ma'had*] in Malang, which is a well-known *pesantren* affiliated with the Nahdlatul Ulama [NU] organization and was actually built by a *priyayi*. Even though this *pesantren* is affiliated with a traditionalist and a conservative religious organization [with Middle-Eastern inclinations], it did not oppose the local Javanese customs. On the contrary, it participated in developing the Javanese cultures and traditions within its vicinity. The educators and members of the Tegal Rejo *pesantren* do not view the local cultures, which encompass many Hindu and Buddhist elements, as foreign to the Muslim spirit and as something that can only pertain to the *abangan* people. On the contrary, the *pesantren* and the local traditions and cultures have mutually influenced each other. As such, it becomes clear that the difference particularly between *santri* and *abangan* in Indonesia is not as great as some previous scholars painted it. In fact, Islam has had a considerable impact in preserving the local customs.⁴

The *kiyais* and *'ulamā'* were always active in promoting and enhancing the religion of Islam in Indonesia. Indeed, it is through their efforts that an ongoing *santrinisasi* [islamization] is taking place in the archipelago. The people honour and trust them for they lead independent and autonomous lives, and are not swayed or threatened by contemporary regimes. Indeed, it is these qualities that enable those *Kiyais* and *'ulamā'* to exert an extensive authority in society. Hence, during the colonial era, the Dutch always sought to minimize the role of the *kiyais*.⁵ The latter, of course, could not be subdued, due to their

dan Abangan di Jawa (translated from his M.A. thesis at McGill, Santri and Abangan in Java) [Jakarta: Indonesian Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies], 1988; Sartono Kartodirdjo, Perkembangan Peradaban Priyayi (The Development of the Priyayi's Civilization) [Jakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press], 1987.

⁴Several local cultural activities supported by this *pesantren* are the many Javanese artistic activities and performances, such as *gamelan* [Javanese musical orchestra], *jatilan* [horse-riding dance], *wayang* [puppet show], *ketoprak* [Javanese drama], *reog* [tiger-masked drama], *campur* [war dance], *sorengan* [self-defence dance], and so on; see M. Bambang Pranowo, "Traditional Islam in Contemporary Rural Java: The Case of Tegal Rejo", in M.C. Ricklefs, Islam in the Indonesian Social Context [Monash University, Clayton, Victoria: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies], 1991: 39-54.

⁵Karel A. Steenbrink, 1984: 160-161.

high sense of duty towards their religion and society. Fighting the Dutch occupation was not an idle occupation for them, but a calling and an endeavour to which they dedicated their whole lives. Later, after the demise of colonialism, the *kiyais* and the '*ulamā*' continued and are still continuing to play a pivotal role in the socio-political arenas of the Old Order, as well as the New Order.

It is beyond the shadow of a doubt that Indonesian Islam and Muslims have played a perceptible and far-reaching role in the history and development of Indonesia. However, Islam has been utilized as a pawn for justifying and promoting various, and often conflicting, political inclinations. In almost every political campaign, Islam is sure to surface on the agenda of the various political parties. Ironically, it is exploited by both oppressors and oppressed, rulers and people, to justify their movements and stands. For the rulers and oppressors, Islam is exploited and used to maintain the *status quo*, while for the oppressed Islam is seen as a means of attaining justice and release from oppression. As a result, Islam is pulled at from all sides, which causes it to become fragmented and weak.⁶ Regardless, this is the situation as it exists at present in Indonesia.

In the realm of thought and ideas, Islam can be seen in both theological and political works. Moreover, it exerts a considerable influence upon the various literary genres. The interaction between literature and Islam, in its various forms and interpretations, has often been peaceful and harmonious. However, in 1968, the publication of a short story entitled *Langit Makin Mendung* broke this peaceful co-existence. Ironically, Islam was used in that situation to defend as well as to condemn the short story and its author. Indeed, the polemics this short story created touched upon a multitude of subjects and concepts and would not die down before the relationship between art, theology, the government, and the concept of freedom of speech were tugged at and surveyed from various vantage points.

⁶Fachry Ali, "Agama: Sebagai Instrumen dan Konsumsi" (Religion: As Instrument and Consumption), in his book, *Islam, Pancasila, dan Pergulatan Politik* (Islam, Pancasila and the Political Struggle) [Jakarta: Pustaka Antara], 1984: 8-16.

Thus, due to the unusual and rich character of this short story and its aftermath, the author has chosen *Langit Makin Mendung* as the subject of his thesis.

This thesis will address the tension between the intellectual's freedom of speech, ideas, thought and imagination on the one hand, and the dogmatic teachings of Islam on the other hand. These dogmas have always been interpreted, questioned and re-interpreted by Muslims who are generally sensitive to their religion. The problem will be studied with special reference to the short story *Langit Makin Mendung* [The Sky is Becoming Cloudier] by Kipandjikusmin, as well as to the repercussions it created across the fabric of Indonesian society.

Langit Makin Mendung is a *cerpen* [cerita pendek, short story] by Kipandjikusmin, which was published in *Sastra*,⁷ an Indonesian literary journal, in August 1968. The story was condemned by the majority of Indonesian Muslims, for it was considered to be blasphemous, and an insult to God, the Prophet, the angels, the *'ulamā'*, and the *kiyais*. Moreover, it was judged to contravene *UUD 45* [*Undang-Undang Dasar 45*, the Indonesian Constitution of 1945, or the Constitution of '45].⁸

This thesis is not only a study of *Langit Makin Mendung* but also an examination of the public reaction to it, and an illustration of the degree to which literature is Islamically acceptable to Indonesian Muslims. The thesis will also examine Islamic teachings on intellectual freedom and freedom of speech, as well as the thought of prominent Muslims scholars on that question. However, this thesis will not address such concepts as those pertaining to literary criticism, imagination, beauty or art. In other words, the thesis will

⁷*Sastra* [literature] was a literary magazine in Indonesia. The renowned H.B. Jassin [born 21 July, 1917] was its chief editor. H.B. Jassin has been called "*Paus Sastra*" [Pope of Literature]. See Darsjaf Rahman, *Antara Imajinasi dan Hukum* (Between Imagination and Law). [Jakarta: Perusahaan Terbatas Gunung Agung], 1986: 295, 435.

⁸Darsjaf Rahman, 1986: 296-297; H.B. Jassin, *Sastra Indonesia Sebagai Warga Sastra Dunia* (The Literature of Indonesia Is A Member of World Literature). [Jakarta: Gramedia], 1983: 102; Widya, "*Dari Politik Ke Hukum*" (From Politics to Law), *Angkatan Bersenjata*, Year IV, No. 1019, 4 November 1968.

limit itself to the theological and socio-political issues that the short story raised and gave rise to.

The first chapter consists of an annotated translation of *Langit Makin Mendung* into English, the original Indonesian version of which is in the appendix. By taking both texts into account, the readers will be able to juxtapose and discern the differences between the original text and the translation. This, of course, can only be done by speakers of both languages.

The critiques of *Langit Makin Mendung* will be studied in the second chapter where certain thoughts based on various paradigms will be expounded. This chapter will deal with Indonesian critics who wrote on the legal, the literary and the theological aspects of this short story. The significance of *Langit Makin Mendung*, as an indicator of the limits on the freedom of literary expression in a Muslim society will be assessed. It is also tempting to perceive that some Muslims' reactions embraced concepts which did not correlate to literature, but which were relevant and even reasonable because of several arguments they advanced. These, of course, will be duly examined.

In the last chapter, the contemporary cultural currents will be reviewed. As literature is a representation of the milieu it is produced in, it will be helpful to elucidate the socio-political context in which *Langit Makin Mendung* was conceived. It will be shown that the disruptions, political maneuvers, and movements of the 1960s were foremost among the influences on the milieu in which this story was written. However, one cannot overlook the theological aspect, which is noteworthy with regards to Muslims' beliefs and ideology.

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**TRANSLITERATION
OF ARABIC WORDS
AND NAMES**

<p>أ = a</p> <p>ب = b</p> <p>ت = t</p> <p>ث = th</p> <p>ج = j</p> <p>ح = ḥ</p> <p>خ = kh</p> <p>د = d</p> <p>ذ = dh</p> <p>ر = r</p> <p>ز = z</p> <p>س = s</p> <p>ش = sh</p> <p>ص = ṣ</p> <p>ض = ḍ</p>	<p>ط = ṭ</p> <p>ظ = ḏ</p> <p>ع = ʿ</p> <p>غ = gh</p> <p>ف = f</p> <p>ق = q</p> <p>ك = k</p> <p>ل = l</p> <p>م = m</p> <p>ن = n</p> <p>و = w</p> <p>ه = h</p> <p>ء = ʾ</p> <p>ي = y</p> <p>ة = ah</p> <p>ة = at</p>
<p>tāʾ marbūṭah in a construct phrase</p>	
<p>long: ا = ā ي = ī و = ū</p>	

Names and words in *Bahasa Indonesia* are spelled as written in this language, although they may be of Arabic origin.

CHAPTER 1

THE SKY IS BECOMING CLOUDIER

[An Annotated English Translation of *Langit Makin Mendung*]

Introduction

The short story *Langit Makin Mendung* is written in the daily colloquial Indonesian. Many slang words alive only at the time [c.1960s] are used throughout the work. As a result, there is a lack of beautiful and fancy language. This is contrary to what one might expect, making *Langit Makin Mendung* neither a poetic nor a stylistically outstanding story. It is also contrary to common expectations where literature is required to display eloquence, skill and a certain measure of art.

Maintaining the original style and precise expression has been a priority in the translation into English. Therefore, this translation follows the original text¹ using the marks [~~] for dialogues, not the usual quotation marks: ["...."]. The paragraphs and structure have also been maintained. However, the obstacles encountered in translating a literary work from *Bahasa Indonesia* to the English language by a non-English speaker like myself has also been considered. In particular jokes, comical phrases, colloquialisms and specific words have been accordingly adjusted to maintain their initial essence.²

¹For the original text see H.B. Jassin, Polemik: Suatu Pembahasan Sastra dan Kebebasan Mencipta Berhadapan dengan Undang2 dan Agama, [Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Pustaka Antara], 1972: 225-244; H.B. Jassin, Heboh Sastra 1968: Suatu Pertanggung-Jawab, [Jakarta: Gunung Agung], 1970: 86-102; Darsjaf Rahman, Antara Imajinasi dan Hukum: Sebuah Roman Biografi H.B. Jassin, [Jakarta: Gunung Agung], 1986: 444-458; Sastra Tahun VI No. 8, Agustus 1968.

²Compared to the translation by Marian De Walt Morgan, The Darkening Sky: An Indonesian Short Story, Southeast Asian Studies Working Paper No. 5 [Hawaii: Southeast Asian Studies Program, University of Hawaii], 1974, it seems that her translation is written in exaggeratedly beautiful English, both in terms of style and structure. My translation is not as smooth or subtle as hers, because *Langit Makin Mendung*, in truth, is not written in a beautiful Indonesian style. Nevertheless, some expressions or phrases of the above-mentioned translation were borrowed from Morgan's version.

Translation and Annotation

After a long time, they became bored with their status of being retired prophets in Heaven. They proposed a petition asking [not demanding] that pensioners be given a leave, so that they could take turns in going down to the world, which was said to have become much more crowded.

-- Amusement is indeed necessary. A state of copious bliss is indeed a torture for human beings who are used to fighting. We are neither angels nor small turtledoves. Our lips are stiff and already weary of praising Your Greatness for hundreds of years without quitting.

Reciting the petition written by the prophets, God was forced to shake His head and be at His wit's end because of human beings' dissatisfaction The first signer was summoned: Muḥammad from Madina, an Arab. On earth, people usually call him Muḥammad s.a.w.³

-- Hail, Milord.

-- What are the things lacking in this My Heaven? A million beautiful nymphs, rivers of milk, lakes of honey. Apples made of gold, citrus fruits of silver. Platinum small antelopes, birds with feathers of diamonds and opals. All of these are yours together,⁴ all sharing the same feelings and the same fate!⁵

-- Actually, bliss is more than enough, it is even crammed full and overflowing.

-- Look at the emerald grasses there, the pearl flowers blossoming in quantity.

³s.a.w is an Indonesian abbreviation standing for *shalallah 'alaihi wa sallam*, may Allah bless him and giveth him peace. This expression is, in fact, taken from Arabic, *ṣallā Allāh 'alaih wa sallam*, which Muslims add after the Prophet's name.

⁴This means together with other prophets and people in Heaven.

⁵The word "sharing the same feelings and the same fate", *sama rasa sama rata*, is popularly belonging to the Indonesian Communists. In this writing perhaps Kipandjikusmin wants to mock the Communists and to simultaneously make a joke.

-- You are the Great Wealthy One indeed. And how destitute human beings are, how so very miserable.

-- Witness the silk carpet you are stepping on. The long flowing Cashmere robe and turban you are wearing. The Aladdin footwear that can fly. I've already given you all those beautiful things!

Muhammad bowed his head perceiving how mankind's life was just like a beggarly rattan interwoven with continuous entreatments for God's alms. How very undignified were those who always expected pity. He remembered when he first arrived in Heaven that he himself was only a chip of a naked soul.

-- What are you really seeking in the world? Indecency, hypocrisy, starvation, weeping and loathing are abundant there.

-- I would like to conduct some research. [He answered softly].

-- About what?

-- Lately, so few of my *umma* have been entering Heaven.

-- Ah, that's just normal. Most of them are coming from tropical areas, aren't they?

-- Absolutely. You are the Most Omniscient indeed.

-- The dry season is too long in those areas. The sun's heat has too long burnt their dull-witted brain. [Old-fashioned spectacles made of gold were put on the table, also made of gold].

-- I beg Your pardon, O God?

-- Your *umma* have been much pricked by the sunlight. Some of them have become somewhat crazy, while the others die suddenly.

-- For heaven's sake! How are their fates then?

-- The former are passionately clowning around in mad-houses.

-- And the dead?

-- There is an official seal of *kalima shahāda*⁶ within their passports, so that the devil king has of necessity rejected to give them hell-visas.

-- It is amazing that they have never requested asylum here! [His forehead is slightly wrinkled].

-- The hell-troops have in fact chained their feet to their own gravestones.

-- What is their sin? What an unlucky destiny for my *umma*, my Lord!

-- Their souls are said to reek of *Nasakom*.⁷ They are poisoned by *Nasakom*.

-- *Nasakom* ? What kind of poison is that, my Lord? Which damned devil is poisoning their souls? [Muḥammad s.a.w. looked restless and angry. His fists were clenched] ‘Uthmān, ‘Umar and ‘Alī!⁸ Sharpen your swords well!

God just kept nodding and smiling with comprehension, in a fatherly manner.

-- Search the authentic facts on your own. As for the swords, I don't think they are in demand anymore at the second-hand market in Jeddah harbor. The creator of *Nasakom* already has an atomic bomb, you know!

-- Then, I am permitted to go down to earth? [He did not fear the atomic bomb].

⁶*Kalima shahāda* is a confession of faith, and it is one of the five Islamic fundamental pillars stating that a person is a Muslim. This confession contains a passage "There is no God but Allah and Muḥammad is His prophet". In the story, it is shown that *kalima shahāda* is not accepted by the Hell-Kingdom.

⁷*Nasakom* stands for *Nasional, Agama, Komunis* [Nationalist, Religion, Communist]. *Nasakom* was created by Soekarno, the first President of Indonesia, and was intended to be a fusion of ten political parties representing three social strata i.e. the Nationalist, Religious and Communist political groups. Through the presidential decree no. 7 of 1959, no. 128 of 1960, and no. 440 of 1961 *Nasakom* was legalized as political parties in Indonesia. According to the *Nasakom* concept, the political group of Nationalists consisted of *P.N.I* [*Partai Nasional Indonesia*, Indonesian Nationalist Party], *Partindo* [*Partai Indonesia*, Indonesian Party], *I.P.K.I* [*Ikatan Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia*, The Association of Indonesian Freedom Proponents]; the political religious groups consisted of *N.U.* [*Nahdlatul Ulama*], *Partai Katolik* [Catholic Party], *P.S.I.I* [*Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia*, Indonesian Muslim Association Party], *Parkindo* [*Partai Kristen Indonesia*, Party of Indonesian Christians], *Partai Islam Perti* [Islamic Party of Perti]; the Communist political parties consisted of *P.K.I* [*Partai Komunis Indonesia*, Party of Indonesian Communists], and *Partai Murba* [Party of Murba]. See Staf Umum Angkatan Darat I, *Nasakom: Djilid I, II, III*. [Jakarta: Angkatan Darat], 1962

⁸Those names refer to ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān, ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, who are well-known as the *khulafā’ al-rāshidūn*. In truth, Kipandjikusmin should have given precedence to ‘Umar not to ‘Uthmān.

-- Sure. Ask for a travel permit from Sulaimān the Wise in the secretariat, in order, as you know, not to be disturbed by *Botes polisi-polisi*⁹ or *hansip-hansip*¹⁰ who instinctively question travel permits without any serious purpose and without really caring about the answer.

-- Can't they be bribed?

-- No, they aren't like the police on earth. Take Gabriel along with you, so you don't get lost!

-- Hail, O God. [He grovelled, full of joy].

* * *

Prior to the time of departure, Heaven was buzzing with activity. The change of the authority documents of the Muslims' leader in Heaven had already been signed. Abū Bakr was appointed the receiving party, and there was still much more to be done.

-- Hail, Praiseworthy One, which route would you chose? [The angel Gabriel asked respectfully].

-- To where my body was laid to rest, Madina, do you remember? I want to calculate the number of travellers who made a devotional visit to the sacred places. Here, we only realize two sorts of figures, one and infinity.

All the Heaven dwellers accompanied them to the airport. Desert songs were touchingly sung, but without the belly dancing of nymphs, and heaven knows how many millions of hands Muḥammad *s.a.w.* had to shake.

The prophet Adam *a.s.*,¹¹ as the eldest, stepped up to the microphone. He stated that Muḥammad's *s.a.w.* trip to the earth was a new page in the history of mankind. Great hope was expressed that a deep mutual comprehension would soon be woven between the dwellers of Heaven and of the world.

⁹*Botes polisi-polisi* are police assistants

¹⁰*Hansip-hansip* is the plural form of *hansip*, which stands for *pertahanan sipil*, civilian defense units often given neighborhood patrol tasks.

¹¹*A.s.* is *'alaihissalam*, in Arabic: *'alaih al-salām*, piece be upon him. This expression is used after the name of prophets except the Prophet Muḥammad. See footnote no. 3.

-- Lastly, ladies and gentlemen, this on-the-spot observation of Muḥammad s.a.w. should be utilized to the full later. Brothers and sisters in holiness, exactly, as dwellers of Heaven, we shouldn't forget our brothers' and sisters' struggle against the gnawing of hell's devils and their lackeys on earth. We have to assist them with prayers and constructive thoughts, so that they become willing to be drawn to the side of God. That is all now. *Salut*, have a nice trip, Muḥammad. Long live the union of the Peoples of Heaven and the World.

-- *Ganyang*¹²!!! [A million voices replied in unison].

Then, Muḥammad immediately hoisted himself on the *burāq* --a winged steed which had been his vehicle on the *mi'rāj*.¹³

As fast as lightning the *burāq* flew towards earth, and Gabriel, who was getting on in years, followed panting behind.

Very suddenly, a sputnik flew in the non-air atmosphere.

-- What's that? [the Prophet was greatly amazed]

-- People on earth call it sputnik! There are three people in it, O Apostle.

-- People? To pick me up, isn't that so? [He was cheered].

-- No, they are ordinary people of the largest nation of infidels in the world. Followers of Marx and Lenin, who refuse God. However, their brains are brilliant.

-- What unfortunate people; may God forgive them. [He prayed]. I would like to look at those infidels. Come on, go closer, *burāq* !

The *burāq* flew rapidly across sputnik's orbit, and Gabriel, with his fiery sword, signaled to the sputnik to stop for a while.

¹²*Ganyang* means crush, smash, and it was the Indonesian Communists' favourite yell. The term *ganyang* in this context has no relevance to the passage, because the word is usually used to attack other parties. Perhaps by such word Kipandjikusmin wants to make a joke, or to show that in the 1960s, every mass meeting with millions of people was closed by a heroic and energetic yell like *ganyang!*, or *merdeka!* [freedom!], or *hidup!* [viva!], and so on.

¹³For Indonesian Muslims, *mi'rāj* is combined with *isrā'*: *isrā'* and *mi'rāj*. *Isrā'* is Muḥammad's journey from al-Ḥaram mosque in Mecca to al-Aqṣā mosque in Jerusalem, and *mi'rāj* is from al-Aqṣā mosque to the sky, or Heaven. In the *isrā'* and the *mi'rāj*, Muḥammad went by *burāq*.

But, that Russian sputnik had no brakes. A crash could not be avoided. Thus, the *burāq* and the sputnik were thoroughly shattered to dust particles; without sound, without residue. The bald-headed¹⁴ members at the Aeronautical Institute in Siberia applauded loudly and happily.

-- It is hereby reported that the Russian sputnik has succeeded in making physical contact with an unknown planet. There have been a few communication problems..... [Moscow Radio broadcast].

Muhammad and Gabriel were flung away downward, but luckily, they were hung on a batch of clouds as soft as cotton.

-- Oh dear, oh dear, Hell will have three more new comers [He whispered sadly].

For a while he looked down. Suddenly his heart leaped in horror.

-- Gabriel, which level of Hell is over there?

-- You did not guess right, your reverence. Beneath us is not Hell, but the most sinful area on earth called Jakarta. It is the capital of a country where a hundred million lazy and stupid people live. However, they always unanimously claim to be free of illiteracy.

-- I have never heard that name. Which is more sinful, Jakarta or Sodom and Gomorrah?

-- They are almost the same.

-- Aha, isn't that greenish thing the color of hell-fire?

-- No, your reverence! That is a line of volunteer men and women bent on crushing Malaysia, their neighboring country.

-- Are there members of my *umma* in Malaysia?

-- Almost all of them are, except for the Chinese of course.

-- If that's so, then the people below must be infidels!

¹⁴Bald-headed is an expression used for scientists.

--- Not at all, 90 % of them are Muslims too.

--- 90 % [the Prophet's face cheered], 90 million of my *umma* ! Beloved Muslim men and women. But I don't see any sufficiently large mosque. Where do they do their Friday prayer?

--- About 90 million is just a haphazardly acquired earth statistic given without basis in fact. According to Abū Bakr's record in Heaven, there are not a million true Muslims among them.

--- How weird. Are they mad?

--- No, just somewhat a little crazy. Now they're going to shatter a neighboring country of the same religion!

--- How bizarre!

--- It is really bizarre.

--- Alright, Gabriel, let's make haste and leave this maledictive place. I am longing for Madina.

--- Doesn't your reverence wish to find out the causes of those weird things?

--- Not in this place [He replied firmly]. My research place is in Cairo.

--- Are you not the last true prophet, O Muḥammad?

--- As it is written in the Book of Allah. [Replied the Prophet modestly].

--- But the people below there have already made someone else a prophet.

--- Why should I bother about false prophets?

--- Your *umma* have almost yielded to the false prophet's teachings, *Nasakom* !

--- *Nasakom*, so this place is the source. You say that my *umma* are yielding, nonsense!! [Anger colored his face].

--- Yeh, Islam is threatened. Isn't your reverence concerned and touched? [The voice of the Devil was heard, followed by boisterous laughter].

The Prophet gazed upwards.

-- The commandment of Allah will never fail. However it may be, Islam exists and will always exist, though the world may collapse!

The Prophet's words thundered dreadfully, echoing towards earth; in the valleys, on the mountain peaks, in the rubber trees, and whirled around the open sea.

The echo even reached Heaven, and was respectfully answered in unison:

-- Amen, amen, amen.

Hell swayed, devils holding their ears trembled. Lightning flashed and thunder sounded.

-- Well, let us go, O *Rasūl Allāh* !

Muhammad did not want to leave the cloud where he was standing. His heart was doubtful, sorrowful and mortified. His face was full of anger, and as dark as the cloudy sky around him.

Gabriel observed him intently, full of questions, but did not dare ask.

* * *

The rainy season had not yet arrived. In Jakarta, many people were suffering from influenza and dizziness, and were vomiting.

All of a sudden, the price of *Naspro* and *APC* tablets soared; and that of vitamin C and penstrip ampoules even more.¹⁵

It is said that since the factory was nationalized, the *Naspro* agents were impotent. Only Chinese pharmacies and inside black market agents were unhampered in obtaining quotas through illegal means.

An evening newspaper, *Warta Bhakti*, wrote: in Bangkok, a thousand people died because of the flu, but concerning the flu in Jakarta, the Minister of Health was just speechless.

¹⁵Penstrip ampoules are ampoules containing liquid penicillin and streptomycin.

The next morning, the Minister of Health, still silent, was asked to appear before the President, alias *PBR*.¹⁶

-- *Zeg*,¹⁷ General. Does this flu kill people or not?

-- No, sir.

-- Then, is it not dangerous?

-- No, sir. The Communist is the one who is dangerous, sir!

-- Hoho, you. You must be a Communist-phobe, yeh!

However, although the Jakarta flu was not dangerous, it was not as smart as the Jakarta police. The flu could not be bribed. Its attacks raged without concern for class or social hierarchy. From beggar-whore-Minister's wife to the President himself, everyone was arbitrarily attacked.

The palace servants were shocked, the Ministers of Coordination were upset and sad, the military commanders reversed their caps,¹⁸ as they were nervous while witnessing the Great Leader of the Revolution vomiting like a woman in her early stages of pregnancy.

In a wink, doctors were mobilized and telegraph wires were busy seeking secret communications to Peking.¹⁹

-- Please speedily send your well-known Chinese physicians. Our Great Leader is seriously ill, possibly on the verge of death.

¹⁶*PBR* [*Pemimpin Besar Revolusi*, the Great Leader of the Revolution] is a title given among others to Soekarno. Sometimes, *PBR* was acronymized by *PEBESREV* which contains three words and means the same: *P*emimpin *B*ESar *R*EVolusi. Actually, Soekarno had many titles such as *PYM* [*Paduka Yang Mulia*, Your/His Excellency], *PANGTI* [*Panglima Tertinggi*, the Commander-in-Chief].

¹⁷*Zeg* is taken from Dutch and is usually used to start a conversation, or for breaking the ice in a dialogue conducted between two people. In English, *zeg* can mean 'so', or 'well'.

¹⁸Commonly, wearing reversed caps is associated with a person who has a serious problem in many armies, though it is here a joke.

¹⁹Jakarta-Peking-Pnom Penh-Pyongyang were admitted by Soekarno as the axis of friends. Hence, Soekarno was blamed for closing the Indonesian-oriented politics of a free, non-aligned country. Sjafrî Segeh, *Soebandrio Durno Terbesar Abad Ke-XX*. [Padang: Usaha Trimuf], 1966: 34.

Comrade Mao, on his throne, smiled and, with his merciful face, he cheered up his dying comrade of the axis.

-- May you recover soon. The Chinese people have dispatched several physicians and soothsayers to analyze your sickness. A strong medicine of a thousand-year-old ginseng²⁰ root is enclosed. It is guaranteed to be efficacious. Your faithful friend: signed, Mao [A present for Aidit²¹ was also entrusted to the physicians].

Because of the restorative power of the medicine, it seemed that the patient recovered gradually. As a religious person, he did not forget to thank God Who had favored him with a friend as good as Mao.

A party was given. The Chinese physicians were given special seats. For a while, the host forgot his religion, the pork and frog²² served were completely devoured. The *kiyais*²³ who were present smiled grimly.

-- Ladies and gentlemen. The *Nekolim*²⁴ press shouted that Soekarno is seriously sick. Even near death, they said. [The guests laughed, and laughed at the stupidity of the *Nekolim*]. Well, ladies and gentlemen, they must be very eager to see their biggest enemy dead. They must think that with Soekarno dead, Indonesia would be as easily mashed underfoot, as though they were conquering their own navels, like in Tengku's²⁵ country.

²⁰Ginseng is a kind of root traditionally thought to aid sexual potency.

²¹Aidit is the nickname for Dipa Nusantara Aidit. He was the leader of *PKI* [*Partai Komunis Indonesia*, the Indonesian Communist Party] from 1950-1965. He was involved in the 1965 coup in Indonesia.

²²Pork and frog are forbidden, *ḥarām* food, to Muslims.

²³*Kiyai* [s] is the Indonesian term for someone knowledgeable in Islamic teachings, or it may refer to Muslim scholars, or heads of *pesantrens* [Islamic boarding school].

²⁴*Nekolim*, an acronym of *Neo-Kolonialis-Kolonialis-Imperialis* [Neo Colonialist-Colonialist-Imperialist], was introduced for the first time by General A. Yani, but was later popularized by Soekarno. See, Soekarno, Tahun Vivere Pericoloso, TAVIP: Pidato Presiden Republik Indonesia pada Tanggal 17 Agustus 1964 [Medan: Firma "Harris"], 1964: 49. For more on General A. Yani, see footnote 61.

²⁵Tengku Abdulrachman Putra was the Prime Minister of Malaysia, at the time when Soekarno disagreed with him. For Soekarno, Tengku was a lackey of *Nekolim* for he favored England, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States. Soekarno, Kebangkitan Umat Islam Sedunia, Lonceng Kematian Bagi Seluruh Nekolim: Amanat Presiden Soekarno pada Rapat Umum Penutupan Konperensi Islam Asia-Afrika

--- In fact [he pointed to his chest], look at my body, ladies and gentlemen, Soekarno is still safe and sound. Soekarno does not want to die yet, I say. [People clapped uproariously, even the Chinese physicians were not left behind]. *In shā'a Allāh*,²⁶ I won't die first, before the *Nekolim* project of Malaysia is pulverized. [More applause].

The intermission began, and standing on his old bones, the President danced the *lenso*²⁷ dance with girls, specially invited from Menteng.²⁸

The assistants and ministers too did not want to seem less stylish. Only the army commanders were left, and they sat worriedly watching the Commander-in-Chief acting like a child not yet circumcised.²⁹

His personal doctor whispered.

--- It's all right. It's good for his kidneys, so that his excellency's kidney stone won't be active.

--- Sing! Sing, please sir! [the girls flattered].

--- O.k., o.k.. But you should join me, okay! [He acted like an ostrich].

Siapa bilang Bapak dari Blitar

Bapak ini dari Prambanan

Siapa bilang rakyat kita lapar

*'Malaysia' yang kelaparan.....!*³⁰

--- Let's enjoy ourselves..... [Discordant sounds were made, all reeking of champagne].

[K.I.A.A] di Stadion Utama Gelora "Bung Karno", Senayan. [Jakarta: Departemen Penerangan Republik Indonesia], 1965: 9-10.

²⁶*In Shā'a Allāh* is an Islamic expression meaning God Willing.

²⁷*Lenso* is a dance from Menado that President Soekarno popularized.

²⁸*Menteng* is an area in the Center of Jakarta well-known as an elite district.

²⁹For Indonesian Muslims, the kid who has not had circumcision is considered to be a spoiled and childish being.

³⁰*Who said I am from Blitar*

I am actually from Prambanan

Who said our people are in hunger

Malaysia is the one that's in starvation.

In a dark corner of the palace, a Chinese physician was whispering with a Minister.

-- He seems very cheerful.

-- That's a sign that he's nearly dead.

-- Dead?

-- Yeh, dead, or at least paralyzed. Comrade Mao has sent a message that now is the time.

-- But we aren't ready yet.

-- When then will you be ready? You mustn't procrastinate until Nasution's³¹ clique takes the lead.

-- Wait for D day!

-- Alright, see you later [The Chinese physician smiled satisfactorily].

And they parted.

In the sky, the clouds became thicker, and the stars hazily shone. The party ended with *Kembang Kacang* sung by a 68-year-old wrinkled granny.

-- The President's old friend. [People whispered].

After that the guests excused themselves, their full stomachs preceded their limp legs; some of them drunkenly vomited in the parking area. Their belches smelled of alcohol, as the *kiyais* repeatedly said *alḥamd li Allāh*.³²

³¹Nasution is the nickname of Abdul Haris Nasution. At the time he was Minister of the Security and Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces. Unlike the other six generals, he escaped from the butchering of the PKI in the 1965 coup. Read the story, Arswendo Atmowiloto, *Penghianatan G 30 S/PKI*. [Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan], 1986. See also footnote 61.

³²Islamic teachings prescribe saying *alḥamd li Allāh* [Praise be to God] after belching, but it is not obligatory. In this story, Kipandjikusmin describes how the *kiyais* always say the word whenever they hear someone belching, without caring who is belching. Actually Kipandjikusmin's explanation of this is unsound, because *alḥamd li Allāh* is not said by somebody who hears someone else belching, but by the person who belchs himself. Whereas the hearer should say *yarhamuka Allāh* [God Bless you].

Later, the Ministers left with the girls, and looked for rooms to rent. The servants busily collected the leftover food, to take home as a present to their wives and children.

The palace dogs loudly snored, and were overly full --drunk with *Malaga* wine. Beggars outside the palace fences gazed sadly, blaming fate for making them men not dogs!.

* * *

Rumors that Soekarno was almost fatally paralyzed spread quickly from mouth to mouth. They instantly burst like leaping flames into the vagabond shacks on Chinese-owned land.

They even reached the ears of Muḥammad and Gabriel, who had transformed themselves into a pair of eagles. They were perched on top of the Golden Tower,³³ made in a Japanese factory, from which they had a free and uninterrupted view of the surroundings.

-- *Allāh Akbār*, the false prophet is almost dead. [Gabriel flapped his wings].

-- But not his doctrines. *Nasakom* has even contaminated the spirits of the soldiers. It has already become the second nature of some of my *kiyais*. [He snorted, fed up].

-- Is that what your reverence is worried about?

-- Why did you choose this eagle form and not a human one? We would have been able to do so much for my *umma* !

-- Your reverence should remember that in Jakarta, every nose should have a residency card. Otherwise, you would be raided by vagrants!

-- Better to be a spirit, free and safe.

-- For worldly business we have to be a part of the world.

³³ The Golden Tower here is *Tugu Monas* [*Monumen Nasional*, the National Monument Tower], whose top is made of gold, and it is located in Merdeka Selatan Street, Jakarta

-- What for?

-- In order to see the naked truth right before our eyes.

-- But this eagle form separates us from the realm of human beings?

-- Yeh, it is just very difficult to follow human beings' feelings and thoughts if we were united with them.

-- I realize that!

-- And in this present manifestation, our eyes are sharp. Our moves are fast!

-- Ah, yeh. You are right, Allah bless you, Gabriel. Let's go around again. However sinful it is, I started loving this city.

A pair of eagles flew over the dusty Jakarta twilight, and filled up their lungs and noses with the smoke of thousands of car mufflers.

From above the Senen Mall, the smell of garbage heaps was smelt, putrid and filthy.

The filthy odor grew stronger above Senen Station. Full of doubt, the Prophet alighted on a zinc-roof, while Gabriel made a sweeping circle on the railway coaches of the Planet District.³⁴

Prostitutes and whores were passionately dressing up. Powder to cover pockmarked faces, cheap red-lipstick and bridal dresses appeared in numbers.

Beneath the railway coaches, a few old whores --menstruating-- were moaning from pain, having got syphilis. Their genitals were full of ulcers, and flies had a party on them by sucking the pus. Twilight fell, collapsed on the town, and gave place to a night filled with stars scattered across the sky. A young man entered the washroom, which was enclosed by a chest-high bamboo wall, to wash off sperm. Following him a fat girl whose back was covered with white bloches from fungus, urinated and washed

³⁴Planet District is another name for Senen Mall and its surroundings.

herself off. Instantly, a *jengkol*³⁵ aroma rose. Her armpits had a sweaty ammonia odor, from acrobatics on a rickety iron bed.

In another room, a lascivious old man was passionately pumping away on the belly of a fifteen-year-old girl. The girl, indifferent to his squeezing, was busy hunting lice and singing a *dangdut*³⁶ song.

The *Hansip-hansip*³⁷ were busy controlling, and looking for protection-money.

-- What is your reverence reflecting upon?

-- In a country where Muslims are the majority, they are freely engaging in illicit sexual activities. [He shook his head].

-- It may be the influence of *Nasakom* ideas! The false prophet had declared that whores are also principal pillars of revolution.

-- Ay, the slithering compatible animals. They have to be stoned to death. Did not Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān disseminate my teachings to the *kiyais* here? Engaging in illicit sex, what filthy people are these! Stones, get me stones!

-- Stones are expensive here. One cubic meter for two hundred rupiahs, and it would be a pity to use them just to stone the adulterers. Moreover.....!

-- Find them in the rivers and on the mountains!

-- The whole world does not have enough stones to stone the adulterers. There are not enough to build a mosque, doesn't your reverence see?

-- Nevertheless, this must not be allowed! [The Prophet stamped his foot].

-- Whores are in demand in this country, ya *Rasūl*.

-- For heaven's sake! Has evil already controlled you, Gabriel?

-- No, your reverence, I am always conscious. Please hear my voice. Later on, poetry would be written, sounding like this:

³⁵*Jengkol* is a kind of fruit, the beans of which are called the pithecolobium, and are eaten raw. This fruit causes urine to have a bad smell, but it raises the appetite.

³⁶At the time, it was called the *Melayu* song, not *dangdut*.

³⁷See footnote 10.

Pelacur-pelacur kota Jakarta

Naikkan taripmu dua kali

dan mereka akan kelabakan

mogoklah satu bulan

dan mereka akan puyeng

lalu mereka akan berzina

dengan istri saudaranya ³⁸

-- Crazy poet! Indecent!

-- It is the voice of truth. Open and cheap indecency will precisely shroud the latent indecency within their hearts. [Muhammad kept quiet, and his face looked gloomy].

In front of the *Remaja* bookstore there was a critical scene, a pickpocket had been caught red-handed. *Becak* drivers led the crowd in beating him up. Knocked up, the pickpocket fell and rose again and over again begging for mercy, but inside his heart he was laughing secretly at his own stupidity: unlucky day, he had made the mistake of snatching the empty purse of a corporal in civilian clothes. And unlucky days meant getting fists, kicks and vile remarks which were not pleasant. However, that was just routine for him. The Senen police did not care after seeing such people on a daily basis. The people overwhelmed him just for pleasure. Suddenly, a soldier appeared and pushed inside the crowd. The pickpocket was dragged away and taken somewhere nobody knew.

³⁸

Prostitutes of Jakarta

Double your fees

they'll run around like a chicken without a head

strike for a month

and they'll get a headache

soon they'll engage in illicit sex

with their brother's wife

This poetry, written by Rendra, is quoted from his poem "*Bersatulah Pelacur-Pelacur Kota Jakarta*" [All Prostitutes of Jakarta City, Be United]. However, the quotation in this story is not as precise as the original of Rendra's text. See, W.S. Rendra, Blues untuk Bonnie: Kumpulan Sajak. [Jakarta: Cupumanik], 1971: 22-24.

-- He is a tough Senen leader; a member of Syafii's gang, the king of pickpockets!

-- That man stole something, hasn't he? [The Prophet's sight was full of observation].

-- Right. People here call him pickpocket or snatcher.

-- Why did they only beat up the thief? His accursed hand should have been cut off. That was Allah's command to me.

-- They don't have swords, ya *Rasūl*.

-- Surely they could import some!

-- They must be economical with foreign exchange. Imported swords are only for the adornment of navy cadets.

-- So what do these people use for war?

-- Boasting and guns on loan from Russia.

-- That infidels' country?

-- Definitely, and some were from America, a country where people worship wealth and dollars.

-- Both must be equally evil!

-- They are both equally efficient in spreading hatred, chaos and confusion in the world.

-- The world has become mad! [He sighed].

-- Yeh, the world has aged!

-- Whereas the Last Day is still long in coming.

-- There is still time, Prophet!

-- Time for what?

-- To do something for our loneliness in Heaven.

-- Right, right, actually such view is full of passion, though dirty. I am going to suggest having a T.V. in Heaven.

Both eagles flew on through the dark night.

-- Gabriel, look! Someone is running like a dog over there, I suddenly feel an omen.

-- I feel so also. Let us follow him, Muhammad.

A moment later, they alighted on a tall areca nut tree. Their sharp eyes spied the movement of somebody wearing glasses.

-- Who is he? Why is he so happy?

-- The generals call him Durno.³⁹ He is the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Leader of the spies.

-- What do you really think of him?

-- He is just Togog.⁴⁰ A hoodlum of self-centered kings.

-- Sssh, what's that letter is in his hand?

-- A document.

-- Document?

-- The Gilchrist Document,⁴¹ I heard it was left behind at Bill Palmer's house.

³⁹In Javanese *wayang* [puppet play], Durno is a teacher of both the childhood era of the Kurawa and the Pandawa family. Later, in their adulthood era, Durno favors the Kurawa which is identical with evil. Durno is a brilliant person who simply happened to be on the wrong side. He is a rabble rouser who always makes Pandawa and Kurawa fight in wars. During the communist upheaval, the Indonesian Foreign Minister Soebandrio was considered as the Durno. He occupied nine positions other than the Foreign Affairs Minister, e.g. the head of *BPI* [*Badan Pusat Intellegensi*, the Central Bureau of Intelligence], the Vice Prime Minister I, the Deputy of the Great Commander of *KOTRAR* [*Komando Tertinggi Angkatan Darat*, The Highest Command of the Armed Forces], the member of *KOTI* [*Komando Operasi Tertinggi*, the Highest Operative Command], the Coordinator of Irian Barat Affairs, the Chief of the Supervisory Council for Antara Broadcasting, the Deputy of the Great Commander of *KOTOE*, and the head of GI. On 25 October 1966 he was sentenced to death for his involvement in the 1965 coup. Sjafrri Segeh, 1966: 3-62.

⁴⁰Again in Javanese *wayang*, Togog is a God who has come down to earth to serve warring figures. He is a servant of the Kurawa side, while the servant of the Pandawa is Semar. He is not an evil person, but always advises the Kurawa to do good things. He is seen as a weak person with little competence and no advisory power.

⁴¹The Gilchrist Document was found at Bill Palmer's house near the bungalow of the British Embassy in Bogor. Gilchrist was taken from the name of the ex-ambassador of Britain to Indonesia, Sir Andrew Gilchrist. The document contained the passage: "It would be as well to emphasize once more to our local friends in the army that the strictest caution, discipline and co-ordination are essential to the success of the enterprise". According to Soebandrio and the Communist Party, the document represented that the Army Forces had built the Council of the Generals [*DD/Dewan*

-- Gilchrist? Bill Palmer? They sound like horses' names!

-- No, they are an Englishman and an American.

-- Ooh.

Above them Togog was leaping with joy. This time, he had a sudden good fortune, he found a charm gratis. He believed that such dog-eared paper would create a tumult worldwide. He could not stop kissing that miraculous charm.

His thoughts were lost in daydreams, and suddenly he smiled to himself.

-- History will write with golden ink: Togog successfully uncovered the plots of the knights who rebelled against his majesty the king!

He imagined the clamorous cheers of the proletarian people in the *Senayan* field.⁴²

-- Long live Togog, the crown prince! Long live Togog, our candidate king!

Again, he smiled to himself. The old king was almost dead, and young king Togog would ascend the throne, as soon as the generals were cornered.

He strongly kicked the door of *BPI*,⁴³ three times. That was a code!

-- How are you, your highness, Togog?

-- Make many copies of this document! But be careful, it's top secret. Don't leak it to the other intelligence agencies. Especially not to the Army Intelligence Corps.

-- But is this authentic, sir Togog? A laboratory examination.....?

-- You make a lot of fuss? Obey the order, that's it! Understand? [He snapped].

-- Okay, okay, your highness. [He feigned fear]

Djenderal] which was to evaluate Soekarno's policies, and to conduct a coup d'état. This Council was assumed to have a relationship with England, America and the CIA, which were associated as the lackeys of *Nekolim*. See, Sjafrî Segeh, 1966: 19-26; Alex Dinuth [Ed.], Salinan Dokumen Terpilih Sekitar Pemberontakan G. 30 S/PKI [Jakarta: Lembaga Pertahanan Nasional], 1993: 5-8; Arswendo Atmowiloto, 1986: 21-22; Soegiarso Soerojo, Siapa Menabur Angin Akan Menuai Badai [Jakarta: Sri Murni], 1988: 161-162.

⁴²*Senayan* is a wide sports complex in Jakarta which contains a stadium seating thousands, often used as a place for mass meetings and concerts.

⁴³*BPI* [*Badan Pusat Intellijen*] led by Soebandrio, see also footnote 39.

-- That's my boy. The officers of my *BPI* must be disciplined and loyal without reservation to me, without considering gain or loss. All should be done for the unfinished revolution!

-- Right, sir; er, your highness.

-- So, when can you finish it?

-- In a week, everything will be settled.

-- That long?

-- For security reasons, sir. That is what I read in the detective comics.

-- Good, hah, you're so diligent upgrading yourself. The thing is, I must toss those copies before the commanders' noses at the briefing session with *BPR* tomorrow. Then....

-- For tomorrow, o.k., I can do it, as long as the overtime money is paid in advance. [He made the motion of counting out money with his fingers].

Togog straightened his god's-coat. He took out a wad of ten-thousands rupiah notes from a back pocket. Laughing cheerfully, he slapped his assistant on the back.

-- Silent! Silent! This document will confuse *Nekolim* and their lackeys in the country.

-- Who are they?

-- Who else? *Natuurlijk de zogenaamde*⁴⁴ 'our local army friends'.⁴⁵ Clear, isn't it?

After Togog left, the miraculous charm was read in turn by wild demons and stupid devils, worshippers of the great God Mao. They had been *BPI* officers for many years.

So it happened that rumors were becoming as popular as cheap rice. The poor and the cockroach-green shirts⁴⁶ pounced on them, swallowing without even chewing.

⁴⁴ *Natuurlijk de zogenaamde* means 'naturally those who are so called....'.

⁴⁵ The phrase is taken from the Gilchrist Document. See footnote 41.

⁴⁶ Green shirt is a disparaging name for a soldier.

-- Soekarno is almost fatally paralyzed; the *kapbir*⁴⁷ generals want a coup, complete proof is in the hands of the party!⁴⁸

* * *

Unfortunately, the fortune-telling of the Chinese soothsayers totally missed the target. Soekarno was not paralyzed, but only a little lame. And lameness never killed anybody. Signs of death never appeared; on the contrary, Soekarno seemed increasingly young and fit.

People said he was getting a lot of H-3 injection, a medicine designed to recover the energy of a horse. Togog was disappointed, seeing his excellency ever more diligent in giving speeches, singing, dancing vigorously, and actively sleeping with who knows how many wives in succession.

On the appointed day, *PBR* and Togog were both thoughtful in Bogor.⁴⁹ The briefing with the commanders ended with an unreleased feeling weighing on their minds.

-- The document is most possibly false, Togog. [*PBR* was angry]

-- Oh, that's impossible, sir. My assistants said it's the authentic charm.

-- Has it been carefully examined?

-- I examined it myself, sir. My assistants too racked their brains and burned *kemenyan*⁵⁰ for days and nights.

-- Have you also consulted *dukun-dukun klenik*⁵¹?

⁴⁷*Kapbir* is an acronym of *kapitalis birokrat*, capitalist-bureaucrats.

⁴⁸The party here refers to the *PKI* [The Indonesian Communist Party].

⁴⁹This is the *Istana Bogor*, the President's palace in Bogor city, West Java. This place is about 2 hours' drive from Jakarta. See also footnote 58.

⁵⁰Incense derived from gum benzoin. To burn *kemenyan* is traditionally a prerequisite for getting news or an explanation of a thing from departed spirits, for it gives a specific aroma which is needed for the coming of departed spirits. This is more commonly done by healers or soothsayers. See also footnote below 51 and 52.

⁵¹In Indonesia, *dukun-dukun klenik* are soothsayers or healers specializing in supernatural powers and in secret mystical or magical practices of a questionable nature.

-- In addition, even *jailangkung*⁵² gave a clear explanation!

-- What did it say?

-- The usual, *de bekendste op vrije voeten gesteld, altijd.....!*⁵³

-- Oh him, again and again. I've already emasculated Nasution with a fancy appendage as the Coordinating Minister of *Hankam-Kasab*.⁵⁴ He's no longer dangerous.

-- Yeh, but the *jailangkung* says that it's the CIA which pulls 'our local army friends'.

-- Gilchrist is an Englishman, so why is the CIA involved in it?

-- It's like this, sir. They've all plotted together. This is all because we've followed comrade Mao in confronting Malaysia. The world knows, Hanoi can breathe easier now. Uncle Ho⁵⁵ is fairly free from American pressure.

-- Why is that?

-- Formally, we're confronting British Malaysia. In fact, it's America upon whom we're inflicting a loss, because they have to split their navy in two. One part still continues threatening the People's Republic of China, while the other threatens us!

-- Which is bigger, the one threatening us or the People's Republic of China?

[He was disturbed].

⁵²The medium in a kind of seance. An overturned basket is clothed with a shirt or jacket, to which a key and a piece of chalk tied to a stick are attached. The participants sit around the *jailangkung*, burn incense and summon spirits. When the spirits arrive the chalk writes answers, on a board held up to it, to questions asked by the participants.

⁵³The best-known are always released from custody.

⁵⁴*Hankam* stands for *Pertahanan Keamanan*, Defense and Security. And *Kasab* stands for *Kepala Staf Angkatan Bersenjata*, Chief of Staff of the Armed Force.

⁵⁵It is a name for Ho Chi Minh, the president of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, when the United States was in war with Vietnam. *PKI* was fond of Vietnam which was an adversary of America, and for this reason it honoured Ho Chi Minh as uncle Ho. See, *PKI dan Perwakilan*, tahun ke-1 no. 3, December 1956: 196. See also the *PKI's* effort to translate the Vietnamese literatures for the cultural exchanges in between communist countries. Keith Foulcher, *Social Commitment in Literature and the Arts: The Indonesian "Institute of People's Culture" 1950-1965*. [Clayton, Victoria: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University], 1986: 36.

-- Us. That's why the army is so reluctant to crush Malaysia. They're afraid America would attack this country.

Soekarno bowed his head. Togog's explanation made him realize that he had been cheated by his Chinese friend. The slackening of American pressure meant that China's defense finances could be transferred into the production budget. And an isolated Indonesia would become a giant wastebasket, absorbing Chinese wreckages that were not sold on the world market.

To send the atomic bomb and wages for crushing Malaysia were not fulfilled by Chen-Yi⁵⁶ who just liked talking nonsense. Suddenly *PBR* was enraged.

-- Togog, call the Chinese ambassador here, now!

-- It's late at night now, sir!

-- To hell with the late night. Take all those guards if you're afraid.

Like a thief urinated upon,⁵⁷ Togog left in the cold night air of Bogor city.⁵⁸ His fancies to share a bed with his mistress from Cibinong were scattered. Two hours later, a Chinese man looking like a meatball-soup vendor was led in. He was only wearing pyjamas, his mouth smelled of *ang ciu*, Chinese whiskey, and his sweat of pork.

-- What's the reason for calling me so late? Must be good fortune, yeh! [This Chinese ambassador was already fluently speaking *Bahasa Indonesia*, and *PBR* was very pleased by his cleverness].

-- Sure, comrade. This very night you have to go back to your ancestor's country, and don't come back here before you get us a present from Chen-Yi. Understand?

⁵⁶He was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, and a close friend of Soebandrio who held secret negotiations with him in Cipanas at the end of 1964. Sjafrri Segeh, 1966: 8.

⁵⁷This is a simile depicting a person who is so frightened of somebody else that he cannot stop the latter from urinating on him.

⁵⁸Bogor city is well-known as the Rain City [*Kota Hujan*], for the amount of rainfall in that area is very high and regular. Therefore, Bogor is very cold.

-- Come on, what is the atomic bomb for? [The Chinese ambassador knew by heart the instructions from Peking]. Your soldiers can't maintain it. Perhaps it will be neglected as scrap iron and sold to Japan. Ah, friend of Mao, it would be better for you to form a fifth force.⁵⁹ Bamboo spears are much more appropriate for your people.

-- What do you think, Togog?

-- I'm afraid bamboo spears are more fit for puncturing the stomachs of Chinese foreign nationals here. [Togog was resentful].

-- What do you mean? [PBR and the Chinese ambassador asked simultaneously].

-- America is threatening us just because of your government's suggestion that Malaysia be crushed. Do you understand? [The Chinese nodded].

-- And up to now, your government has only supported us with nonsense!

-- We aren't forcing you, *bung*⁶⁰! If you want to stop the confrontation, go ahead.

-- Impossible! [PBR became inflamed]. Am I right, 'Gog?

-- I agree, sir! The confrontation should continue. Then I have a reason to be determined about something, no matter what.

-- What's that no matter what? [The Chinese squinted his already slanting eyes].

-- As soon as the Americans land, I'll order all Chinese foreign nationals' necks to be cut off. [He snarled].

⁵⁹The fifth force was purposed to arm workers and peasants in addition to the army, navy, air force and police. This was planned by the PKI through Soekarno's order. The Commanders of the Armed Forces were hostile to this plan. Bernard Dahm, History of Indonesia [New York: Praeger], 1971: 211; Sjafrri Segeh, 1966: 16; Soegiarso Soerojo, 1988: 120; P. Bambang Siswoyo, Menelusuri Peran Bung Karno dalam G 30 S/PKI [Jakarta: Mayasari], 1989: 30. Djanwar, Mengungkap Pengkhianatan/Pemberontakan G 30 S/PKI Dalam Rangka Mengamankan Pancasila dan UUD 1945 [Bandung: Yrama], 1986: 15.

⁶⁰*Bung* is an affectionate and intimate title for a person, and is used to eliminate formal relationship between people. In English *bung* can be literally translated as 'mate', 'buddy'.

-- Ah, come on, don't be like that, comrade *hajj* Togog. You're a man of religion!

-- The hell with it. Unless the atomic bomb is sent immediately.

-- O.k., o.k., I'll leave tonight.

Willy-nilly *PBR* admired Togog's astuteness. They embraced each other.

-- You're really the best Foreign Minister in the world.

-- But Yani⁶¹ is the best general, you said yesterday.

-- He is, what's going on? Is he also reluctant to crush Malaysia?

-- I'm sorry, your excellency, this matter's unclear. The fact is that this dragging situation will only benefit China.

-- Is Yani hesitant?

-- I guess so. Because *PKI* is supporting the crush, whereas the majority of the Armed Forces assumes that this action has no justification.

-- Then, what will the CIA do with 'our local army friends' ?

-- They have to leave the confrontation, but we can't predict their way. Perhaps they'll try flattering us through an important diplomatic envoy. When that fails, they'll use a specific CIA method .

-- What is that?

-- The primary substances of the confrontation will be eliminated. Soekarno-Soebandrio-Yani and *PKI* should disappear!

PBR nodded [because he was sleepy] and agreed with Togog's analysis.

The next day, Togog twittered in front of some shabby people who thirsted for sensationalism. Like a roadside medical practitioner, he often forgot which propaganda was plagiarized and which was his own invention.

⁶¹General Ahmad Yani succeeded Nasution as the army's Chief-of-Staff, and was the Minister of Defense and Security. Like other military commanders, Yani was uneasy over increasing the *PKI*'s growth in the 1960s and could not support Soekarno's policies on *PKI*. Yani was one of the six generals assassinated by the *PKI* in the aborted September 1965 coup. Arswendo Atmowiloto, 1986: 35-40; P. Bambang Siswoyo, 1989: 9; Djanwar, 1986: 23-25.

-- Ladies and gentlemen. This time there is complete evidence in the hands of his excellency President/PBR concerning the efforts of *Nekolim* to destroy us. The CIA has commanded its platoon of executioners, who reside in this country, to eliminate its big enemies. Be aware, ladies and gentlemen, they're going to annihilate Soekarno-Soebandrio-Yani and other progressive-revolutionary people from the face of the earth. These three guys are precisely considered the most dangerous by their bosses in London and Washington.

-- However, don't be alarmed, ladies and gentlemen. I myself am not alarmed for the President/PBR and the unfinished revolution: I'm willing to sacrifice body and soul. Once more, always be aware, because those executioners are among you.

The crowd cheered merrily. They were proud of having a vice prime minister of Togog's caliber, one who did not tremble in fear of death. For a moment, they forgot their hungry stomachs, and in turn felt anger and boiling rage at the rudeness of *Nekolim*.

The meeting ended by burning figures resembling Tengku, dancing up and down at the same time. English and American flags, sewn with much effort by their women at home, were trampled upon and repeatedly ripped with an extraordinary feeling of victory and satisfaction.

When they got bored, they dispersed one by one. Only the young were left, hanging around, acting pickpockets' style, and trying to find among them the executioners of *Nekolim* that Togog had just told them about.

On Harmoni Street a group of *becak* drivers were passionately trading rumors, talking politics. While in Russia, Lenin had said that cooks should be aware of politics, in Jakarta the *becak* drivers were maniacs of political gossip.

-- They said that the Council of the Generals wants to stage a coup. Now it wants to murder Yani. What is the truth?

-- Who's the leader of the Council of the Generals?

-- Mister Yani, of course.

-- So, Yani is going to kill Yani. How come?

-- Ah, shut up. You know nothing. [A cracked voice spoke up].

-- Lucky, our Foreign Affairs Minister is on top of the situation. *Nekolim's* plan was divulged.

-- He isn't afraid to die!

-- Sure, because he's already had his fill. How many virgins has he screwed! [Again, the cracked voice spoke up].

The others were neither surprised nor angry. It was as if it were only normal for a minister to screw virgins and other people's wives.

* * *

The attempt to crush Malaysia, which was excessively long-winded, was reported to Peking by *PBR*.

-- Comrade of the axis. Please send the atomic bomb immediately, stop your repeated postponements. Our Army is already on strike, refusing to fight; the generals are passionately moonlighting, and the soldiers are too, with their rifles.

The answer from Peking never came. What came were floods of textiles, matches, flashlights, sandals, *pepsoden*,⁶² toothpicks, and other Chinese products.

Suddenly Soekarno was inspired by the important concept of standing on one's own feet.⁶³

The people who were already hungry, were suddenly scolded for not wanting to eat anything but rice.

⁶² Originally *Pepsodent*, a kind of toothpaste.

⁶³ Soekarno gave a speech on 17 August 1965, entitled *TAKARI* [*Tahun Berdiri Di Atas Kaki Sendiri*, the Year of Standing on One's Own Feet], or *BERDIKARI* [*BERdiri Diatas Kaki sendiri*]. Sjafrri Segeh, 1966: 34.

-- In fact, ladies and gentlemen, I know other kinds of food, other than rice, that are also full of vitamins. Sweet potatoes, corns, cassava, mice, snails, and even lizards are the most efficacious medicine for eczema.

-- Do you think I eat rice every day? No! Your *PBR* only eats rice occasionally; once a day. It has already been a month since I last ate meat. Just ask General Saboer⁶⁴!

-- *Pak* Leimena⁶⁵ over there [he pointed to a man thin and wasted], he prefers eating sago to rice. Look at *Pak* Seda⁶⁶ who is well built [he pointed to a man with a body as sturdy as that of *becak* drivers], he can't work if he didn't have his corn for breakfast.

The next morning, the newspapers collectively listed ministers who ate corn, complete with their photographs.

Unfortunately the people could not believe it anymore. They had more trust in the palace servants. It came out that Soekarno's breakfast was not rice, but toast cooked by a French chef in the Hotel Indonesia. To prevent a relapse of high blood pressure, he indeed did not eat any meat. Instead, he was forced to eat fried eggs, which were half-cooked with a little Arabian honey, as an accompaniment to the toast. These were followed by apples delivered from Moscow by Kosygin.

Nevertheless, the people were neither surprised nor angry. It was as if it were only normal for a president to lie and to say whatever he pleased.

⁶⁴Brigadier General Saboer was the Assistant of *KOTRAR* Special Affairs, the Secretary of *KOTI* who wrote the President's policies, and the Commander of Cakrabirawa Soldiers. Cakrabirawa were the presidential guards, involved in the assassination of the 1965 coup. Sjafrri Segeh, 1966: 38; Republik Indonesia, Komando Tertinggi Retooling Alat Revolusi: Himpunan Keputusan-Keputusan Penting [Jakarta: no publisher], 1964: 6. Alex Dinuth, 1993: 53; Arswendo Atmowiloto, 1986: 22.

⁶⁵General Dr. J. Leimena was the Deputy Prime Minister II who always protected the Communist action. P. Bambang Siswoyo, 1989: 19; Tribuana Said and D.S. Moeljanto, Perlawanan Pers Indonesia [BPS] Terhadap Gerakan PKI [Jakarta: Penerbit Sinar Harapan], 1983: 32.

⁶⁶Unfortunately, the identity of this person cannot be established.

Indonesians, on the average, are indeed forgiving and patient big-hearted. They always respond to the leader's lies and mistakes with benevolence and magnanimity.

Their hearts are like the sun, and no matter how cloudy the sky becomes, its rays always love to touch the earth.

CHAPTER 2

A CRITIQUE OF *LANGIT MAKIN MENDUNG*

Kipandjikusmin, the Author

Even though the short story *Langit Makin Mendung* was brought to justice and its author strongly criticized, the author's identity has remained concealed until the present; for Kipandjikusmin was only a pseudonym.¹ Only H.B. Jassin, the editor of the literary magazine, *Sastra*, knew the author's real identity, but refused to divulge it. Consequently Jassin, as the editor in charge of the magazine, was tried alongside Kipandjikusmin and accused of contravening Article 1 of the *Penpres* [*Penetapan Presiden*, the Presidential Decision] No. 1 of 1965, and Article 156, 156a *juncto* 161 Clause [1] of the *KUHAP* [*Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana*, the Criminal Code]. He was charged with the display of public hostility to religion as well as disgrace, abuse, hatred, derision and contempt of a faith professed and protected by law in Indonesia. A criminal deed by derision and humiliation is called *smaadschrift* in the Indonesian legislature, and can lead to four years of imprisonment, or the payment of up to three hundred rupiahs.² And although Jassin finally faced the court on 16-30 April, 1969 and was subsequently jailed, the bringing of *Langit Makin Mendung* to the court was for him an exaggeration, because Kipandjikusmin had already withdrawn the story on the 22nd of October, 1968, two months after its publication.³

According to Jassin, Kipandjikusmin was born in 1941 into a Muslim family. The latter's parents, Sunandar and his wife, affirm that Kipandjikusmin was a quiet

¹Darsjaf Rahman, *Antara Imaginasi dan Hukum: Sebuah Roman Biografi H.B. Jassin* (Between Imagination and Law: A Biography of H.B. Jassin) [Jakarta: Gunung Agung], 1986: 271-272.

²Darsjaf Rahman, 1986: 272; H.M. Zabidin, "*Sekitar Pembredelan Majalah Sastra*" (Concerning the Shutting Down of the Magazine *Sastra*), *Pelopop Baru*, Year III, No. 671, 25 October 1968.

³H.B. Jassin, *Sastra Indonesia Sebagai Warga Sastra Dunia* (Indonesian Literature Is A Member of World Literature) [Jakarta: Gramedia], 1983: 97.

young man who did not associate with many people, and who liked to isolate himself from his peers. He was a shy introvert, who spent most of his time in solitude, reflection and writing. In addition, he neglected his health and appearance.⁴

As for his education, Kipandjikusmin was educated in a Catholic Junior High School, before attending the Shipping Academy [*Akademi Pelayaran*], after which, he worked as a navigator, but was not satisfied with this job. Thus, he later sought a new career in the world of trade and commerce. In this respect, Jassin is of the opinion that Kipandjikusmin's Catholic education could have influenced his rendering of *Langit Makin Mendung*. This assumption is based on the personifications of God, the prophets and the angels in the narrative, a technique familiar to Christian literature.⁵ In addition, Kipandjikusmin was influenced by the Javanese traditions, in particular, the Javanese *wayang*⁶ which tends to be syncretic and to contain Hindu and Buddhist elements. Hence, the *wayang* creates a *Weltanschauung* dominated by a hierarchy of anthropomorphic gods and goddesses. Moreover, *wayang* narratives often begin in heaven where *Batara Guru*, the Supreme Deity, gods and goddesses reign. *Batara Guru* often commands His servants, gods and goddesses, to come down to earth and to be His intermediaries with human beings. They do so by transforming themselves into human beings, flowers or animals.⁷ Indeed, this influence was admitted by Kipandjikusmin himself in a letter addressed to Jassin:

"Saya semasa kecil sering membandingkan Suralaya dengan Sorga yang diceritakan pastur di muka kelas. Bahkan membandingkan Sang Hyang Wenang dengan Allah Bapa.

Begitu pula timbulnya imajinasl Nabi s.a.w dan Jibril merobah diri menjadi sepasang burung elang. Saya baru sadar sekarang itu adalah pengaruh

⁴H.B. Jassin, 1983: 132; *Ibid.*, Heboh Sastra 1968: Suatu Pertanggungan-Jawab (The Literary Fuss of 1968: A Responsibility) [Jakarta: Gunung Agung], 1970: 30.

⁵*Ibid.*, 1983: 132-133; *Ibid.*, 1970: 30-31; Darsjaf Rahman, 1986: 306.

⁶A *wayang* is a shadow play with leather puppets, often dramatizing themes from Hindu epics. The *Wayang* can also be a name for a performance using a picture scroll [*wayang beber*], a wooden puppet [*wayang golek*], or a stage show with masked players [*wayang orang*]. See, John M. Echols and Hassan Shadily, Kamus Indonesia Inggris [Jakarta: Gramedia], 1992: 613-614.

⁷H.B. Jassin, 1983: 133; *Ibid.*, 1970: 31.

lakon 'Parasara', di mana Batara Guru dan Narada juga merubah diri jadi sepasang burung elang.

Tapi elang sebagai lambang imajinasi saya yakin tidak merendahkan. Waktu di Sekolah Dasar, pada saya sering ditunjukkan gambar Allah Putra yang dilambangkan sebagai Anak Domba dan Allah Roh Suci sebagai burung merpati.⁸

It is worth mentioning, that Kipandjikusmin did not shirk responsibility for his art, and willingly presented himself to court.⁹ Thus, one can categorically refute any allegations that Jassin protected Kipandjikusmin and kept the latter from going to court. Indeed, Jassin's connection with the whole affair sprang from his desire to offer his readers a variety of literary points of view that depict and examine the contemporary Indonesian milieu, as well as his belief in the right of every author to freedom of thought and expression. These opinions were advanced and read in front of the court by Jassin himself, and were published in two different books. The first was *Heboh Sastra 1968: Suatu Pertanggung-jawab* [The Literary Fuss of 1968: A Responsibility] which was published in 1970, while the second is *Sastra Indonesia Sebagai Warga Sastra Dunia* [Indonesian Literature is A Member of World Literature] which was published in 1983. In addition, prior to the publication of these books, Jassin wrote five articles¹⁰

⁸This is quoted from Darsjaf Rahman, 1986: 30, and the translation runs as follows: [When I was a child, I often compared *Suralaya* (the dwelling of gods and goddesses) to heaven as it was described by the Catholic priest sitting in front of the class. I even compared *Sang Hyang Wenang* with the Father. This also happened to my image of the Prophet Muhammad and Gabriel who assumed the form of a pair of eagles. I have just become aware that I was influenced by the play 'Parasara', in which *Batara Guru* and *Narada* transformed themselves into a pair of birds. However, since the eagle is merely a symbol in a literary image, and the image is a figment of my imagination, I believe that I am not being disrespectful. Indeed, in my Elementary School, I was often shown the picture of the Son as a lamb, and the Holy Spirit as a dove].

⁹According to Darsjaf Rahman, Kipandjikusmin wrote an article in the *Kami* newspaper on 25 October, 1968, year III, No. 688, declaring that he felt sorry and apologized for his short story *Langit Makin Mendung*. The latter asked for forgiveness from Indonesian Muslims and dismissed his story. See, Darsjaf Rahman, 1986: 280. According to Jassin, this action took place on 22 October, not 25.

¹⁰Those five articles are "Tuhan, Imajinasi dan Kebebasan Mencipta" (God, Imagination and the Freedom of Speech), in *Horison*, Year II, No. 1, November 1968; "Kenyataan Artistik Tidak Identik dengan Kenyataan Objektif" (Artistic Realities Are Not Identical with Objective Realities), in *Minggu Indonesia Raya*, 8 December 1968; "Seniman Islam Di Tengah Masyarakat Modern" (Muslim Artists amidst the Modern World), in *Minggu Indonesia Raya*, 22 December 1968; "Ilmu dan Agama" (Science and Religion), in *Minggu Angkatan Bersendjata*, 31 December 1968; "Dicari: Mujtahid Modern" (Wanted: The Modern Mujtahid), in *Horison*, Year VI, No. 3 March 1969. These articles were also collected in H.B. Jassin's, Polemik: Suatu Pembahasan Sastra dan Kebebasan

concerning the afore-mentioned case in numerous mass-media journals, an act which triggered considerable debates and repercussions across the width and breadth of the whole Indonesian society. Unfortunately, the polemics over *Langit Makin Mendung* were not between Jassin and his opponents, but between the pros and cons of his critiques. Moreover, these polemics were fueled by the fact that Jassin did not respond to every single criticism addressed to any of his five articles.

POLEMICS

The polemics produced by *Langit Makin Mendung* tended to be legal, literary and theological in nature. Those writing from a legal point of view questioned the fate of the magazine *Sastra*, following the publication of the short story. Should it be banned following its publication of such a blasphemous piece of work? Those writing from a literary point of view focused on the work itself and on the concept of freedom of speech. And those writing from a religious view outlined Islamic teachings dealing with literary works and artistic enterprises, especially regarding the issue of reference to sacred matters. It is worth mentioning that the last two inclinations had a greater impact upon society and indulged in more polemics than the former. Thus, due to the considerable critical attention *Langit Makin Mendung* received, this thesis will give a brief account of the salient points brought up by the different critics.

Following the ban¹¹ of the magazine *Sastra*, several leading Indonesian litterateurs advanced a protest to the government. These protesters felt that the *Kejaksaan*

Mencipta Berhadapan dengan Undang2 dan Agama (Polemics: An Analysis of Literature and Freedom of Speech vis-a-vis Law and Religion) [Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara], 1972.

¹¹A.A. Navis, who had had some of his short stories and novels banned, pointed out that the history of banning and burning literary works in Indonesia was initiated by the Dutch colonialists. A case in point is the novel *Ustadzama'sjuk* [Muslim teachers who are infatuated themselves] which was written by Maisir Thaib. This novel was not only confiscated and burnt by the Dutch colonial government, upon the instigation of the *'ulamā'*, but its author was arrested and jailed for a year in Sukabumi because of his other novel *Leider Mr. Semangat* [Unfortunately Mr. Spirit]. In addition, during the

Tinggi [The Prosecution Office] in Sumatra Utara, Medan, was not justified in assuming the role of the court, in ordering and implementing the ban on the magazine and in shutting down its offices. The Prosecution Office had no right to form an independent legal judgment, or to assume the role of a literary critic, a role reserved for those individuals involved in literary works. Even though the author was accused, and his work considered *kitsch* [trivial], the Prosecution Office was not the judge assessing the case, nor the prosecuting attorney questioning the author in court, nor the lawyer defending him. Moreover, the law which should be used to question the case was not a parliamentary or a governmental law. Furthermore, as far as the law of the press was concerned, there was not a single regulation allowing the government to ban national publications. The only authority the law conceded to the government was a ban on foreign publications, not on national ones, if it so wishes. Moreover, according to Article 11 of the Press Laws, the government should seek the advice and approval of the Press Council before banning any national publication. It was unfortunate that the Prosecution Office of Sumatra Utara had not waited for the results of the Press Council's deliberation before banning *Sastra*. Hence, what the Prosecution Office of Sumatra Utara had done was invalid. As such, the editors of *Sastra* were able to accumulate enough signatures and supporters to lead a protest, and to take the Prosecution Office to court in Medan. This should be heeded because handing the case over to the court was an oppression and a triumph for the conformists [who agreed with

Old Order regime, several authors were jailed and their literary works were banned and burnt. Navis himself was even reprimanded by some 'ulamā' in 1957 for his short story *Man Rabbuka* [Who is Your God?]. This affair was only settled, he says, when the publisher apologized to the 'ulamā'. Luckily, Navis' other short story *Robohnya Surau Kami* was not banned. At the time there was a seminar in Malang between the 'ulamā' and the intellectuals and the issue of that short story was brought up. Fortunately, during that seminar, the arguments advanced by the intellectuals were more reasonable than those of their counterparts, and as a result, the short story was accepted. Thus, it is not surprising that during the New Order, *Sastra* would be banned. The banning of the magazine sheds light on a plethora of aspects, the least of which are law, politics, freedom of speech and religious practices/concepts. See, A.A. Navis, "Sekitar Tindakan terhadap Majalah Sastra" (About the Act Towards the Magazine Sastra), Aman Makmur, Year VI, No. 253 and 254, 23 and 24 October 1968.

the Council Prosecution Office]¹² over the non-conformists. In this case, what was really demanded, was an answer to the question of whether a literary work can or cannot be judged by the court, and consequently, if the answer was yes then protests concerning banned literature should cease immediately; however, if the answer was no, then banning of literature becomes useless, and it becomes more reasonable to take the author, not his work to court. Furthermore, the fact that most of the authors involved in the protest were Muslims indicates that *Sastra's* action was not perceived as being deliberately insulting to the Muslim faith.¹³

In terms of law, A.A. Navis states that the Prosecution Office of Sumatra Utara had not given the defendant a chance to defend himself, but assumed that he was guilty even before any decision was made by the court. As such, this judgment against the defendant was completely totalitarian, and the *in absentia* judgment was even more totalitarian. In fact, such an action is worse than those carved out during the Dutch occupation.¹⁴ Furthermore, viewed from the political aspect, Navis continues, the action of the Prosecution Office seems to send a negative message to the people. It seems to indicate that the law can be circumvented and manipulated. Thus, instead of upholding the law, the Prosecution Office seems to be telling the defendant, publisher and author not to respect the law.¹⁵

Unlike the previous opinions, some scholars rightly maintained that the law on national publications was obscure, H.M. Zabidin asserted. The Council of lawyers later

¹²The words inside the brackets are my own.

¹³These opinions are summarized from several articles and writers, see Wiratmo Sukito, "Soal Majalah Sastra" (Concerning the Magazine *Sastra*), *Kami*, Year III, No. 681, 16 October 1968. Taufiq Ismail, "Beberapa Pikiran tentang Pelarangan Sastra" (Some Opinions on Banning Literary Works), *Kami*, Year III, No. 688, 25 October 1968. Suardi Tasrif, "Larangan Beredar Majalah Sastra" (The Prohibition on the Circulation of the Magazine *Sastra*) *Pelopop Baru*, No. 713, Year III, 15 October 1968. Wiratmo Sukito, "Kaum Konformis dan Non-Konformis" (Conformists and Non-Conformists), *Merdeka*, 9 December 1969.

¹⁴When the Dutch government had sentenced several writers to jail, they were convicted according to the prevailing law, a law intended for all Indonesian people. See, A.A. Navis, *Aman Makmur*, Year VI, No. 253 and 254, 23 and 24 October 1968.

¹⁵A.A. Navis, *Aman Makmur*, Year VI, No. 253 and 254, 23 and 24 October 1968.

played on this obscurity and advanced an argument in favor of the ban on the publication of *Langit Makin Mendung*, and also in favor of the action taken by the Prosecution Office of Sumatra Utara. Thus, Zabidin continues, it became futile to use the obscurity of the press laws as a tool in protecting *Sastra*, since the confusion over such an obscurity had been solved. In addition, it would have been naive to declare that *Sastra* unintentionally published *Langit Makin Mendung*, because the short story was published on the front page of the magazine, which is similar to the headline of a newspaper. Consequently, *Sastra's* action was considered hateful and injurious to a religion protected by law in Indonesia.¹⁶ In this respect, Taufiq Ismail asserts that although the protest was advanced to question the banning of *Sastra* and every single act which did not follow the correct legal procedures, it did not simultaneously apply to support or accept *Langit Makin Mendung*, which was blasphemous.¹⁷ In addition *Sastra*, according to Sju'bah Asa, is representative of the best literary works in Indonesia, fulfills its aim as a cultural medium well and enjoys a clean reputation that is not tainted by false attempts at profit or reward. Its task is to select and collect individual creations, which are seen to comply with literary standards and criteria; however, its task ends when the work is printed and circulated. Just as *Sastra* enjoys its freedom of speech, the public too has its freedom of speech, as well as the right to react. The lawyers and all people involved in the law have the freedom to object to *Sastra* too, and we as readers, Asa maintained, are free to agree or disagree with the lawyers.¹⁸

In an effort to stop the polemics concerning the banning of *Sastra*, an appeal was made to the Minister of Religious Affairs asking him to form a committee of several Muslim scholars who could pass a fair judgment on the matter. However, the appeal was later withdrawn and dismissed when the editors of *Sastra* apologized to the

¹⁶H.M. Zabidin, *Pelopor Baru*, Year III, No. 671, 25 October 1968.

¹⁷Taufiq Ismail, *Kami*, Year III, No. 681, 16 October 1968.

¹⁸Sju'bah Asa, "Persoalan Majalah Sastra: Ditinjau dari Segi Sastra" (The Problem of the Magazine *Sastra*: Viewed from the Literary Aspect), An Article read for the Panel Discussion on 'Persoalan Majalah Sastra', Ikatan Pers Mahasiswa Indonesia, Cabang Yogyakarta, 20 November 1968, in H.B. Jassin, 1972: 146-149.

Indonesian people for *Langit Makin Mendung*.¹⁹ In the meantime, the Minister of Religious Affairs had decided to hand the issue over to the courts,²⁰ before any appeal had been made.

Unlike the polemics over the legal aspects of the case, the discussions focusing on the literary aspects were not as clear cut or as uniform. As such, H.B. Jassin truly questioned the right and literary expertise of the legal institutions, and their attempts to pass judgments on a work of fiction and imagination. He emphasized this question in order to protect other literary and artistic figures from fear, uncertainty, and from having accusations hurled at them of trying to topple the *status quo* and its legal framework with the products of their imagination.²¹ Not surprisingly, the word imagination became a key-word in Jassin's defense and campaign for *Langit Makin Mendung*.

Indeed, *Langit Makin Mendung* was not the first Indonesian fictional enterprise to portray God or the prophets, Jassin declared. In 1948, there were considerable protests against the play *Sinar Memancar Dari Jabal Al-Nur* [Light Shines from the al-Nūr Mountain] written by Bahrum Rangkuti, and broadcast on radio. Protest arose over the play's imitation of the Prophet Muḥammad's voice as the latter received the first revelation. Paradoxically, when the play had been previously published in a literary magazine, there had been no reaction or protest to it. Likewise, in 1944 when *Taufan Di Atas Asia* [Typhoon Above Asia] written by El-Hakim, a pseudonym of Abu Hanifah, was performed on the stage, it enjoyed considerable success, even though it depicted the sound of God emanating from the back of the stage. Similarly, on 20 November, 1969, the first poetry reading of the poetical translation of al-Qurʾān was conducted by several Muslim poets in Taman Ismail Marzuki [TIM], and met with no objection. Moreover, Jassin continued, A.A. Navis had succeeded in publishing his short story *Sebuah*

¹⁹S. Tasrif, "Sekitar Majalah Sastra" (Concerning the Magazine Sastra), Pelopor Baru. The apology of the editors of Sastra was published in Kami, 24 October 1968.

²⁰Widya, "Dari Politik Ke Hukum", (From Politics to Law) Angkatan Bersendjata, Year IV, No. 1019, 4 November 1968.

²¹H.B. Jassin, 1983: 99.

Wawancara [An Interview] without any protest about it. Thus, after listing all these literary works, to which no objection had been raised, it becomes reasonable, Jassin asserts, to question the reasoning behind the attacks on *Langit Makin Mendung* as it obviously belongs to the same genre as all the formerly mentioned examples?²²

Langit Makin Mendung, Jassin argues, is a figment of its author's imagination. It is neither dogma, ethics, history nor objective reality. Therefore, imagination is neither a fact nor a reality which can be verified in the material world or backed by historical data. It is, in fact, a conception or a reality with its own essence and criteria, i.e. a reality of and within imagination. Thus, one should distinguish between the imaginary and the objective historical world. Accordingly, after making and clarifying this distinction, God, the prophets, Gabriel, and the *kiyais* alluded to in *Langit Makin Mendung*, become mere imaginary essences.²³ In addition, *Langit Makin Mendung* does not insult anybody, rather it criticizes those who consider themselves Islamic believers, Bur Rasuanto said. Indeed, its criticism of numerous Indonesian blunders, and everything which its author felt to be abnormal is very much like the criticism written in daily newspapers and editorials. By extension, Rasuanto adds, it can even be said to criticize the decision made by the Prosecution Office of Sumatra Utara which had banned the magazine *Sastra*. Moreover, Rasuanto affirms, the story does not insult God, Muḥammad or Gabriel, even if Muḥammad and Gabriel were portrayed as a pair of eagles. Such a portrayal is

²² *Ibid.*, 1983: 113-115; *Ibid.*, 1970: 7-9; *Ibid.*, Horison, Year II, No. 1, November 1968; Darsjaf, 1986: 327-328. According to Jassin, *Sebuah Wawancara* is a short story about a journalist, Wahidin, who interviews all the prophets in chronological order starting with Adam, and ending with Muḥammad. In the narrative, the journalist informs those prophets of the changes and progress that had taken place on earth since their death. To the prophet Adam, he reports the massive population boom by likening the latter to bedbugs, and describing the ensuing strife, war and fratricide that took place. To the prophet Noah, who skillfully saved humanity from the flood, Wahidin posed the question of how the latter would save contemporary humanity from the multitude of nuclear bombs aimed at it. To Moses, who divided the Red Sea, the journalist described similar artificial feats achieved by mankind such as fissuring mountains, draining seas and lakes, and building "the train which creeps over the mountain, across the sea and underground as a maggot". After consulting with Jesus, Wahidin informs the Prophet Muḥammad of women dancing naked in public, and of people who willfully lead a communal life on an island, dispensing with clothes and parading around in the nude like Adam and Eve!

²³ H.B. Jassin, 1983: 100-101.

not injurious because Muslims believe that God can do everything He wants, so if He wanted to change Muḥammad or Gabrielei into a pair of eagles He would have been able to do so. In this case, to read a 'creative work' one must also exhibit a 'creative attitude'.²⁴ All this is about imagination, Jassin adds, which is much more than an idea; imagination is the sum total of Man's ideas, feelings, experiences and intuition. It is an intellectual activity engaged in defining and describing phenomena. It is also a dynamic concept, or a motion of the soul. Although it is the result of experience and knowledge of the material world, yet imagination is of a different calibre. Ultimately, it is a reality unlike its worldly objective counterpart. Hence, any imagination employed or manifested in a work of art should not be identical with or compared to historical reality, experience or knowledge. It is through this powerful tool that one can develop a theme, or express an opinion that would challenge readers to new horizons.²⁵

Langit Makin Mendung is therefore, Jassin is convinced, similar to the *Divina Commedia*²⁶ written by Dante Alighieri and *Javid Nama*²⁷ written by Iqbal. Although one might disagree with the portrayal of Muḥammad being cruelly tortured in the *Divina Commedia*, he should find in himself the objectivity to appreciate Dante for daring to be original and innovative, and for providing his readers with provocative ideas,

²⁴Bur Rasuanto, "Larangan Beredar Majalah Sastra" (The Banning of the Magazine Sastra), *Minggu Angkatan Bersenjata*, Year IV, No. 221 and 222, 20 and 27 October 1968.

²⁵H.B. Jassin, *Minggu Indonesia Raya*, 8 December 1968; *Ibid.*, 1983: 81-84; *Ibid.*, 1972: 7-10; Darsjaf, 1986: 289.

²⁶Jassin believes that the *Divina Commedia* is an allegorical rendering of Muḥammad's *isrā'* and *mi'rāj*, and that its author had been influenced by Ibn al-'Arabi's masterpiece, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makiyya*, which had been previously translated into Latin. This translation is said to have influenced numerous Renaissance poets, authors, thinkers, and artists in Europe. The *Divina Commedia* follows an imaginary journey of a human being from earth, through hell [*inferno*], and into heaven [*paradiso*] after undergoing purification in purgatory [*purgatorio*]. Whereas in the *isrā'* and the *mi'rāj*, Muḥammad was accompanied by Gabriel, in the *Divina Commedia* Dante Alighieri was accompanied by the famous poet, Virgilius, who is symbolized as Intellect.

²⁷In *Javid Nama*, Jassin is of the opinion, Iqbal wanders between seven planets. On the Moon he meets Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and a well-known Egyptian politician, Ḥalīm Pasha; on Venus he meets the Pharaoh of Ancient Egypt and Lord Kitchener, a famous British commander; and on Jupiter he meets al-Ḥallāj. In this fictional journey, Iqbal replaces Gabriel with his favourite poet, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī.

enjoyment, and well-wrought art.²⁸ Similarly, the comparison between *Javid Nama*, which had been hailed as the *Divina Commedia* of the East, and *Langit Makin Mendung* draws upon certain similarities such as the theme of a journey. In the former's case it is the *isrā'* and the *mi'rāj*, as well as the involvement of the main character.²⁹

Contextually, Jassin believes, the author of *Langit Makin Mendung* bases his story on his society and his era. He is the product of his time and his narrative displays the aura of its contemporary milieu. Such influences are manifest in such words and expressions as Aladdin foot-wear, sputnik, atomic bomb, Cashmere robe et cetera. The main substance he offers is criticism; a criticism of prostitution, of a person called *PBR* who created *Nasakom*³⁰ and who accused those who refused Communism of being communist-phobias, of *kiyais* who did not dare admonish or even oppose *PBR* who does not follow any religious persuasion. The author also displays the errors and blunders committed during the previous regime. In short, Kipandjikusmin is very cynical of the realities that existed, and continue to exist in his contemporary world. His cynicism is based on the diverse experiences one gains with maturity. Although romantics might view his expressions as crude and offensive, for he is very outspoken and discourteous, that is the only style he feels adequate for conveying his message. Not surprisingly, his style betrays all the elements of irony, sarcasm, humor, satire and cynicism at once.³¹ This indicates, *Kompas* argues, that any literary work depicts its contemporary milieu. When many people treat God as an instrument of their interest, or manipulate and dominate others through religion, or control the political arena, then God becomes a political instrument through their manipulation. He is no longer God Almighty, but 'god', a human being's creation. As representatives of their society, can

²⁸H.B. Jassin, *Minggu Indonesia Raya*, 8 December 1968; *Ibid.*, 1983: 142; *Ibid.*, 1970: 40; Darsjaf, 1986: 272-273.

²⁹Darsjaf, 1986: 273.

³⁰Concerning *Nasakom* see Chapter 1, p. 4, footnote 7.

³¹H.B. Jassin. 1983: 131-139; *Ibid.*, 1970: 29-40

authors be blamed if they talk about this 'god' in a cynical manner in their literary productions? *Kompas* asks.³²

Furthermore, *Langit Makin Mendung* demands of its reader a honed intuition, literary appreciation, and religious knowledge, Rangkuti declared. Understanding the aim of a piece of writing is very important in advancing literary criticism, Bahrum Rangkuti continues, as the Ḥadīth says: "*Innamā al-a'mālu bi al-niyyāt*" [deeds are judged by their intentions]. The intention of any work can be fathomed from three elements: a) its purpose: why did the author write?; b) the audience/reader: to whom did he write to?; c) its objective: what did he intend by this writing? Consequently, if one applies these three elements to *Langit Makin Mendung*, one will find that Kipandjikusmin's aim was to purify Islam from the views of *Nasakom*, as most *Nasakom* followers consciously or unconsciously harmed Islam. Secondly, the audience which Kipandjikusmin criticized and addressed are those Muslims who liked drinking alcohol and engaging in illicit sex. The morality crisis, poverty and the presence of leaders who did not display proper leadership were also points of his criticism. Although the main substance he offers is criticism, Kipandjikusmin's objective was to demonstrate that Islam still exists and will exist though the world may collapse, and despite Muslims who deny numerous Islamic dictums. It is obvious, Rangkuti remarks, that those matters must have influenced Kipandjikusmin's rendering of his short story. The latter must have been aware of the risks he would run, and the accusations he would receive, yet he persisted because his true aim was to demonstrate that Islam will never be defeated by idle threats, and that Islam will be triumphant. This is what Indonesian Muslims should notice and applaud, Rangkuti recommended. Similarly, the display of God in an anthropomorphic manner is an advanced *ṣūfī* technique, Rangkuti believed. It is similar to Iqbal or most *ṣūfī*, or Muslim poets who expressed their inner love in a

³² *Kompas*, "Tuhan Ciptaan Manusia dan Tuhan Sang Pencipta" (God as Created by Human Beings and God the Creator), IV, No. 112, 9 November 1968.

similar manner. Iqbal too was blamed and considered a *kāfir* [infidel], by the Indian *‘ulamā’* who later hailed him as a unique Muslim. Moreover, anthropomorphism exists in many religious emotions, symbols, and ḥadīth *qudsī*. For instance, in the following ḥadīth *qudsī* God declares: “*idhā taqarraba ‘abdī ilayya bi al-nawāfil fa kuntu baṣarahu alladhī yubṣiru bih, wa sam‘ahu alladhī yasma‘u bih, wa yadahu allatī yabṣuṭuhā*” [When My servant tries to come near me through performing supererogatory prayer, I will become the sight with which he sees, the ears with which he hears, and the hand which he opens], or, “*Al-sājīd yasjud bayna qadamay al-Raḥmān*” [The man who prostrates in a prayer is groveling between God’s feet], or the ḥadīth narrated by Abū Ḥurayrah: “*Yadḥak Allāh subḥānah wa ta‘ālā ilā rajulayn yaqtul aḥaduhumā al-ākhar, yadkhulān al-Jannah*” [God laughs at two people when one of them kills the other, but both go into Heaven]. There are also many other examples from the Qur’ān or the Ḥadīth which attribute human characteristics to God, and which try to establish a relationship between human beings and God. In the same vein, what Kipandjikusmin did by depicting the Prophet and Gabriel on earth was an attempt to get closer to God. Indeed, this attempt is even recognized by modern philosophy, particularly existentialism, which is presented by Heidegger who employs the term *Entfernung*, to denote an effort to draw closer and to eliminate distance. The usage of this term resulted from the fact that human being like to be near everything such as radios, televisions, telephones and so on. In the same manner, Rangkuti continues, Kipandjikusmin tried to draw closer to God and to incite Indonesian Muslims to do the same, especially given the estrangement that exists between many of them and God. Islam in Indonesia is felt to be far from its believers; as if God had disappeared through the clouds, and the Qur’ān and Ḥadīth inciting people to get near to God have been forgotten. Consequently, God has come to be recognized as an essence with no influence or connection to human beings. Kipandjikusmin pictured such unpraiseworthy situations by likening Gabriel to an old man because he no longer brought revelations or messages from God to the

world, and by the image of God [May God forgive us] not using His eyes to see His creatures who have become poor and ignorant. Surely, those familiar with *fiqh* will be surprised by those symbols, just as Iqbal and 'Umar Khayyām were abused by their contemporary *fuqahā'*³³ for displaying God giving wine to human beings and inviting them to drink it, Rangkuti comments. In fact, wine here is a symbol of heavenly love.³⁴ Hence, Kipandjikusmin's recourse to anthropomorphism in the short story should not be considered novel, strange or insulting in any way, since it can claim the precedence of the Prophet's ḥadīth as its archetype. Indeed, *Langit Makin Mendung* did not treat Islamic ideas with disrespect; on the contrary, it was in harmony with God's and Muḥammad's ideals of releasing the *ummah* from sin and error. Thus Rangkuti concludes that the meaning of *Langit Makin Mendung* can only be gleaned by understanding the subtle symbols within it. Neither *fiqh* nor a manipulation of its meaning can lead to this. Imagination, intuition and a keen eye for symbols is a must in comprehending literary works of *Langit Makin Mendung's* calibre. If one possesses these qualities one would come to the conclusion that the central idea of *Langit Makin Mendung* is submission to Islam, as shown in the following passages:

/The commandment of Allah will never fail. However it may be, Islam exists and will always exist, though the world may collapse/ The Prophet's words thundered dreadfully, echoing towards earth; in the valleys, on the mountain peaks, in the rubber trees, and whirled around the open sea/.³⁵

As for "The prophet's words thundered dreadfully", Rangkuti is convinced, they symbolize Muḥammad's teachings which are valuable, and which have been accepted by people living "in the valleys, on the mountain peaks". In other words, Muḥammad's words have reached many poor people living in remote and isolated areas like those

³³*Fuqahā'* is a plural term of *faqīh*; a person knowledgeable in *fiqh* i.e. the regulation of all aspects of public and private life and business, which are regulated by laws based on the Islamic religion.

³⁴Bahrum Rangkuti, "Imajinasi, Observasi dan Intuisi pada Cerpen *Langit Makin Mendung*" (Imagination, Observation and Intuition in the Short Story *Langit Makin Mendung*), *Merdeka*, Year 24, No. 6915, 25 February 1970.

³⁵This sentence is quoted from the short story, see Chapter 1, p. 9.

living in the jungles or "the rubber trees" who are as ignorant of God as the communists and their lackeys who lived in the Indonesian rubber fields. And lastly the words "whirled around the open sea" refer to Indonesian naval vessels that had *imāms* leading and organizing prayers five times a day on any ship. Indeed, how harmonious and magnificent Kipandjikusmin's imagination is, Rangkuti declares. This magnificence can only be gleaned by those who have no prejudice, and who do not adopt the *fiqh* approach. It is impossible to use *fiqh* for literary purposes because each of them has its own objectives.³⁶ If Kipandjikusmin had more expertise and knowledge of symbols and the symbolization of God's essences, angels, the *barzakh* world [the place and time between death and the last judgment], and the prophets' works, he would have created much more passionate works, Rangkuti concluded.³⁷

The objection to *Langit Makin Mendung*, therefore, Jassin argues, is caused by a misunderstanding in identifying imagination with religion, history, or even the Qur'ān. It is raised by religious authorities, who base their judgment of the story on a single component and do not consider the work as a whole, its message or its essence. Likewise, objection is also raised against the author's poetic license. This second objection displays ignorance of the different literary tools employed in literature.³⁸ Moreover, the controversy over *Langit Makin Mendung* is partly caused by the depiction of inappropriate scenes involving Muslims in compromising situations, rather than by Muslims rashly and emotionally reacting to a book. Therefore, Jassin remarks, it was not the story but the contemporary social context which offended Indonesian Muslims. Such a reaction would not have emerged had the society been stable and well-adjusted at the time.³⁹

³⁶*Ibid.*, "Sambutan atas Tulisan Abdul Muis Z.A. Sekitar Cerpen *Langit Makin Mendung*" (A Response to the writing of Abdul Muis Z.A. Concerning the Short Story *Langit Makin Mendung*), *Abadi*, Year 20 No. 345, 21 March 1970.

³⁷*Ibid.*, "Simbol, Simbolisasi dan Kejujuran dalam Masalah *Langit Makin Mendung*" (Symbol, Symbolization and Honesty in the Case of *Langit Makin Mendung*), *Indonesia Raya*, Year 21, No. 70, 12 March 1970.

³⁸H.B. Jassin, 1983: 149; *Ibid.*, 1970: 48.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 1983: 145, 173.

On the other hand, unlike the previous opinion, M. Jusuf Lubis argues that literature does not only differentiate between reality and imagination but also draws upon the similarities between them. Therefore, it becomes almost a violation and manipulation of creation to portray black as white or vice versa. Neither the *Divina Commedia* nor *Javid Nama* violate any realities or truths upheld by Muslims. For example, if one takes the theme of the traveling companion, which is a common thread to all three works and traces it, one will notice that in the *Divina Commedia*, Gabriel was personified by Dante as Intellect accompanying the hero in his journey to Hell. Likewise in *Javid Nama*, Iqbal himself becomes the companion traveling with Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Thus, it becomes obvious that the similarities in Gabriel's role, in both the *Divina Commedia* and *Javid Nama*, still honor the Archangel and place him in a favorable light, Lubis affirms. Moreover, no change was made to the original or the objective reality of the *isrā'* and the *mi'rāj*. Consequently, freedom of speech does not mean that one can create an artistic work completely divorced from objective reality. As such, Lubis assumes that the reaction of Indonesian Muslims to *Langit Makin Mendung* did not stem from their ignorance of literary devices, but from the offense directed at their religion. Therefore, it is unfortunate and inappropriate to assert that Muslims "do not understand artistic works", when they oppose works blasphemous to their religion, Lubis observes. The truth of the matter is that Indonesian Muslims will not welcome any work stating that "there is no God" or that "*Pancasila* is *Nasakom*,"⁴⁰ even if its author swears that it "is art, and artistic reality is not identical with objective reality". If anybody does so, his work will not survive beyond the age of the paper it was written on.⁴¹ Moreover, Jassin's defense is inconsistent since it insists on the one hand that

⁴⁰*Pancasila* is the state ideology of Indonesia. It contains five basic principles; (a) the belief in One God, (b) a humanity that is just and civilized, (c) the unity of Indonesia, (d) democracy guided by the wisdom of representative deliberation, (e) social justice for all Indonesians.

⁴¹M. Jusuf Lubis, "*Mengingkari Sabda-Sabda Paus Sastra Indonesia*" (Rejecting the Utterances of the Pope of Indonesian Literature), *Angkatan Baru*, Year III, No. 146/147, 2 January 1969

God, Muḥammad, Gabriel and all religious matters are nothing but figments of the author's imagination, yet on the other hand that the description of *PBR*, the socio political context, and all other Indonesian issues are realities which Kipandjikusmin felt, reacted to and commented upon in his short story.

Sukarsono argues that Kipandjikusmin placed his story during Soekarno's rule, which is already dead and buried like Soekarno himself. His short story might have been monumental had it been written when Soekarno was victorious and alive, like Machiavelli who wrote *The Prince*, which although unacademic, was published at a fitting time and thus created the impact its author had wanted. However, Sukarsono concedes, the short story is not without its merit, as in the display of degeneration, and the immorality of the past, which gives readers food for thought. This short story might be said to voice religious proselytization in an unusual way. In terms of the personification of God which Kipandjikusmin used, Sukarsono judges it to be normal, due to the fact that many Qur'ānic verses are figurative and attribute human qualities to God. However, the display of God wearing and putting on antique spectacles is not figurative, but depicting God as a human being and is not acceptable, because there is no figurative meaning in such sentences, unless it is a reference to physical performances. This contradicts numerous Islamic concepts of God. Furthermore, compared to Dante Alighieri, Kipandjikusmin is in a distinguished position, Sukarsono says, the reason being that in his *Divina Commedia* [The Divine Comedy], Alighieri, an Italian politician, idealist, artist and poet, allegorically depicted his own journey through hell, purgatory and heaven. On this journey, he met many prophets among whom was Muḥammad, who resided in the lowest hell. Although this work was praised by Western people as original and to have a strong characteristic, it was not original, for it was inspired by the story of the *isrā'* and the *mi'rāj*. Alas, the central figure that inspired it, Muḥammad, was humiliated in it. And although Alighieri was later tried *in absentia* by the Church and sentenced to death, he was later considered the hero of the

Renaissance. Unlike Machiavelli who was anti-Christian, Alighieri was a devout Christian who wanted, through his work, to convince the Church to release its worldly power. Also, unlike Alighieri, Kipandjikusmin apologized and asked for forgiveness from the people, he even did not object to being punished by the court.⁴² Also, Sju'bah Asa adds that in terms of imagination, everybody knows the meaning of imagination and how fantasy is defined. The author of *Alf Lailah wa Lailah* [One Thousand and One Nights] fantasized, Jules Verne fantasized, 'Umar Khayyām fantasized, and because they fantasized they did not depict reality in an unreal manner. Harūn al-Rashīd was never painted as flying naked, neither President Kennedy's departed spirit was ever pictured as being spitted on by Oswald's departed spirit. And nobody will find any Muslim whose Qur'ān or Ḥadīth volumes are covered by pictures of the *Burāq*. This will not happen because 'artistic reality is different from objective reality'.⁴³ This means that Islam places limits on the imagination of its adherents, Abdul Muis declared. These limits can be traced in the cases of Arab people who were considered *mushrik* for making portraits and sculptures of God, even if such acts only took place in their imaginations. Indeed, Muis asserts, Islam respects imagination, but places limits on it. How would people react if somebody were to paint God wearing an emerald-belt carrying in His hand a big stick which shines and blinds, and in the bottom of the canvas writes: "This is God"? In that case, would a Muslim affirm that such a painting is forbidden by Islam, or would he consider it a *ṣūfī* expression of high calibre?⁴⁴

As for Bur Rasuanto, he believes that *Langit Makin Mendung* is nothing but another version of *Robohnya Surau Kami* [The Demolition of Our Prayer-House] written by A.A. Navis. However, while Navis succeeded in turning his theme into an

⁴²Sukarsono, "Dakwah, Seni dan Generasi Baru" (Proselytizing, Art and the New Generation), *Mertju Suar*, Year IV, No. 69, 70, 71, 13 and 20 December 1971.

⁴³Sju'bah Asa, 1972: 146-149.

⁴⁴Abdul Muis, "Pengakuan H.B. Jassin dan Tulisan Bahrum Rangkuti di Sekitar Cerpen *Langit Makin Mendung*" (H.B. Jassin's Confession and Bahrum Rangkuti's Writing About the Short Story *Langit Makin Mendung*), *Abadi*, Year 20, No. 334, 7 March 1970.

outstanding literary work, Kipandjikusmin only succeeded in collecting raw materials and presenting them in an equally raw manner. The latter only collected clippings from newspapers, which he later embodied them into an editorial rough copy and pretended that he produced a literary work! Moreover, these collections were written in easy and agile language, with several jokes here and there. In addition, Kipandjikusmin lost track of his relationship with the main plot after a while. Instead of being a detached narrator, he later changed himself into a commentator, a news-broadcaster, and a roadside medical practitioner.⁴⁵ Tragically, Sju'bah Asa says, this short story was poor and pathetic, whether in terms of literary devices or plot construction. However, it succeeded in depicting the lives of those around the Planet District of Senen,⁴⁶ which every Indonesian knows and acknowledges. The first part of the short story, according to Asa, is made up of dreams and fantasies alien to the Indonesian perception of paradise, while the second part lists comments and reflections on the *pra Gestapu*, *Gerakan September Tiga Puluh* [pre PKI's assassination on 30 September 1965]. Sadly, Asa laments, there is no link between the two parts. The short story is written in a very suggestive language and exhibits a witty humor; however, this humor is unpraiseworthy, for many people can create a sense of humor which is equally cynical. The short story ends in the midst of fantasies and imaginations, out of which the common reader cannot conclude anything. Thus, the reader is left with two reactions: either to laugh or to be offended by the author's sacrilege of what most readers consider to be holy.⁴⁷ However, Asa surmises, it might be that the author of *Langit Makin Mendung* never intended to insult by his details. Maybe, he just wanted to question the established norms, which people attribute to Islam and declare to be Islamic to the core. He wanted, by such questions, to prove that Islam is not compatible with reality. However, such an endeavor will make

⁴⁵Bur Rasuanto, Minggu Angkatan Bersenjata, Year IV, No. 221 and 222, 20 and 27 October 1968.

⁴⁶Planet District of Senen is another name of Senen Mall and its surroundings, see also Chapter 1, p. 15, footnote 34.

⁴⁷Sju'bah Asa, 1972: 146-149.

Kipandjikusmin come up against an old established norm: Islam. Hence, if this is a utilized theme in literature, one can predict the Muslim reaction to the story. One such reaction would be that if Kipandjikusmin had decided to portray traditional Islam, to question the established Islamic dogmas, and to state that Islam is no longer an appropriate ideology, it was not fitting for him to do so by personifying God as an old man wearing spectacles, or to depict heaven, which in Islam is 'a supernatural thing that can never be heard by ears, or seen by eyes, or imagined by fantasy', or to show Muḥammad as useless, or to depict him as a pleasure seeking individual who craves luxuries. On the contrary, Islamic history has preserved detailed accounts of Muḥammad's activities and idiosyncrasies. It is not fitting either to display the *Burāq* according to *Isrā'iliyyāt* or *zindīq* [heretic] narratives, because Islam never resorts to pictures in disseminating its doctrines, Asa concluded.⁴⁸

In response to Rangkuti's views, Hamka advanced his view that it is praiseworthy to defend Kipandjikusmin and Jassin, but to use a ḥadīth *qudsī* in the defense was improper, due to the fact that there is no single Ḥadīth suggesting that God is myopic, or that He wears spectacles. He goes on to say that Jassin himself admitted that even though he is Muslim, his knowledge of Islam is shallow due to his education at a Dutch school. Jassin had even also expressed his apology for his misdeed. Moreover, Hamka finds it pitiful to defend *Langit Makin Mendung* by simultaneously quoting Iqbal and the Aḥmadiyyah movement, which Iqbal himself opposed. Indeed, for Iqbal, both the Aḥmadiyyah of Mirza Ghulam or of Maulana Mohammad Ali, or the Aḥmadiyyah of Qadiyan or of Lahore had deviated from the right path. They had lost their bearings once they assumed that Gabriel would never retire, and that he would always bear revelations to new prophets. Thus, how can somebody admire Iqbal who rejected the above-mentioned ideas, and at the same time support the Aḥmadiyyah, Hamka asked. Although this might seem emotional, he declared, to be emotional in faith

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

is a must since emotion is an inherent part of faith, or a result of it. Indeed, it is emotion towards God, the Prophet, and Gabriel, that encouraged many Indonesian Muslims to appear in public, in front of the court and to deliberate upon the case of *Langit Makin Mendung*.⁴⁹

Again in response to Rangkuti's opinions regarding the concept of *niyyah* [intention], Abdul Muis argues that an honourable aim must translate itself into praiseworthy action. A thief or a corrupt person cannot justify his corruption by saying that he stole the money for a good cause, because the end result will always be corruption, and theft will always be evil, no matter what aim or justification it is given. Moreover, such deeds cannot be justified by the Qur'ān or the Ḥadīth. If Kipandjikusmin had really wanted to praise Islam, Muis argues, he should have used an alternative method since the one adopted was contrary to Islam, and is unacceptable regardless of its aim. It is unpraiseworthy to defend imagination, if one forsakes one's religion in doing so, he declares⁵⁰

On a different note, Marwan Saridjo points out that the fuss around *Langit Makin Mendung* was caused by one-sided literary critiques. Until now, prominent literary critics had classified religious literature as a literary genre which describes religious conflicts, or represents a religious dilemma and a solution to it. Thus, seen from this perspective, some litterateurs were justified in placing the short story *Langit Makin Mendung* in the magazine *Sastra*, which after all dealt with all branches of literature including the religious one. Later, when people objected to that short story, literary critics accused them of being orthodox, fanatic, prohibitionists, sectarians and uncivilized. They even said: "The totalitarianism of religion is once again destroying an

⁴⁹Hamka, "Sambutan terhadap Tulisan Kol. Drs. H. Bahrum Rangkuti Berjudul: *Imajinasi, Observasi dan Intuisi pada Cerpen Langit Makin Mendung*" (Response to the Writing of Kol. Drs. H. Bahrum Rangkuti Entitled: *Imagination, Observation and intuition in the short story Langit Makin Mendung*), *Merdeka*, Year 24, No. 6920-6922, 3-5 March 1970.

⁵⁰Abdul Muis, "Pengakuan H.B. Jassin dan Tulisan Bahrum Rangkuti" (H.B. Jassin's Confession and Bahrum Rangkuti's Writing About the Short Story *Langit Makin Mendung*), *Abadi*, Year 20, No. 334, 7 March 1970.

author's freedom of speech, as it had done to Hamzah Fansuri⁵¹". Not surprisingly, a chasm was created between the literary critics on the one side, and the rest of the community, particularly the 'ulamā', on the other side, Saridjo maintained. As a result, the religious people lost their faith in the function of literary critics, whom they expected to act as a liaison between literature and society. The problem, according to Saridjo, is that such a definition of religious literature still follows the intrinsic approach [i.e. it judges the literary work only], and disregards the extrinsic approach [i.e. the author]. Hence, this leads to a grave imbalance in the works' literary appreciation as can be seen in the case of *Langit Makin Mendung*. But, first, a word about the two approaches. The extrinsic approach, according to Saridjo, examines the extent to which authors adopt the beliefs they express in their writings and daily lives. Specifically, whether the religious beliefs expressed in their literary works are consistent with their daily religious deeds. For example, before converting to Islam, W.S. Rendra once portrayed a dialogue with God through his theatrical experiments of *Minikata*: "*Saya ingin Tuhan pada suatu ketika berbicara langsung kepada saya, memanggil, mengelus-elus*" [At one moment in time, I want God to speak to me face to face, to call me and stroke me], and he wrote a poem *Masmur Mawar*: "*Tuhan adalah bapa yang sakit batuk/dengan pandangan arif dan bijak/membelai kepala pelacur/Tuhan berada digang-gang gelap/bersama para pencuri, para perampok dan para pembunuh/Tuhan adalah teman sekamar para pejinah....*" [God is a Father Who is sick and getting cold/With a wise look/He strokes a

⁵¹Hamzah Fansuri [sometimes written with the Arabic transliteration, Ḥamzah Faṅṣūrī] was an Indonesian *ṣūfī*, poet and doctor of theology [*mutakallim*, 'ālim] who lived in Aceh, but his date and place of birth are not known. He was sentenced to death by Nuruddin Arraniri, because he was considered to have heretical ideas, e.g., concerning *waḥdat al-wujūd* [unity of being, or monism as reality] and *waḥdat al-shuḥūd* [unity of witnessing, or feeling of monism through a mystic experience]. Thus he was labeled *zindīq* [heretic]. Arraniri was a religious scholar who came to Aceh after the death of Sultan Iskandar Muda, the King of Aceh, and for a number of years was in great favour with the court, with the support of Iskandar Thani, Iskandar Muda's son-in-law. See, Syed Muhammad Naguib Al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Faṅṣūrī* [Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press], 1970: 3-65; G.W.J. Drewes and L.F. Brakel, *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri* [Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde], 1986: 3-25.

whore's head/God exists in dark corridors/along with thieves, robbers and murderers/God is a roommate of adulterers....]. But at another moment Rendra also expressed his deep glorification of Muḥammad through his other experimental theater, by the rhythm of *adhān* [call to prayer] and as well as his memorization of Muḥammad's life. All these acts, Saridjo comments, are acts which do not show consistency in his outlook, and have shocked both religious communities. In this respect, it is very important, Saridjo continued, to involve religious people in literary criticism by soliciting their opinion and considering their expectations, in order to reduce misunderstandings. The reason being that, literary critics have adopted Sartre's view concerning philosophy, a view which preaches an atheistic doctrine offensive to the religious community, and thus have alienated the latter and confined their role in literary appreciation to religious literature.⁵² Thus, to solve this antagonism between art, particularly literature and religion, Saridjo invites people to strike a balance between the two in an effort to synthesize between them. He believes that religious people became prohibitionists as a result of their traumatic experiences with the profane arts, especially profane literatures. They became deeply offended by pornographic and obscene works, as well as works which theologically disgraced the Islamic faith and have often reacted with complete rejection of such works. However, Saridjo points out that those profane forms of art can be found in all periods of Islamic history, and it is unfortunate that the religious community displays a lack of knowledge concerning art and literature in Islam. Furthermore, most Indonesian '*ulamā*' and *fuqahā*' only read *kitab kunings*,⁵³ which are very apologetic with regards to literature. Hence, to reach a compromise between

⁵²Marwan Saridjo, "Genre Sastra Keagamaan dan Masalah Pendekatannya" (The Genre of Religious Literature and Its Approach), *Panji Masyarakat*, No. 46, October 1969.

⁵³A *Kitab Kuning*, literally means a 'yellow book', and is a typical Indonesian term for books written by *salafi 'ulamā*' [traditionalist Muslim scholars] in the Arabic language. These books were printed and published on yellow paper, hence the term 'yellow book'. Although there are classical books published and printed in other colours like brown or white, Indonesian Muslims still call them *kitab kuning*. These *kitab kunings* are basically the main reference of Indonesian '*ulamā*' in considering every civil or religious problem.

Islam and literature, the references used by religious people must be questioned and argued against. It is necessary to challenge their way of thought and to convince them of the apologetic nature of their references before presenting them with literary works, Saridjo concludes.⁵⁴

Disagreement over the comparison of *Langit Makin Mendung* to high *ṣūfī* works was expressed by many scholars such as Hamka who asserts that sufism is an expression of love to God, in which *ṣūfīs* feel united to Him. However, *ṣūfīs* often apologized for their deeds, which they committed in a state of a trance, *sukr*. What they said in such states are called *shataḥāt*, and are described by Abū Yāzid al-Biṣṭāmī in the following terms: “*Subḥānī, subḥānī mā asmā shaʿnī*” [Praise be to me, how exalted I am!], and by Shibli: “*Mā fi jubbati illā Allāh*” [Nothing is inside my coat but God], and by al-Ḥallāj as: “*Anā al-Ḥaqq*” [I am the Truth]. By reading many books written by *ṣūfīs*,⁵⁵ Hamka adds, one will never find a *ṣūfī* expression which demeans God, but endeavours to raise themselves to God's stature, and to attain a level called *fanāʿ* [annihilation in Him], and *baqāʿ* [abiding in Him]. A case in point is the *ṣūfī* saying: “*Fa aiqantu anna al-fanāʿ fi al-anā, wa baqāʿi fanāʿi bik*” [So I believed that *fanāʿ* is in myself, and my abiding is in my annihilation in You]. This high *ṣūfī* expression cannot be compared to Kipandjikusmin's image of God shaking His head and being at His wit's end, or smiling with comprehension in a fatherly manner, Hamka argues. One should also notice that al-Ḥallāj's statement: “*Raʿaitu Rabbī yauman fi qalbi, fa qultu man Anta, qālā Anta*” [Once I saw my God inside my heart, then I said: ‘Who are

⁵⁴Marwan Saridjo, “*Seni Profan & Sikap Prohibisionis Golongan Agama: Sebuah Pengamatan Historis*” (Profane Art and the Prohibitionist Attitude of Religious People: A Historical Study), *Panji Masyarakat*, Year IV, No. 47, November 1969.

⁵⁵In this respect, Hamka mentions such *ṣūfīs* as Ibn ʿArabī, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, al-Ghazzālī, Abū Yāzid al-Biṣṭāmī, Rābiʿah al-ʿAdawiyyah, Farīd al-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār, Ḥāfiẓ al-Shibli, ʿAbd al-Qādir Jilānī, ʿAbd al-Karīm Jilānī, or such Indonesian *ṣūfīs* as Hamzah Fansuri, Abdul Rauf Fansuri Singkel, Nuruddin Arraniri, Syamsuddin Sumatrani, Syeikh Yusuf Tajuʿl Khalwati al-Maqasari, or such scholars of modern *taṣawwuf* as Zakī Mubārak, Ibrāhīm Madkūr, Muhammad Ghallāb, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziq, as well as some orientalis interested in *taṣawwuf* such as Louis Massignon, Ignaz Goldziher, and R.A. Nicholson.

You', He said: 'You'], was not considered by Iqbal as an Islamic statement in character but was representative of the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* which is alien to pure Islamic dogmas. Therefore, Hamka asserts, it is inappropriate to raise Kipandjikusmin's level to Iqbal's, because in doing so, one will inevitably lower Iqbal's position to the 'filthy' one occupied by Kipandjikusmin. Moreover, Hamka reasons, *Langit Makin Mendung* failed miserably as a work of art, because it consists of nothing but insults, cynicism and wickedness to God, Muḥammad, Gabriel, the *'ulamā'* and the *kiyais*. In fact, the portrayal of the *'ulamā'* and *kiyais*, in the short story, is carried out in the cynical manner of the Indonesian Communist Party. Such cynicism is not only humiliating and hateful to the *'ulamā'* but also to the entire Muslim population.⁵⁶ In addition, if Kipandjikusmin had wanted to criticize *Nasakom*, Hamka affirms, he should not have used *Nasakom's* method of criticizing the religious community. One will not purify Islam by lowering God, Muḥammad, and Gabriel who is well-known as *rūḥ al-amīn* [the Trustful Spirit], or *rūḥ al-quds* [the Holy spirit]. As such, Hamka believed that Kipandjikusmin's meticulous statements about Islam were nothing but a camouflage for his insolent images of God. Even Jassin himself had disagreed with many of Kipandjikusmin's ideas, Hamka pointed out; however, Jassin felt compelled to publish the short story due to his position as a man of letters and a connoisseur of literary products. In other words, Jassin wanted to practice what he preached about freedom of expression, thought and imagination, Hamka added.⁵⁷

⁵⁶Actually Hamka had difficulty in defending the *'ulamā'*, *kiyais* and religious people in court, in spite of being one of them. Regardless, Hamka explains that when the communists led the Indonesian government, the *'ulamā'* and *kiyais* became the target of their criticism and scorn, although the criticism was not aimed at someone in particular. It is normal, Hamka continued, that in every group of people, there will be somebody to digress from the proper path. This could happen to the *'ulamā'* and *kiyais* just as it could happen to any other group of individuals. Therefore, it is necessary for the communists to highlight the transgression of a few scholars and to imply that the *'ulamā'* are the only people who digress.

⁵⁷Hamka, *Merdeka*, Year 24, No. 6920-6922, 3-5 March 1970; Hamka's opinion was rejected by Rangkuti as unsound, see Bahrum Rangkuti, "Higher Sufism, Imajinasi dan Intuisi pada Cita Mohd. Iqbal Lebih Hebat dari Cerpen Kipandjikusmin" (Higher Sufism, Imagination and the Intuition of Iqbal are Greater than the Short Story of

The lack of freedom of speech is lamented by Jassin who bewails the restrictions imposed upon Indonesian artists. He believes that due to these restrictions, Indonesian artists cannot sharpen their skills and talents and realize their full potential. In this sense, Jassin is of the opinion that Western artists are luckier because they have the opportunity to draw upon the infinite history of the prophets for inspiration, ideas, stories and plots. Thus, they were able to portray Jesus and to spread his message of love and affection. Indeed, it is through such works that the prophets were made alive and people were able to gain a glimpse at their teachings, suffering and dedication, Jassin states. Moreover, the portrayal of God as an old man descending through the clouds and carrying a baby whom He will place in the womb of the sleeping Mary is only a pictorial metaphor. The painter knows full well that what he had painted is not the real Jesus who had lived centuries ago, or the true God, but a personification of the abstract idea of the Immaculate Conception, which he depicted in order to simplify the concept to the common people. In this way, God and religion are no longer external abstractions but are personified and given shape. Ultimately, this technique will help people internalizing religious concepts and ideas, Jassin adds. Besides, there are such films as *Quo Vadis*, *King of Kings*, *The Ten Commandments*, *Buddha*, which revolve around a religious figure. *Quo Vadis*, for instance, reveals how Jesus spread his teachings and the suffering he endured; *The Ten Commandments* demonstrates how Moses divided the Red Sea in order to rescue the Jews from the Pharaoh of Egypt. As such, Jassin states,

one can conclude that freedom of speech is an important theme that must be discussed objectively and without any emotions.⁵⁸

Goenawan Muhammad stepped on the scene with a new viewpoint. He believed that freedom of speech must be endorsed as long as it is accompanied by responsibility. Similarly, believing in a literary work is justifiable as the latter promotes the welfare of people and does not upset or make them restless. However, Muhammad was also aware that such a strategy could lead to one-sided opinion and the domination of one group over another. Such a domination, he added, is highly undesirable in the domain of literature which should be full of variations and different shades of meaning, if it is to be a true representation of life. In fact, literature should exalt variation and diversity, even if it has to create new variations, and even if these lead to rebellions or disobedience. The problem, according to Muhammad, is whether people are prepared to face such an unexpected situation or not, and whether they are ready to face those possibilities which literature provokes or not. It is amazing, he remarked, that some people were convinced that they could be defeated by *rambut gondrong* [long hair]⁵⁹ or by a few short stories. Defeat, he said, can only be accomplished by fastidiousness and caution, and not by holy things like religion. This does not mean a denial of holy things, on Muhammad's part, but a warning that holy things could become trivial and unimportant if they were always used cautiously. If we believe in God, he said, then this God should not be defined by prohibitionists who like mobilizing the prosecution, the police, mass organizations and so on. Believing in God is to believe that God bestows life, organizes it and trusts people by allowing them personal freedom; for He is the One Who

Kipandjikusmin), Kami, year IV, no. 1087, 7 March 1970; *Ibid.*, "Sayang Hamka Kurang Tahu dan Kelewat Personlik" (Alas Hamka only Knows Little and Is too Personal), Kami, Year IV, No. 1089, 11 March 1970; *Ibid.*, "Sambutan atas Tulisan Abdul Muis Z.A. Sekitar Cerpen Langit Makin Mendung" (A Response to the writing of Abdul Muis Z.A. Concerning the Short Story *Langit Makin Mendung*), Abadi, Year 20 No. 345, 21 March 1970.

⁵⁸H.B. Jassin, Horison, Year II, No. 1, November 1968.

⁵⁹Long hair is often used to denote the attitude and style of Indonesian Artists who are eccentric. Therefore, long hair is also used to denote eccentricity.

organizes and initiates everything. Amir Hamzah is a perfect example in this situation when he calls God 'Engkau' [Anta, You] in one of his poems, Muhammad affirms. In this case, Hamzah does not oppress himself, but mentions it in a measure of intimacy. Amir Hamzah does not need His form because He cannot be formed, and He is not a form. Amir Hamzah does not require either His shape because He cannot be defined or resembled, and He is beyond every definition. Therefore, his poem is nothing but an expression of love and submission like Iqbal's reflections or Tagore's lives. This intimacy cannot be determined and cannot be elaborated by a provided regulation, for it may lead to many possibilities, including apostasy, restlessness and sin. Therefore, if such freedom disappears, if the relationship with God becomes exclusively based on the mere prevailing regulations, Amir Hamzah would become part of a large scheme, and would not create a poem missing Him, a yearning poem. This discussion does not deal with secularism, Muhammad says, but with people who like to follow a set of pre-decided and predetermined regulations. In other words, it speaks to people who are not ready to live with a restless faith, and who are convinced that life is a long straight path, in which rebellion and sin are impossible to exist; therefore, they become unforgiving. In fact, it becomes bizarre on the one hand to choose a creative life and freedom but, on the other hand, not to be ready to face dangerous situations.⁶⁰

People should distinguish between freedom of expression and freedom of thought, Mochtar Lubis affirms. The latter is the first step in accomplishing the former, so that, when people are afraid to think, they cannot be expected to express their thoughts candidly. Similarly, when people agree to struggle for the freedom of expression, they must extend this freedom to others too. Lubis believes that what happened to the editors of *Sastra*, was caused by an intolerant attitude towards the freedom of thought. One should educate oneself to listen and to reflect upon new

⁶⁰Goenawan Muhammad, "Tentang Kemungkinan-Kemungkinan Kesusastraan" (About Possibilities in Literature), *Horison*, Year III, No. 10, October 1968.

thoughts coming from different quarters. However crazy and dejected an idea may be, one is not supposed to hang or kill the owner of that idea. Indeed, people should question and challenge traditional and conventional values, attitudes, and thoughts. Recently, Lubis says, the waves of scientific developments, technology, communication and transport have changed old values, and men are currently searching for new values and guidelines. They are not delving into the nature of God or His attributes anymore. Instead, they are dealing with such contemporary phenomena as hippies, theaters which openly play sex scenes on the stage, topless women, artistic writings and films displaying scenes which were previously considered taboo and related to homosexuals, anti- pregnancy pills for family planning, and free sex. People cannot be restricted by ancient paradigms. It is to be hoped, he concludes, that the tragedy of Galileo should not happen again.⁶¹

Unlike such opinions, Jus Rusamsi asserts that there is no absolute freedom for everybody. It is unsound to assume that freedom is a concept disencumbered by regulations from tradition, government, state or religion. Indeed, it is through these regulations that man makes concessions towards others, which, in turn, lead to the curtailment of his freedom. For example, state regulations guarantee that everybody enjoys freedom of speech; however, this freedom is limited by another regulation maintaining that freedom of speech must not be used to humiliate or slander others. Similarly, when someone believes in Islam and talks about God, his description of God should conform to the Islamic viewpoint. Thus, Rusamsi declares, it is acceptable and true if someone says that "God smiles in the Last Day" because, as written by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī in his book, *Al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr*, volume II, page 205, there is a ḥadīth ḥasan narrated by al-Ṭabarānī that "God shows us His Substance by smiling on the Last Day". However, it would not be acceptable or true to say that "God smiles to a

⁶¹Mochtar Lubis, "Kebebasan Berfikir" (The Freedom to Think), *Horison*, Year IV, No. 1, January 1969.

sweet girl who is harvesting rice in a paddy field", because there is no proof of that. Freedom of expression must match the truth, he articulates, for the truth cannot be altered by the concept of freedom.⁶² Moreover, to frame the discussion, Sju'bah Asa affirms that the portrayal and personification of Muḥammad by an artist infringes upon the rights of the rest of the Muslim *ummah*, for the simple reason that Muḥammad is not a common historical figure but someone whom millions of Muslims feel spiritually connected to. Portraying and casting him in a certain mould by an artist limits the right of all those millions who have the same connection to the Prophet. As such, Asa concluded, an infringement upon the rights of all those people's imaginations is not just disrespectful but a violation of their freedom and their basic human rights too. Moreover, one should respect the reactions and responses of other people, because it is their right too to express their opinions.⁶³

The issue of freedom of speech will always become a thorny one when many people, who have no integrity get involved in it, determine the values and criteria of literary works, and try to impose these values on others, A.A. Navis states. In fact, only literary critics have the right to analyze literary works, due to their familiarity with the subject and their observance and attention to the growth of authors and their works. If the people want to bring the case of *Langit Makin Mendung* to the court, he argues, then only Kipandjikusmin and the publisher should be held responsible, not the magazine *Sastra*. Later, if Kipandjikusmin could not explain or justify what he had written to the court, he could be jailed along with the publisher, because publishers should not be ignorant of what they are printing, but should understand literary works and Islamic doctrines. Such a punishment would have a consequence of making authors more careful in choosing their themes, and avoiding those topics they have little or no

⁶²Jus Rusamsi, "Kebenaran dan Kebebasan" (Truth and Freedom), Budaja Djaja, Year II, No. 10, March 1969.

⁶³Sju'bah Asa, "Di Belakang Gambar Nabi Muhammad: Sebuah Salam Kuat Kepada H.B. Jassin". (Behind the Picture of the Prophet Muḥammad: A Great Greeting and Strong Hello to H.B. Jassin), Horison, Year IV, No. 7, July 1969.

knowledge about. Authors should realize that freedom of speech does not make them and their productions immune from the law, Navis asserts.⁶⁴ In addition to Navis's opinion, Sju'bah Asa believes that a literary work can be fairly judged by non literary critics providing that the short story deals with other subjects, such as history or theology, or that it conveys a negative message, a particular political orientation, or for any other plausible reason.⁶⁵

Those who defended Kipandjikusmin were considered one-sided, Tjahjo Nuswantoro declares. If they really objected to people who have no integrity getting involved in literature, they should have also objected to Kipandjikusmin who wrote about Islam without understanding it. The literary world and the common people should not forget that the Islamic world has its experts who can judge and criticize Islamic teachings. These experts are either called *'ulamā'* or *zu'amā'*, neither of whom does Kipandjikusmin belong to! Therefore, Kipandjikusmin's capacity to write and talk about Islam is questioned, Nuswantoro says. In addition, Islam teaches that every person, whether president or layman, *'ālim* or illiterate should base his life on the worship of God. This worship is explained and regulated by religion, as revealed by God through His prophets. Therefore in Islam, Nuswantoro maintains, art, as a human activity, should be employed in the worship of God, not for insulting Him or violating His Commands.⁶⁶ However, Kipandjikusmin, Nuswantoro continues, did not abide by such a rule and misused art by advancing some opinions not based on Islamic teachings, like the dialogue between God and Muḥammad, and the personification of God. Indeed, Kipandjikusmin should realize that the concept of Deity in Islam is different, and that it is prohibited in Islam to personify God. Even though the Qur'ān literally 'humanizes' God by attributing human qualities such as a hand, eyes, et cetera, the *'ulamā'* are very

⁶⁴A.A. Navis, *Aman Makmur*, Year VI, No. 253-254, 23-24 October 1968

⁶⁵Sju'bah Asa, 1972: 146-149.

⁶⁶Tjahjo Nuswantoro, "*Langit Makin Mendung: Bukan Satu Apologi Sastra*" (*Langit Makin Mendung Is Not A Literary Apologetic*), *Adil*, Year 37, No. 11, 8 November 1968.

careful in comprehending such anthropomorphic words. They even deny the literal interpretation of the previously-mentioned words and resort to *ta'wīl* [interpretation] or *qiyās* [analogy] in their comprehension of these attributes. As such, they define God's eyes as supervision, and His hand as power.⁶⁷

According to Sju'bah Asa, the definition of freedom of speech had gained national recognition and was no longer limited to the literary circle. It had become a popular topic among the people, who felt for the most part offended by it. Such a reaction invited them to reassess freedom of speech, thus creating a schism in society with a small group of intellectuals on one side, facing the 'ulamā' backed by the masses on the other side. The intellectuals mostly reacted to the actions hurled at them by the masses which were uncensored, inhuman and intolerant to say the least. Ideally, to deal with such a situation the intellectuals would educate the people and make them conscious, cultured and tolerant. Above all, they would teach them how to deal rationally with whatever offends their sensibilities. Unfortunately, Asa says, that cannot happen, because society is not only composed of the mob and its intellectuals or 'Platos', whether Greek or Indonesian 'Platos', but it is also influenced by the constant turbulence and struggle between the intellectuals and the masses. This does not signify that one has to follow a small group of utopian thinkers, or reject the masses who deny the existence of a Utopia. Rather, each individual should recognize this struggle and realize that he does not live in heaven. This phenomenon will ultimately lead him to believe that freedom of speech is a fashion and a prolongation of the 'opposition to every collective agreement of the masses'. Hence, the spirit of freedom seeks to create a Person who is as high as God, who refuses religion and faith, and who it labels traditional and obsolete. Freedom of speech is a stratagem that lures people away from the Absolute Right, and introduces pragmatism, materialism and humanism in its stead, all of which

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, "Langit Makin Mendung: Mempersonifikasikan Tuhan" (*Langit Makin Mendung: Personifying God*), *Adil*, Year 37, No. 14, 19 November 1968.

place Man on a pedestal around which the universe revolves. And then, out of this hideous situation a young hero emerged with his *Langit Makin Mendung*, with which he tried to stir a little noise. Unfortunately, the short story was unpraiseworthy, for the author does not show a respect to holy things, God or Muhammad, he just wants to destroy every established norm.⁶⁸

Again, in defense of *Langit Makin Mendung* and Jassin, the Malaysian Yahya Ismail who was a student of Indonesian literature, declared that such drastic and sadistic acts against Jassin, and cultural and artistic expressions in Indonesia would enrage the Indonesian people, and create an 'unpleasant' impression with foreign observers. Undoubtedly, such actions would make all Indonesian Muslims feel restless and humiliated. In fact, they could have all felt offended, although one cannot say so for sure as only God knows that. It is amazing that an author should take responsibility for his work in front of the court. The same could not happen in Malaysia where Islam is the official religion, and where most Malaysians are Muslims; however, in that country not a single controversial work or a single author was brought to court for their thought. Moreover, Ismail continues, no place in literature should be declared a 'no man's land' where authors are forbidden to trespass. Litterateurs and artists are always buffeted by various influences and elements both personally or publicly. In addition, artists always exert their utmost effort in their quest for truth and reality, and nobody can hamper them but God. Thus, when their endeavours are met with terror and threats, their works will deteriorate, their creative powers will wither, they will have no principles and will ultimately create artificial products. In addition, Ismail questioned the motives behind the trial of Kipandjikusmin. Is it about literary art, emotion, politics, personal business, or deep enmity? Ismail asked. Only those who do not analyze the story from the literary

⁶⁸Sju'bah Asa, 1972: 146-149.

perspective will consider Kipandjikusmin and his work to be in violation of Islam and Muslim feelings, he concluded.⁶⁹

In response to Ismail's view, M. Jusuf Lubis argued that the court and the people were well aware that Jassin had dedicated his life to the promotion of Indonesian literature and do acknowledge his valuable services and merits. However, Jassin is a human being with weaknesses. Moreover, it is inappropriate to compare Indonesia and Malaysia, as both countries display dissimilar attitudes towards religion, albeit the same religion. This is not to say that Indonesia is better than Malaysia, or vice versa, but that each country has its distinct character and criteria, which its people react to and abide by. Therefore, Lubis says, it is not only inappropriate but erroneous to compare Indonesian Muslims and their Malaysian counterparts, as both peoples have their own distinctive character. What is acceptable in Malaysia, may be frowned upon in Indonesia, or vice versa. Finally, the dictum of 'there is no man's land' in literature and that freedom of thought and a broad knowledge of literature should be taken into consideration while judging a work of art were challenged by Lubis. Finally, he believed that freedom should be followed by responsibility, as Jassin himself had said in his book *Tifa Penyair dan Daerahnya* [The Author's Angles and Territories].⁷⁰

Through *Langit Makin Mendung* and the issues it raised, Jassin became acutely aware of the precarious relationship between art and religion. Concerning the religious prohibition against the personification of the sacred things, a defense was issued based upon the Qur'ānic verses portraying God in human terms and endowing Him with human features. This can be seen from the Qur'ān in its use of such words related to God as *al-ʿArsh* [the throne], in *Ṭā Hā*, 20: 5; *Hūd*, 11: 7; the word *al-yad* [the hand] in *Ṣād*, 38: 75; the word *al-ʿayn* [the eye] in *al-Ṭūr*, 52: 48; and *al-wajh* [the face] in *al-*

⁶⁹Yahya Ismail, "Sekitar Langit Makin Mendung" (About Langit Makin Mendung), *Minggu Indonesia Raya*, Year 20, No. 232, 24 November 1968.

⁷⁰M. Jusuf Lubis, "Surat Terbuka Kepada Yahya Ismail, Pengarang Malaysia" (An Open Letter to Yahya Ismail, A Malaysian Writer), *Angkatan Baru*, Year III, No. 140/141, 12 December 1968.

Baqara, 2: 115. Even in the al-Nūr chapter 24: 35, the so called *mishkāt al-anwār*, God is not just personified, but compared to a light and a lamp. Furthermore, God's attributes are personifications resulting from human speculation. Jassin argued that since it is impossible to describe God, human beings are obliged to utilize their restricted language and limited knowledge in depicting Him and His existence, in the only way they know how. However, Jassin affirmed, it is implicitly understood that no matter what metaphor people apply, and whatever personification they may attribute to God, He is truly beyond their imagination. Thus, God's attributes are nothing but an effort to humanize God through human intellect and reasoning. Indeed, all these speculations are a proof of Man's deficiency in describing the Divine, Jassin says. They are not only lacking in the characteristics they attribute to Him, but also in the tools they employ in doing so. Hence, it becomes meaningless to reject *Langit Makin Mendung* which describes God wearing old-fashioned gold spectacles, shaking His head, and so on.⁷¹

God's attributes, Jassin continues, describe that He sees, but does He have eyes? He hears, but does He have ears? He speaks, but does He have a mouth and a tongue? Do not all these indicate that God is personified? Moreover, the Qur'ān mentions that God could become angry, but can He not also smile or laugh? Indeed, God is too extraordinary to be discerned or comprehended. He is *mukhālif li al-ḥawādith* [different from His created beings] and does not resemble any other creature. Human beings can only describe Him through their limited faculties, realizing that those descriptions do not represent Him. However, as seekers they can only attempt to cast Him into a familiar mould. As Amir Hamzah declares:

Aku manusia
Rindu rasa
Rindu rupa

(I am a human being
Missing your feeling
Missing Your forming)

⁷¹H.B. Jassin, 1983: 118-120; *Ibid.*, 1970: 12-15.

Thus, whenever a litterateur or an artist illustrates God through the strokes of a pen or a paint brush, or even in sculpture, he knows that it is not God, but the Idea of Deity, or the Idea of Godhood. Similarly, people who observe such a work of art will understand that it is not God but the Idea of Deity. Thus, the ban on the personification of God through imagination becomes tantamount to banning reflection on the Divine, even if such a reflection takes place in one's innermost thoughts. However, Jassin maintains, this reflection will not necessarily lead to knowledge, because human beings are incapable of prying into each other's souls, let alone God's. God will not be offended by our limited conception of His manifold attributes. Moreover, even if God is described in human terms, this will not underestimate Him, because He will never catch a cold or die, for example. Indeed, He will never die even though millions of atheists claim that He is dead. Death exists only in the author's mind. A case in point is Nietzsche who claimed, through his controversial work, *Also Sprach Zarathustra*, that *Gott ist töt* [God is dead], meaning that the idea of deity as it exists in the mind of people who manipulate God and religion for their own interest, is dead, Jassin concluded.⁷² Thus, only God knows Himself, whereas mankind's efforts to get closer to Him will always be fruitless. All that mankind has is imagination: to imagine God. Moreover, when Man errs in his imagination, God will always be All-loving, All-merciful and Forgiving.⁷³

Jassin also realized that fiction is in need of more attention in Islam. Drama, radio dramas, films, television and so on were still neglected to a great extent. Hence, he called for the attainment of new *fatwās*⁷⁴ concerning sculptures, and the portrayal of animate subjects. As is well known, the painting and carving of human or animate creatures was forbidden in early Islam. However, Jassin believes that Islam forbade

⁷² *Ibid.*, Horison, Year II, No.1, November 1968.

⁷³ Kami, "Percakapan Anak Kecil dan Ayahnya tentang Tuhan" (A Conversation between a Child and His Father about God), Year IV, No. 700, 9 November 1968.

⁷⁴ A *Fatwā* is an opinion on a point of law pertaining to any civil or religious matter. The act of giving a *fatwā* is a *futyā* or *iftā'*. The person who gives a *fatwā*, or is engaged in that profession, is a *muftī*, while the person who asks for it is *mustaftī*. See, B. Lewis, et al., The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, Vol II [Leiden: E.J. Brill], 1965: 866.

these practices because at the time, paganism was still rampant and fresh in many people's minds and it was feared that the new converts would revert to paganism and the worship of sculptures. Fortunately, this is not the case at present, since we no longer worship idols. As civilized people, Jassin affirmed, we can carve a sculpture of somebody we admire like a hero, for instance, to commemorate his heroism and to keep his memory alive. In such an instance, our vision is different from that of primitive people, as we are in a wiser position. The same can be said of painting, he declared. Moreover, it is amazing that people still believe that Islamic art had been mainly decorative in nature and had only resorted to calligraphy, leaf and tree designs. In fact, he argued, there were Muslim artists who had painted animals and men, but these trends were not developed. In his book *Die Allgemeine Geschichte der Litteratur* [Neue Ausgabe, Erster Band, Berlin: Historischer Verlag Baumgarten, 1901], Gustav Karpeles includes a colorful reproduction of the Prophet riding the *Burāq* through the clouds, and a winged Gabriel acting as a guide in front of him. In that picture, Jassin elucidates, the Prophet was wearing a white turban and a green, long-sleeved, flowing robe, and had a mustache and a beard. In addition, the Prophet was portrayed as a man of fifty, in accordance with the story of the *isrā'* and the *mi'rāj* which occurred eleven years after the revelation; the *Burāq* was pictured with the body and feet of a deer and a human head and was wearing a kind of rimless hat. Another picture can also be found in a book written by Rijma en Roelofs and entitled *De Ontwikkelingsgang der Historie* [Uitgave voor Nederlandsch-Indie, Netherlands: J.B. Wolters, 1932, Volume I]. This picture, Jassin says, exhibits the time the Prophet brought peace between the leaders of Quraysh, who were in dispute over the placement of the *Ḥajar al-Aswad* [the Black Stone] during the rebuilding of the Ka'bah. Furthermore, in the book *Anthology of Islamic Literature*, which is edited by James Kritzeck and published by Pelican Books in 1964, the Prophet is pictured riding the *Burāq*, and surrounded by winged-angels. However, in that picture his face was plain, blank, white, and without eyes, nose, mouth

or ears. As such, Jassin came to the conclusion that there are three opinions concerning the portrayal of the Prophet. The first is one of total denial and refusal concerning the portrayal of any prophet, although it allows the depiction of angels. The second allows the portrayal of all prophets except Muḥammad, while the third allows the portrayal of all prophets, even Muḥammad, as long as such a portrayal does not diminish their magnificence.⁷⁵

The era of technology we are now living in, Jassin points out, has different demands and different standards from what our forefathers had experienced, and unless we meet those demands we are going to decline even further. Muslims have declined, he said, because, in addition to losing their faith, due to the lack of a genuine religious education, they have also refrained from participating in the modern sciences. This did not only involve neglecting science and art, but also banishing art from the domain of theology. Therefore, Jassin suggests, Muslims must utilize these modern tools such as cinematography, films, radios, television, painting, sculpture, music, dance, dance-drama, drama and literature, in the promotion of their religious beliefs, the promotion of human welfare as well as the attainment of God's favor. Hence, *fatwās* on new inventions must take into consideration the method and *niyyah* [intention] of the inventor, regardless of the invention itself which may be good or bad. Indeed, it is through this understanding, Jassin elaborates, that religion will not be thought to hamper development, or to be incapable of fulfilling the demands of modernity. Instead of hiding and avoiding the increasing demands of the modern world, religion will be able to confront them and solve them.⁷⁶ In addition, through the utilization and adoption of contemporary tools, the conflict between the *fuqahā*, the *‘ulamā* and the non-Islamic scientists/scholars will be reduced.⁷⁷

⁷⁵H.B. Jassin, *Horison*, Year VI, No. 3, March 1969.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, *Minggu Angkatan Bersenjata*, 31 December 1968.

In response to this view, Sju'bah Asa declared that a few clarifications concerning monotheism and prophecy are due. As is well known, Islam teaches that God is Absolute, and that He is One. This premise is stated in a very simple, matter-of-fact manner in the Qur'ān, *sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*: 1, "Say: 'He is God, One'". Similarly, extreme care has been taken by Muḥammad to downplay his own extraordinary role; he has often declared that he is only a messenger following in the footsteps of the previous messengers. Moreover, Muḥammad always fought against personal pride and kept himself from indulging in self-glorification due to his awareness of the corrupting influence of power, as had been the case of the Pharaohs of Egypt. However, in spite of such statements, many simple Muslims do not place a great deal of distance between the status of God and that of the Prophet, Asa continued. An issue that God and the Prophet were very 'sensitive' to and took measures to dispel. Indeed, in order to dispel such misconceptions, Muḥammad was made to declare that he is not a God and that he does not possess extraordinary powers. However, such measures, together with the blessing of prophecy, have undoubtedly raised Muḥammad beyond the level of an ordinary man, Asa affirmed. One could argue, Asa commented, that the Prophet had forbidden paintings and sculptures because at the time people were primitive and still had the memory of idol worship at the back of their minds, whereas, nowadays people make paintings and statues for other purposes such as reminding them of the achievements of someone, or in the case of pictures, reminding them of the features of a special person. However, Asa added, the Qur'ān has already rejected such excuses,⁷⁸ and that their usage shows that the *jāhili* rationale had not died down, and that it continues to exist until the present. Moreover, such a usage undermines the efforts of the *tajdīd* [renewal] movements in Indonesia, which were inspired by the Wahhābīs, Muḥammad 'Abduh, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, the Ikhwān al-Muslimīn, and those initiated by Imam Bondjol,

⁷⁸*Sūrat al-Zumar*, 39: 3; and see, Muhammad Asad, The Message of the Qur'ān [Gibraltar: Dar al-Andalus], 1984: 704.

continued by K.H.A. Dahlan, H.A. Karim Amrullah, Sjech Asj-Sjoorkaty. It will have considerable progress in dispelling the superstitions propagated by several *kiyais*, as well as purifying Indonesian Islam from the remnants of idol-worship and animism. Indeed, there were scholars who wanted Muslims to take an active part in understanding the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīth and to be able to reject any *Isrāʾīliyyāt* or any other irrational suggestions made by ill-informed *ʿulamāʾ*, or *habib-habib keturunan Nabi*.⁷⁹ Therefore, Asa is of opinion that the *tajdīd* movement in Indonesia sought to dispel such beliefs as those involving sacred graves, supernatural kris swords, and charms that are supposed to ward off evil and illness, and to lead to good fortune. At the time, such charms were made of complicated Arabic texts, beautiful calligraphy, and pictures of the *Burāq* and the Prophet. These things were rejected because they were contradictory to the Qurʾān and Sunnah, and because they contained superstitious elements from the previous polytheistic religions. In addition, many *ʿulamāʾ* feared that a picture of the Prophet may be used by simple Muslims as a sacred charm or that, in time, the picture and perhaps a bust of the Prophet would become objects which people would kneel in front of and pray to, Asa states. However, some *ʿulamāʾ* have conceded that artists can make an abstract representation of the Prophet, although, of course, there would always be the fear that people would idolize the abstraction. Thus, although some Muslims might feel suppressed because they cannot portray Muḥammad on the stage, Asa comments, one should comprehend that an amateur theater group which is half-mature will not stage Lenin's biography in Moscow, for example. Recent reproductions of Shakespeare's plays and Camus's scripts in Indonesia, Asa states, have even merely been staged because it was fashionable to do so at the time. Although Muslims might seem

⁷⁹A respectful term of address to ethnic Arabs who can trace their ancestry to the Prophet Muḥammad. In Indonesia, this title is often used for unsound purposes such as getting privileges in society, or being considered to have a higher level and class than others and so on. See also Deliar Noer, Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942 (translated from his Ph.D. dissertation, The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942) [Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan ekonomi dan Sosial], 1985: 67.

unfriendly because they limit the visual and plastic arts, unless it is *khatt* [calligraphy] and architecture, their art is not without its merits. Indeed, it was Muslim art developed by Sa'dī and Firdawsī, which made Goethe's generation known as "the Generation of Romantics of the East". Muslims might be frustrated because they cannot freely express their imagination, but "better not an artist than an uncivilized person", Asa declared. Furthermore, if art is defined as an absolute human right, then freedom of speech in art provides everybody with the right to choose, and art will not be a mere picture or sculpture of the Prophet Muḥammad. Finally, Asa affirms that instead of creating new *fatwās* and asking *mujtahids* to revize settled cases, it would be better to devote Muslim effort to the enhancement and development of religion, and to helping those who have wandered away from the right path regain their religious values.⁸⁰

Islamic art does not recognize the concept of *l'art pour l'art*, but rather art with a moral or didactic message, Fuad Muhammad Fachruddin states in responding to Jassin's views. This means, Fachruddin continues, that Islamic art prefers those artistic expressions that preserve human dignity, personality, courtesy and politeness. Thus, according to this view, the display of God, Muḥammad, Gabriel, al-Khulafā' al-Rāshidūn in *Langit Makin Mendung* will not only be seen as a total humiliation of those figures but as a cynical rendering of religion as well. Unfortunately, this humiliation is too subtle to be understood by the unsuspecting readers.⁸¹ It is difficult to deny that Kipandjikusmin, Fachruddin declares, is among those considered by the Qur'ān in *sūrat al-Furqān*: 41 as: "Hence, whenever they consider thee, [O Muhammad], they but make thee a target of their mockery, [saying:] 'Is this the one whom God has sent as an apostle?'"⁸² As for sculptures, paintings, drama and films, Indonesians still perceive

⁸⁰Sju'bah Asa, *Horison*, Year IV, No. 7, July 1969.

⁸¹Fuad Muhammad Fachruddin, "Tanggapan terhadap Catatan Kebudayaan 'Dicari: Mujtahid Modern'" (A Response to the Column Catatan Kebudayaan 'Wanted: A Modern Mujtahid'), *Abadi*, Year 19, No. 57, 5 April 1969; see also Jusuf Abdullah Puar, "Cerpen 'Sastra' Menghina Nabi Muhammad s.a.w." (The Short Story in the Magazine Sastra Is Insulting to the Prophet Muḥammad), *Operasi Minggu*, Year III, No. 783, 20 October 1968.

⁸²This translation is quoted from Muhammad Asad, 1984: 555.

them as new genres of art that must be judged by the same criteria as the previous forms of art, Fachruddin believes. In other words, they must carry a didactic message. Finally, Fachruddin concludes his argument against paintings by reminding his readers of the many Ḥadīths showing that the Prophet forbade painting animate creatures.⁸³

⁸³Fachruddin bases the prohibition of painting animate creatures on the Ḥadīth: "God condemns painters, and in the Last Judgment they will get the hardest torment, and are commanded to put souls in the objects they painted". However, he also denies Jassin's opinion that there are no definite *fatwās* concerning artistic enterprise. In fact, Fachruddin believes, there are three criteria for evaluating any matter and making decision upon it according to the Islamic *Weltanschauung*. First of all, one should consider the advantages and disadvantages of that matter. The advantages must outweigh the disadvantages, which should be avoided at all costs, no matter what the advantages are. Secondly, in emergencies [*ḍarūrah*], the forbidden can be allowed if such an action halts an impending danger [*al-ḍarūrah tubīh al-mahzūrāt*]. Finally, Islamic teachings advocate the employment of every single thing that could lead to the promotion of human welfare, as written in the Qur'ān, *sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ*: 77. Although it is forbidden to paint a complete picture or to carve a sculpture of a complete creature, it is allowed to paint an incomplete picture of an animal for example. The reason for the prohibition is a certain Qur'ānic command acknowledging that God is the only Creator. However, it is allowed to paint a picture or to carve a sculpture that praises God's authority, or that is intended for a good purpose, or that can lead to the promotion of human safety and welfare, like a scientific statue of a human being, for example. In addition, it is allowed to draw pictures of plants. The law of painting should abide by the above-mentioned criteria and allow paintings that display and praise God's authority. It is totally forbidden to paint animate creatures in places of worship, in order not to distract worshippers' attention. Accordingly, Fachruddin affirms, photography is allowed for two reasons. Firstly, it does not paint pictures like painting, but reflects objects like a mirror, and secondly, it is used for the promotion of human welfare, as in the detection of criminals through their photos. Both television and film which project real motions onto the screen, Fachruddin adds, should abide by the same criteria as the other forms of art, and should, thus, serve moral and educational purposes. The same can be said of drama and acting, which should pay closer attention to women's role. The religious figures, such as the prophets, should not be painted or impersonated in films by actors because they are looked after by God, and because such portrayal can influence, disturb or distort people's conception of them. Instead, Fachruddin believes, Muslims should develop effective ways of praising or remembering the prophets that do not involve sculptures, paintings or impersonations. Fuad Muhammad Fachruddi, *Harian Abadi*, Year 19, No. 57, 5 April 1969. In a similar vein, Ajip Rosidi argues that there are five opinions concerning the artistic issue. First of all, there is an opinion which prohibits portraying or making sculptures of animate creatures. The second opinion prohibits sculptures but not pictures, while the third prohibits both of them for decorative purposes, but allows pictures that could be stepped upon, sat or leaned on. The fourth inclination prohibits complete forms, but not incomplete ones. The last opinion prohibits sculptures or paintings that are worshipped, or which could lead to worship. In this respect, Rosidi appreciated Jassin daring to think independently and for issuing new *fatwās* that are in accordance with the contemporary era and its demands. However, Rosidi declares, scientific developments often do not follow the rhythm of human psychology or thought, and there is no guarantee that after picturing the prophets there would be no idolization of them. In fact, people are known to have idolized soothsayers, *keris-keris* [kris swords] and gemstones. Ajip Rosidi, "*Jassin Cari Mujtahid Ketemu Gambar Buraq*" (Jassin is Looking for A Mujtahid but Getting the Picture of the *Buraq*), *Horison*, Year IV, No. 5, May 1969.

Sju'bah Asa also addresses Jassin's views concerning the ban on drawing animate creatures. However, unlike Fachruddin, Asa declares that the ban on drawing animate creatures is not based on a *naṣṣ qaṭʿī* [definite text] either in the Qurʾān or Ḥadīth. Indeed, there is only a popular ḥadīth stating that “God condemns artists, and they, in the Last Day, will be punished by the hardest torment, and will be commanded to put souls in the objects they painted”. According to some scholars, Asa maintains, this ḥadīth contains a measure of authenticity but that alone does not establish it as a *qaṭʿī* text, especially as it does not teach a definite dictum such as *ṣalāt* [prayer]. What one should glean from such a Ḥadīth, Asa elaborates, is the *ḥikmah* [moral lesson, wisdom] and motive it embodies. The motive of this ḥadīth, some people are convinced, is the avoidance of worshiping of objects other than God. However, Asa affirms, one should also realize that any motive will lead to different results at different times and places, and these circumstances are subject to change. A case in point is the Prophetic ḥadīth saying: “I have forbidden you to visit graves, but now you are allowed to visit them”. By maintaining that the former authentic ḥadīth is not a *qaṭʿī* one, some scholars have assumed that such a ḥadīth must be *āḥād* i.e. that it had been narrated by only one or only a small group of people. And according to the *jumhūr al-ʿulamāʾ*, only a *ḥadīth mutawātir* i.e. one transmitted by many persons, starting from the Companions of the Prophet, then the Followers of the Companions and so on, should be accepted without reserve, because it can be definitely traced to the Prophet, and one can be certain that its historical basis and message are as valid as the Qurʾān. Nevertheless, Asa continues, no matter how authentic it is, a ḥadīth *āḥād* will only have a limited degree of reliability, and any dictums derived from it contain the possibility of falsehood, even if they have been painstakingly and meticulously derived. Not surprisingly, a ḥadīth *āḥād* contains a degree of uncertainty [*ẓannī*] as to its origin from the Prophet. As a result, scholars are wary of using traditions based on singular transmitters even if they are authentic. Moreover, Asa states, a ḥadīth *āḥād* is not accepted as a *ḥujjah* [argument, reason] or a

valid argument in the process of *ijtihād*, or for *īmān* [faith] purposes, unless its narrative-chain can be traced directly from the Companions of the Prophet to the person who last wrote it, without any broken link in the chain of transmission. Secondly, the transmitters in that claim must have been famed for their honesty, and thirdly, the *matn* [text, content] of the ḥadīth must not contradict the Qurʾān, a ḥadīth *mutawātir*, any other ḥadīth *āḥād*, or common sense. Thus, many scholars have cautioned that extreme care [*iḥṭiyāt*] must be exercised while using a tradition of this sort as a basis for deriving legal dictums. As such, Asa declares, one can see that the above-mentioned ḥadīth cannot be used as a valid argument [*ḥujjah*] or justification for any opinion. Indeed, all that it offers us is a remarkable insight into the author's motive, which was recognized by Indonesian Muslims through their reactions so far.⁸⁴

According to Taufiq Ismail, the author of *Langit Makin Mendung* had not displayed a courteous conduct [*ādāb*, ethics] towards religion. In Islam, Ismail continues, courtesy occupies a prominent position, especially in the relationship between Man and God. Indeed, Islam teaches Muslims not only to respect God but to respect Muḥammad too. However, this respect must not degenerate into the creation of a cult of the Prophet, but must acknowledge his struggle and the weight of his prophecy, all of which can be historically verified. If the question arises on whether God and prophets can be displayed in literary works or not, then one will find that Islam guarantees the freedom for such a display, Ismail believes. In fact, Islamic art, particularly *ṣūfī* art, provides one with magnificent examples of such portrayals. However, this freedom has its limitations, namely, the adherence to *ādāb* and logic, both of which have been thoroughly dealt with in the Qurʾān and the Sunnah, and need no further elaborations. These two criteria, i.e. *ādāb* and logic, Ismail declares, may seem rather orthodox and obsolete to some, but one must remember that they have been, particularly *ādāb*, a viable part of man's life since the creation of the first man on earth. Moreover, the

⁸⁴Sju'bah Asa, "Di Belakang Gambar Nabi Muhammad" .

bestowal of mundane and physical attributes to God in a literary work exceeds the freedom guaranteed to Muslims, Ismail points out. Any Muslim with a clear understanding of *'aqidah* [doctrine] will know that God cannot be represented because He does not resemble anything we know. He is *mukhālif li al-ḥawādith* [different from His created beings]. Similarly, when it is said that God speaks, this does not mean that He has the necessary physiological speech organs, such as a mouth and a tongue, that enable Him to converse like human beings. Rather, such a phrase indicates a communicative ability on the part of God, expressed in terms that we can understand. Moreover, Ismail adds, the image of Muḥammad descending to earth is not only impossible but untrue as well. To get away with such an image, an author must rely on a definite premise stating that Muḥammad will come down to earth. Otherwise, authors cannot get away with such a description with impunity. If Kipandjikusmin was indeed a Muslim, Ismail argues, one might allow that he gave free reign to his imagination, to the extent that it transgressed the boundaries of *'aqidah*. If, however, Kipandjikusmin is not a true Muslim, then one might declare that he has roamed too far into the realm of the imagination, Ismail concludes.⁸⁵

Wiratmo Sukito asserts that the polemics created by *Langit Makin Mendung* must be seen in terms of a struggle between the followers of both idealism and realism. Whereas the idealists assume that ideas determine reality, the realists assume that reality determines ideas. As such, Jassin concluded that objective reality is different from its imaginative counterpart, Sukito said. It will also transpire that the stand which made Jassin conclude that Freidrich Nietzsche's premise "*Gott ist töt*" does not mean that this German philosopher equated God with a human being, but rather that his belief and faith in God have disappeared. However, as far as Sukito is concerned, Jassin had to elaborate on whether imaginative reality has a connection to the objective one. Jassin had to offer this elaboration to his readers, who were struck by his quotation of Nietzsche's

⁸⁵Taufiq Ismail, "*Beberapa Pikiran tentang Pelarangan Sastra*"

premise. In a similar vein, Sukito affirms that an artistic work, particularly a literary work, is a work created by a human being and is a secondary reproduction of reality. It is different from God's creation, which is the primary archetype, the reason being that the artistic one is neither *creatio ex nihilo* nor a miracle, but pure imagination stemming from a human being's reflective and descriptive abilities. Therefore, when a painter paints scenery, the result is not the real scenery but his conception of the scenery, Sukito remarks. Phenomenologically, what the painter does is to objectify the universe, to make it a familiar thing, and a part of his existence. This is called a process of culture, Sukito adds. In fact, it is through this process that the universe, which is a direct object, is changed by human beings through their imagination. Thus, because human beings objectify the universe and conceptualize it through their imagination, the result of their endeavour will always be unreal. As such, Sukito maintains, an artistic work is an unreal thing. It is an artistic product with two aspects, an actual and a potential one. Whereas the former relates to reality, the latter relates to ideas. Indeed, he goes on, an artistic work has the potential of becoming a very monumental work, unless vitiated by *fitnah* [temptation]. Jassin, Sukito declares, should have analyzed these two aspects in his discussion of reality.⁸⁶

The religious aspect is the most crucial point in *Langit Makin Mendung*, A.A. Navis affirms. According to philosophy, particularly Islamic philosophy, the belief in God is not entrusted to a specific group, but to the whole *ummah*. This belief, however, cannot be judged by others. In addition, Navis continues, the teachings of the four famous scholars: Abū Ḥanifa, Mālik, al-Shāfi'ī and Ibn Ḥanbal, are but guidelines and means of understanding God as fully as possible. Al-Shāfi'ī's teachings, for instance, are not dogmatic doctrines, but appropriate tools to be used by the common people in understanding the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth. As such, Navis declares, no Muslim will have

⁸⁶Wiratmo Sukito, "Karya Seni sebagai Irriil" (An Artistic Work is an Unreal Thing), *Sinar Harapan*, 18 December 1968.

the right to punish Kipandjikusmin or to declare that the latter's writing is insulting or violating Islam. Muslims can only prohibit his works through debates and polemics. If, however, it later transpires that Kipandjikusmin wrote history without knowing the full extent of what he had written, then his writing should be considered heresy, and heresy never disturbed any well-established religion, he adds. In this manner, the *Langit Makin Mendung* affair would be rationally settled and Islam would be saved through the wise action of its adherents. However, Navis states that Muslims are undoubtedly rather sensitive about their beliefs, particularly about the notion that God cannot be represented. Muslims will never depict or describe God as a human being, and will never paint God's or the Prophets' face. This is reinforced by numerous Islamic prescription such as al-Shāfiʿī's prohibiting the fantasy or analysis of God's Essences by Muslims.⁸⁷

Although most Indonesian Muslims considered *Langit Makin Mendung* as blasphemous, it is interesting to note that many people actually asked the judge to spare Jassin the punishment, because he was believed to be a good Muslim who lacked sufficient knowledge of Islam. The people forgave Kipandjikusmin, because they realized that if they did not accept his apology, the case would never be settled. Even if he were punished, the underlying problem would remain regarding how to accommodate young peoples' energies and channel their aspirations in worthwhile endeavors, rather than to prohibit or suppress them. Similarly, many Indonesian Muslims also declared that Muslims must approach the author's brainchild with good intention [*ḥusn al-ẓann*] and not with bad intention [*sūʿu al-ẓann*]. It is not because Kipandjikusmin has a raging heart and a hot head that Muslims must react to him in the same way, they added. On the contrary, they must deal with him in a calm, rational manner and must bear in mind the following Qurʾānic verse: "Call thou [all mankind]

⁸⁷A.A. Navis, Aman Makmur, Year VI, No. 253-254, 23-24 October 1968.

unto thy Sustainers's path with wisdom and goodly exhortation, and argue with them in the most kindly manner' [An-Nahl: 125].⁸⁸

⁸⁸Bahrum Rangkuti, Merdeka, Year 24, No. 6915, 25 February 1970; Hamka, Merdeka, Year 24, No. 6920-6922, 3-5 March 1970; Taufiq Ismail, Kami, Year III, No. 688, 25 October 1968. The translation is quoted from Muhammad Asad, 1984: 416.

CHAPTER 3
LITERATURE AND
THE FREEDOM OF LITERARY EXPRESSION
IN A MUSLIM SOCIETY

If perceived from a cultural perspective, *Langit Makin Mendung* will be found to exhibit certain characteristics which existed within the Indonesian community during the 1960s. These characteristics were not only cultural in nature but also historical and social since they affected and were affected by the contemporary dynamics. Although these dynamics were operating in concert, an attempt will be made in this chapter to dissect and elucidate each realm separately. It is a must to include such an analysis since it offers the background from which the short story rose and against which it should be measured. *Langit Makin Mendung* did not exist in a vacuum and was not born out of nothing; hence, an examination of its contemporary milieu will doubtlessly offer us significant insight into its world. Thus, the second part of this chapter will present a rapid synopsis of the Indonesian 1960's socio-political context. This summary will only delve into the most representative phenomena of the time since the goal is to paint a comprehensive picture of the contemporary Indonesian dynamics, and not to embark upon a historical endeavour.

A study of *Langit Makin Mendung* would not be complete without addressing the theological and philosophical questions the story raised and gave rise to. Indeed, the responses to the short story often posed ideological, ethical, philosophical and religious dilemmas. Therefore, consideration of the theological aspects of the story must be given since theology is undoubtedly a major player in the story's arena. By delving into theology, one will inevitably arrive at the threshold of religious literature and the relationship between art and theology. By observing both aspects, theological and socio-political, this thesis will strive to conclude whether the issues surrounding *Langit Makin Mendung* were solely theological, or solely socio-political, or whether they embraced both elements.

Theological Discourses

The Qur^ʿān does not explicitly deal with literature as a whole. The only verses in it closely related to literature are in Sura 26, a Meccan Sura entitled *al-Shuʿarāʾ* [the poets]: 224-227¹ which are concerned with poetry and poets. However, some exegetes believe that these verses do not apply to poets only, but to artists as a whole, and all those involved in every kind of literary and artistic enterprise.² According to Muhammad Asad, the above-mentioned verses allude to the fact that some pagan Arabs regarded the Qur^ʿān as a product of Muḥammad's supposedly poetic mind. Indeed, the verses describe the confused, aimless, or often self-contradictory play with words and thoughts characteristic of pagan poetry, and stress the difference between the precision of the Qur^ʿān, which is free from all inner contradictions and the vagueness often inherent in poetry.³ This does not signify that poetry is evil in itself. On the contrary, Yusuf Ali argues that it can be used in the service of religion and righteousness. However, there is a danger that it may be abused for base purposes. For instance, if poetry is insincere, divorced from reality or goodness, or lacks a serious purpose, it may become an instrument of evil and futility. Thus, the poetry which is commended is that which emanates from minds steeped in faith, which tries to carry out in life the fine sentiments the poets expressed in their artistic work, which aims at the glory of

¹The verses read as follows, {224} And as for the poets [they, too, are prone to deceive themselves: and so, only] those who are lost in grievous error would follow them. {225} Art thou not aware that they roam confusedly through all the valleys [of words and thoughts], {226} and that they [so often] say what they do not do [or feel]? {227} [Most of them are of this kind-] save those who have attained to faith, and do righteous deeds, and remember God unceasingly, and defend themselves [only] after having been wronged, and [trust in God's promise that] those who are bent on wrong doing will in time come to know how evil a turn their destinies are bound to take! Translation taken from Muhammad Asad, The Message of the Qur^ʿān [Gibraltar: Dar Al-Andalus], 1984: 575.

²Hamka, Tafsir Al-Azhar: Juzu' XIX-XX [Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas], 1983: 164-168; Abdullah Yusuf Ali, The Holy Quran: Text, Translation & Commentary Vol. II [Lahore, Kashmiri Bazar: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf], n.d. : 973.

³Muhammad Asad, 1984: 575. Concerning the history and reasons for the revelation of these verses [*asbāb al-nuzūl*], see Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ṣābūnī, Mukhtaṣar Tafsir Ibn Kathīr, Vol. II [Beirut: Dār al-Qur^ʿān al-Karīm], 1981: 664; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, Lubāb al-Nuqūl fī Asbāb al-Nuzūl [Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-ʿUlūm], 1978: 164.

God rather than at self-glorification or the fulsome praise of men with feet of clay, and lastly that which does not attack anything except aggressive evil. In this sense, a perfect artist should attend to the spirit and content of his poetry as much as he attends to the manner in which he delivers his message.⁴ That is why a number of pre-Islamic poems containing un-Islamic ethos were condemned. Only those which suited Islamic taste and the ideals of Islam could be justified as Islamic poems.⁵ This does not mean that Islam rejected poetry in its entirety, but rather that Muslims accepted only those poems which conformed to their beliefs. Such a premise can be historically consolidated by the fact that Muḥammad was deeply appreciative of poetry and literary narratives, and was closely associated with the poets of his era. At the time, some poets became spokesmen of the political, diplomatic or religious ideas of the Islamic religion. Among the commendable contemporary poets one may mention Ḥassān ibn Thābit, Labīd [who had the honour of having his poems hung around the Ka'bah (the *mu'allaqāt*) in the Days of Ignorance], Ka'b ibn Mālīk and 'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥah, all of whom defended Islam from attack with their verse. Moreover, it is recorded that the first four Caliphs, who, in addition to writing their own poetry, encouraged and patronized other poets.⁶

⁴Abdullah Yusuf Ali, The Holy Quran: 973; see also, Muḥammad Ṭāhir ibn 'Āshūr, Tafsir al-Tahrir wa al-Tanwīr, Vol. 18 [Tunis: Al-Dār al-Tūnisīyah li al-Nashī], 1984: 208-213.

⁵M.A.J. Beg, "Introduction", in M.A.J. Beg [ed.], Fine Arts in Islamic Civilization [Kuala Lumpur: The University of Malaya Press], 1977: 1-2; Hamka, 1983: 167. A. Yusuf Ali, The Holy Quran, n.d. : 973. According to 'Abd Allāh Ṣāliḥ Taqī, there are two prerequisites that must be fulfilled before art can bring people nearer to God. Firstly, Man's biological needs must be fulfilled in order to give him security, to diminish his material needs and allow him to concentrate on his spiritual needs and secondly, Man's spiritual needs must be fulfilled. In such way, a truly Muslim character will be built. Art rejuvenates the heart and broaden one's mind, and if these two things were fulfilled Man will become nearer to God, because he will be more sensitive and more aware of what is happening around him i.e. art will deepen the spiritual side of Man. These three things are important components in the Islamic character and if they are fulfilled by art then this art should be considered truly Islamic and not just superficially Islamic. 'Abd Allāh Ṣāliḥ Taqī, "Naḥwa Taṣawwur Islāmī li al-Fann", in Ahmed Mohammed Issa and Tahsin Omer Tahaoglu [eds.], Islamic Art: Common Principles, Forms and Themes: Proceedings of the International Symposium Held in Istanbul in April 1983 [Damascus: Dār al-Fikr], 1989: 139.

⁶M.A.J. Beg, "Introduction", 1977: 1-2; Hamka, 1983: 167. A. Yusuf Ali, The Holy Quran, n.d.: 973. For further information on poetry and literary expressions during the Muslim civilization, see Ziauddin Sardar and Merryl Wyn Davies, Distorted Imagination: Lessons from the Rushdie Affair, especially chapter two, "The Images of Ignorance" [London: Grey

The concept of freedom of speech and expression is usually placed in contrast with the Qurʾān. As far as Islamic precepts are concerned, Man's freedom of speech is eternally preserved and justified, as stated in Sura 90, *al-Balad* [the Town]: 10: "And We have shown him the two highways [of good and evil]".⁷ This verse grants Man the free will to act rightly or wrongly in every sense, and even to choose the ideology which pleases him, as stated in Sura 112, *al-Ikhlāṣ* [Sincerity]: 6: "Unto you, your moral law, and unto me, mine!"⁸ However, the Qurʾānic precepts teach that freedom in Islam should not be used to tell lies and spread falsehood.⁹ Qasim Syed is of the opinion that freedom of expression in Islam is coupled with a law protective of the individual, and all other religions, and their followers. The Qurʾān explicitly stipulates the terms of protection from religious distress and the maintenance of religious dignity in Sura 6, *Al-Anʿām* [Cattle], 6: 108.¹⁰ Freedom of expression, Syed continues, allows for reasoned criticism of and disagreement with other religions, as long as the dignity of the religions is preserved and the aim of the

Seal Books], 1990: 101-114; Ziauddin Sardar, *Muhammad: Aspects of His Biography* [London: The Islamic Foundation], 1978: 62. Ḥassān ibn Thābit was even entitled the Prophet's poet, A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ishāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh* [Oxford: Oxford University Press], 1955: xxv-xxx.

⁷Translated by Muhammad Asad, 1984: 952. This verse is connected to *sūrat al-Shams*: 8, that God endows man with the free will to act rightly or wrongly. Departemen Agama, *Al Qur'an dan Terjemahnya* (The Qurʾān and Its Translation) [Jakarta: Departemen Agama], 1990: 1062; Muhammad Asad, 1984: 954. According to Sayyid Quṭb, *sūrat al-Balad*: 9 which describes God giving human beings the faculty of speech and the means of expression "a tongue and two lips", shows that human beings have the freedom of expression, see Sayyid Quṭb, *In the Shade of the Qurʾān*, Vol. 30 [London: MWH London Publishers], 1981: 90.

⁸In this respect, moral law is a translation of the term *dīn*, because *dīn* primarily means obedience to a law, or to what is considered as a values system with a moral authority such as religion, faith, ideology or religious law. Muhammad Asad, 1984: 981; A. Yusuf Ali, no year : 1738

⁹Concerning the Qurʾānic verses dealing with lies, which are prohibited, see Hanna E. Kassis, "Kadhaba", *A Concordance of the Qurʾān* [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press], 1983: 631-635. According to Peter Mullen, the rational use of language must involve truth-value, because language itself is rational. While a lie is not speech at all, but a babel, as Wittgenstein is convinced. The lie is the representation of reality as *it is not*, see Peter Mullen, "Arrogance of Secular Liberalism", in M.M. Ahsan and A.R. Kidwai [eds.], *Sacrilege versus Civility: Muslim Perspectives on The Satanic Verses* [Leicester: The Islamic Foundation], 1991: 114-115.

¹⁰"But do not revile [beings] whom they invoke instead of God, lest they revile God out of spite, and in ignorance: for, goodly indeed have We made their own doings appear unto every community. In time, [however] unto their Sustainer they must return: and then He will make them [truly] understand all that they were doing", translation by Muhammad Asad, 1984: 188.

criticism does not degenerate into insults.¹¹ This indicates, Shabbir Akhtar believes, that freedom of speech should protect the collective dignity of those groups whose members, rightly or wrongly, define their own ideals of the worth of their lives in terms of irreducible religious notions.¹² In this sense, Ziauddin Sardar affirms, faith can be reasoned and conscientious believers can base their beliefs on rational grounds. Indeed, faith can be as reasonable as theoretical physics or modern cosmology much of which, after all the calculations and observations, is based on faith and on certain metaphysical assumptions about nature, space, time and so on. Kuhn and Feyerabend have sufficient proofs of this issue, Sardar observes. The Cosmological and Design arguments for the existence of a Creator may not convince some, but they are still reasoned arguments just as 'string' theory and the 'big bang' theory of the universe are based on sound arguments. There is no way reason or logic can arbitrate between the axiomatic claims of religion or of science. Indeed, Sardar states, every student of modern history knows this. Even a century earlier, Pascal demonstrated in his famous wager that it is more reasonable to believe than not to believe.¹³ Similarly, M.M. Ahsan and A.R. Kidwai are convinced that Islam protects the right to freedom of expression and plays no part in the censorship of reasoned criticism and sensitive art; however, it does not permit fine arts which malign Islam and Islamic values. Moreover, academic discourse in Islam does not incite Muslims to wage slanderous attacks on Islam cloaked in the guise of a dream sequence or a stream-of-consciousness narrative.¹⁴

In the Islamic *Weltanschauung*, God, the prophets, the archangels and angels are endowed with exalted positions.¹⁵ They are portrayed as the epitome of perfection, without

¹¹Qasim Syed, "Canadian Muslims on Satanic Verses", in M.M. Ahsan et al., 1991: 164-166.

¹²Shabbir Akhtar, "Holy Freedom and the Liberals", in M.M. Ahsan et al., 1991: 255.

¹³Ziauddin Sardar, "The Rushdie Malaise: A Critique of Some Writings on the Rushdie Affair", in M.M. Ahsan et al., 1991: 292.

¹⁴M.M. Ahsan et al., 1991: 27.

¹⁵: "The Prophet has a higher claim on the believers than [they have on] their own selves, [seeing that he is a father to them] and his wives are their mothers" [*al-Aḥzāb* (the Confederates), 33: 6]. This translation is quoted from Muhammad Asad, 1984: 639; "Whosoever is an enemy of God and His angels and His message-bearers, including Gabriel and Michael, [should know that] verily, God is the enemy of all who deny the truth" [*al-*

faults or deficiencies, and this acme of perfection must be reflected in artistic works, many Muslims believe. Therefore, freedom of speech must heed these religious sensitivities and must ensure a respectful treatment of sacred matters. This is not to imply that Islam has no room for academic intellectual criticism addressing theology, but rather that any such criticism should lay its foundation on valid historical facts.¹⁶ M.H. Faruqi asserts that Muslims do not want to purge the world of intellectual works taking a critical stance towards their faith; on the contrary, one will often find such works on the shelves of their libraries and universities, and the authors of such works not infrequently receive invitations to present their ideas in lectures and seminars.¹⁷ The concept of criticism, according to Ziauddin Sardar, is central to Islam, and is recognized by it. Freedom of expression, Sardar continues, has received divine sanction, and is, therefore, an immutable right within Islam that is not subject to any man or any man-made law. The institution of *muḥāsabah*, the Islamic concept of criticism and self-criticism, including the correction of errors and the acceptance of corrections, the giving of accounts, and the taking of disciplinary action, is not only a manifestation of the lofty role accorded freedom of expression, but an indication that this freedom is no mere right, but an obligation, and that those who wage war on criticism also wage war upon the Islamic faith. It is to be expected, however, that such a right must be protected from abuse, and must be accompanied by social responsibility.

Baqarah (the Cow), 2: 98]. This translation is quoted from Muhammad Asad, 1984: 20-21; "Verily, as for those who [knowingly] affront God and His apostle, God will reject them in this world and in the life to come; and shameful suffering will He ready for them" [*al-Aḥzāb* (the Confederates), 33: 57]. This translation is quoted from Muhammad Asad, 1984: 651; "It is but a just recompense for those who make war on God and His apostle, and endeavour to spread corruption on earth, that they are being slain in great numbers, or crucified in great numbers, or have, in result of their perverseness, their hands and feet cut off in great numbers, or are being [entirely] banished from [the face of] the earth: Such is their ignominy in this world. But in the life to come [yet more] awesome suffering awaits them save for such [of them] as repent ere you [O believers] become more powerful than they: for you must know that God is much forgiving, a dispenser of grace" [*al-Mā'idah* (the Repast): 33-34]. This translation is quoted from Muhammad Asad, 1984: 148-149.

¹⁶Many biographies of the Prophet were written on the basis of historical facts, *inter alia*, A. Guillaume, 1955; Ziauddin Sardar, 1978; 'Allama Shibli Nu'mani, *Sirat-Un-Nabi*, translated by M. Tayyib Bakhs Budayuni [Lahore: Kazi Publications], 1979.

¹⁷M.H. Faruqi, "Muslims Are Not Arsonist: A Reply to Mr. Kenneth Baker", in M.M. Ahsan and A.R. Kidwai [eds.], *Sacrilege versus Civility: Muslim Perspectives on The Satanic Verses* [Leicester: The Islamic Foundation], 1991: 173-179.

Freedom of expression permits the use of books as vehicles of criticism and inquiry, even if such inquiry addresses the very concept of God, so long as this criticism is socially responsible. Though an individual's argument may be ferociously attacked, his honor must remain unharmed, and his character unsullied by invective. Herein exists an important distinction between Western laws protecting the individual from libelous attacks in the name of freedom of expression, and those of Islam, Sardar asserts. Within Islamic society, the onus is not upon the victim to prove that he or she has been dishonoured, nor to demonstrate the honor of his or her character, Sardar affirms. It is enough that the perpetrator has attacked the honor of another; regardless of whether the attack effectively harmed the victim or not. In Islam, the attack renders the perpetrator culpable and imposes punishment upon him which he must accept. Western laws, in contrast, require that the victim establish his or her honor first; a difficult undertaking for those members of society who are materially disadvantaged or who belong to the lower rungs of the social hierarchy. Thus, in order to protect Muslims from defamation, Islam believes that freedom of expression should be moderated by social responsibility and a duty towards maintaining the honor of one's fellow citizens.¹⁸

M.M. Ahsan and A.R. Kidwai argue that attacks aimed at the Prophet are deeply injurious to Muslims, who esteem and love the Prophet Muhammad and his beliefs more strongly than they do themselves, their parents or their possessions. The invention of the medieval image¹⁹ of the Prophet Muhammad is for Muslims an attack that is not only intolerable, but also requiring a response. The resulting anger is not directed at the freedom of expression which created such an attack, but simply at the obscene and indefensible slander against the Prophet, who is the *raison d'être* of every Muslim.²⁰ Further, M.H.

¹⁸Ziauddin Sardar et al., 1990: 92-93.

¹⁹The foundation of the medieval image was established almost one hundred years after the birth of Islam. John of Damascus [d. 748], a Christian scholar who was a great friend of the Umayyad Caliph Yazid, was a founder of such images which became the classical source of all Christian writings on Islam during the medieval period. For further information, see Ziauddin Sardar et al., 1990: 34-75.

²⁰M.M. Ahsan et al., 1991: 27-40.

Faruqi asserts that in comparison to defaming a living individual, blasphemy of the Prophet libels an entire community.²¹ This in line with the protection from defamation granted to the dead by Islamic law, Ali Mazrui states.²²

Muslims and Islamic teachings therefore obviously recognize the Prophet Muḥammad as a model *par excellence*. His life [*sīrah*] being the ideal paradigm for them to emulate, his sayings [*Ḥadīth*] the model for them to follow, and his practices [*sunnah*] the ultimate paradigm for them to imitate. Utmost devotion to and fervent love of the Prophet has consistently been a prominent trait of every Muslim, from Companions in early Islam to present-day Muslims. Since the Prophet through his word and deed demonstrated what the Divine Will fundamentally is, his example is a basic source of Islam, next only the Qurʾān. In the Islamic scheme of things, following the Prophet is synonymous with obeying God and attaining success in the Hereafter. Muḥammad is a model of moral and spiritual excellence, and a guiding light for Muslims and humanity. The Islamic religious texts abound in exhortations to follow and honour the Prophet as much as a Muslim can possibly do. Indeed, the love of the Prophet is ingrained so deeply and indelibly on a Muslim's heart that any disrespect to him is simply unacceptable, nay unimaginable. Any Muslim would be proud to sacrifice his life and his precious possessions, and all that he has in defending the Prophet's honour should it be demanded of him. Indeed, in one of the traditions of the Prophet, the perfection of faith has been made conditional upon the love of the Prophet which takes precedence over the love of one's parents and even one's own self. Not surprisingly, in view of the pivotal position the Prophet holds in both theoretical and practical varieties of Islam, Islamic law prescribes a deterrent penalty, death, for the loathsome crime of abuse of the Prophet [*sabb al-Nabī*] or hurling insults at him [*shatm al-Rasūl*]. Such a crime is regarded as a heinous one, and the *shātīm* [the one who abuses the Prophet] denied forgiveness, even if he repents and resolves not to repeat his crime. The

²¹M.H. Faruqi, "Muslims Are Not Arsonists: A Reply to Mr. Kenneth Baker". in M.M. Ahsan et al., 1991: 173-179.

²²Ali Mazrui, "Novelist's Freedom vs. Worshipper's Dignity", in M.M. Ahsan et al., 1991: 215

remarkably categorical tenor of this punishment is worth noting, for in other cases involving murder, the convicted person stands a chance of being pardoned by the victim's heirs.²³

According to Islamic law, abuse and insult of the Prophet is a crime, and a capital offense punishable by law. This crime is treason to the *umma*, and the supreme penalty of it was, indeed, often death. This crime is considered as a transgression of the limits [*hudūd*] and is worse than treason, which constitutes a *ḥadd* offense. According to the Ḥanafī and Shāfi'ī schools of law, the offender may be given a chance to repent and if he does so sincerely, the sentence may be waived. However, if the blasphemer is found committing the same crime again, his fate will be sealed as there is no scope for the reprieve of such a person for a second time. On the other hand, the Mālikī and Ḥanbalī schools of *fiqh* assert that the offender must be given the *ḥadd* punishment irrespective of whether he makes any repentance [*tawbah*] or not. The same view has been held by Imam Ibn Taymiyya who maintained that even if the *shātīm al-Rasūl* repents, or converts to Islam in the case of a non-Muslim, he should not be reprieved. Similarly, the Shī'ah point of view argues that the death sentence cannot be lifted, and that the repentance is strictly a matter of the *ākhirah* [Hereafter] depending upon the sincerity of the repentance and acceptance of it by Allāh. As far as this world is concerned, the crime of sacrilege and profanity should not go unpunished, the Shī'ah affirm.²⁴ However, this sentence is only applicable where the jurisdiction of Islamic law applies, and it has to be passed by an Islamic court and executed by the state machinery through the due processes of the law. Moreover, individuals cannot

²³M.M. Ahsan et al., 1991: 52-53; Ahmad Zaki Hammad, "Between Fairness and Freedom: The Motives Behind the Controversy", in M.M. Ahsan et al., 1991: 206.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 1991: 53-55; Ali Mazrui, "Novelist's Freedom vs. Worshipper's Dignity", in M.M. Ahsan et al., 1991: 212; al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, Al-Shifā' bi Ta'rīf Huqūq al-Mustafā [Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyat al-Kubrā], 1911; Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taimiyya, Al-Sārīm al-Maslūl 'alā Shātīm al-Rasūl, 1st Edition, [Hyderabad, Deccan: n.d.]; Ibn 'Ābidīn, Hāshiyah Radd al-Muhtār [Damascus: Dār al-Fikr], 1979; 'Abd al-Qādir 'Awdah, Al-Tashrī' al-Jinā'i al-Islāmī, Vol. I, [Beirut: n.d.]. One should also note that in the field of penal law, the first Caliphs after the death of the Prophet went beyond the sanctions enacted in the Qur'ān by punishing with flogging the authors of satirical poems directed against rival tribes, a form of poetic expression common in ancient Arabia. See, Joseph Schacht, An Introduction to Islamic Law [Oxford: Clarendon Press], 1982: 15.

take the law into their own hands in Islamic countries, let alone in non-Muslim lands. The sentence when passed, must be carried out by the state through the usual machinery, not by the individuals themselves. Indeed it becomes a criminal act to take the law into one's own hands and to punish the offender, unless it is done in the process of self-defense. Thus, if a Muslim driven by his zeal to protect the honour of the Prophet takes the law into his own hands and kills the blasphemer, the Islamic law of *qiṣās* or punishment for deliberate murder will not apply to him. He will, however, be punished for taking the law into his own hands and the Islamic court will have to decide on the punishment that should be meted out to him. Hence, the offender must be brought to the notice of the court and it is the court that must decide on the manner of dealing with him. Nonetheless, Islamic law allows Muslim governments to seek extradition of the abuser of the Prophet under the international law of extradition of criminals. This law applies equally in Muslim as well as non-Muslim territories, and does not differentiate between a blasphemer who is a Muslim or a non-Muslim. Indeed, the gravity of the crime becomes more serious if the blasphemer happens to be a Muslim and continues to do so through circulating and translating his sacrilegious works. However, since Islamic law is not applicable to the non-Muslim country where the blasphemer resides, the *ḥadd* punishment cannot be applied there. The only prospect for the blasphemer would seem to be true repentance followed by an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of his works from circulation. If there is genuine repentance there should not be any hesitation in offering an unqualified apology to Muslims and in seeking forgiveness from God Almighty, Ahsan and Kidwai maintain. As far as the death sentence is concerned, there may be a possibility that if the circumstances completely changed and the matter is referred to the *‘ulamā’*, they might consider a fresh ruling, especially where the Ḥanafī and Shāfi‘ī schools are concerned, since they keep the door of repentance open. It is the domain of the qualified scholars and *mujtahids* alone to pronounce a new judgment, if necessary, and to guide the Muslim community. It is certainly not for the

individual or for Muslim leaders to lift the sentence, as it is not within their jurisdiction and it is not they who issue the *fatwā* in the first place, Ahsan and Kidwai elucidate.²⁵

Although one might consider the above-mentioned arguments as apologetic, one should also realize that it would be very strange to allude to Islamic beliefs without mentioning the Islamic sources which all Muslims believe in, such as the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīth or *sunnah* of the Prophet. Moreover, although one might even dub the above-mentioned arguments as one-sided, for they only quote Qurʾānic paradigms and Muslim scholars' stances, one should also notice that it will be inconvenient to discuss the relationship between Islam and literature by basing oneself solely on non-Islamic stances. Therefore, in this respect, the issue does not seem to be whether one is apologetic or not, but whether a fair methodology had been established in the academic evaluation of a work of art. As such, the main intention of this chapter had been to elucidate the Islamic world-view, and to argue that the defense and denial of *Langit Makin Mendung* on the basis of non-Islamic sources appears somewhat incomplete and improper. Indeed, I believe that the polemics concerning *Langit Makin Mendung* which relied on non-Islamic sources only are unjustified, and hence their defense or condemnation of the short story is by extension unjustified as well. In this case, it can be said that to be apologetic in theological aspects is necessary, since theology defines the guidelines and parameters of Muslim life and thought.

Socio-Political Discourses

The interregnum between the *Orde Lama* [Old Order] and the *Orde Baru* [New Order] occurred on 12 March 1967, when Soekarno resigned from the presidency and selected Soeharto as the *penjabat presiden* [acting president] without holding a National election. Later, on 27 March 1968, Soeharto officially became the president of Indonesia for a five-year term, also without a National election. This shift of power, however, did not

²⁵M.M. Ahsan et al., 1991: 54-60.

put an end to the problems which beset the Soekarno era and continued to plague the Soeharto era. Since the New Order is a continuation of the previous period, Soeharto had to face and try to solve the problems he inherited from the previous regime. The following is a description of the thorny issues which occurred before 1960, but which continued to afflict the following decade.

The dispute over the state ideology was the biggest problem Soeharto faced. This dispute started during the early days of Indonesian independence in 1945, and was not resolved until the beginning of the New Order. The weightiest and the hottest debate centered around the state ideology. Should the ideology of Indonesia be Islam²⁶ or Pancasila? it was asked. Moreover, should the state be a kingdom or embrace a democratic socio-economic system? In addition, should the country be formed along the lines of a unitary republic or should it adopt a federal system?²⁷ At the time, many Muslim figures

²⁶Utrecht assumes that the concept of Islamic state was debated by both retrogressive and progressive intellectuals. The former are represented by Hasbi Ash-Shiddiqy, and the latter by Hazairin. See, Jan Prins Utrecht, *"Some Notes About Islam and Politics in Indonesia"*, *Die Welt Des Islams*, Vol. VI [Leiden: E.J. Brill], 1959-1961: 117-129.

²⁷During the last phase of the Japanese occupation in 1944, and the first hours of Indonesian independence, the Masjumi party prepared Muslims for the liberation of their country and their religion by forming the Hizbullah, the young Muslims' Association, which received its military training at the hands of the Japanese army. Later, some Indonesian figures set up the *Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* [Committee for Preparing the Task of Indonesian Liberation]. This Committee, which was founded on December 7, 1944, had 15 founding members and later grew up to 60 members. However, Muslims were not adequately represented in it, in terms of numbers or qualifications. This Committee, later, became known as the "Committee 62" which was officially set up in Jakarta on April 29th 1945. It succeeded in formulating the political document *Piagam Jakarta* [Jakarta Charter], which became the *Pembukaan Undang-Undang Dasar 45* [Preamble of the Constitution of 45]. The *Jakarta Charter* included four paragraphs containing the words *"with the obligation for the adherents of Islam to practice Islamic law"*, which became famous as *tujuh kata* [the seven words]. These seven words [in time] triggered considerable disputes, because many Muslims believed that these seven words gave them the legitimacy to establish an Islamic state based on Islamic law. Thus, they were surprised and angered when the seven words did not appear on the final draft of the Preamble of the Constitution. B.J. Boland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (The Indonesian translation of this book is *Pergumulan Islam Di Indonesia*, published by Grafiti Pers, Jakarta, 1985) [Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde], 1982: 15-39; Saifuddin Anshari, *"Islam atau Pancasila Sebagai Dasar Negara?"* (Islam or Pancasila as the State Ideology?), in Ahmad Ibrahim et al., *Islam di Asia Tenggara* (Islam in Southeast Asia) [Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial], 1990: 201; Deliar Noer, *Partai Islam di Pentas Nasional 1945-1965* [Jakarta: Grafiti Pers], 1987: 30-43; Ahmad Syafil Maarif, *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan: Studi tentang Percaturan dalam Konstituante* (translated from his Ph.D. dissertation at Chicago University, *Islam as the Basis of State: A study of the Islamic Political Ideas as Reflected in the*

such as Abdoel Kahar Muzakkir, Kiyai Haji Abdul Wahid Hasjim, Abikusno Cokrosujoso advocated the establishment of an Islamic state.²⁸ Nevertheless, although represented by such influential figures, the participation of Muslims in the discussions around the state ideology was not representative of their actual numbers. At the time, Muslims were and continue to be the majority of the Indonesian people.²⁹

In order to clarify all the issues concerning the state ideology, and channel the debates concerning Islam and Pancasila into a more formal and organized forum, the *Majelis Konstituante* [Constituent Assembly] was established. It commenced its meetings on November 10th, 1950 in Bandung, and resumed them in Jakarta after the first national election in 1955. Its task was to write and ratify the final Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In order to achieve this goal, the Assembly twice altered the *UUD 45* [Constitution of 45]. The first draft was known as the *Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Serikat* [*UUD RIS*, Constitution of the Federal States of Indonesia],³⁰ while the second was the *Undang-Undang Dasar Sementara* [*UUDS*, Tentative Constitution]. Nonetheless, the debates raged on until 1959 when, after numerous sessions, the Assembly reached a deadlock and a compromise between the Islamic and the Pancasila blocks became unattainable. When the votes were cast and counted, neither the Islamic nor the Pancasila blocks emerged as a winner, due to the fact that the former did not attain majority votes, whereas the latter could not achieve the two-thirds majority necessary for the making of the Constitution. Furthermore, President Soekarno, who had been previously recognized as a non-partisan head of state, came to be seen as a spokesman of the Pancasila block, and

Constituent Assembly Debates in Indonesia) [Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian Pendidikan dan Penerangan ekonomi dan Sosial], 1985: 101-110.

²⁸These figures, among others, later founded the Masjumi party [Majelis Sjuro Muslimin Indonesia] in order to politically represent their ideas. See, Deliar Noer, 1987: 10-30.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 1987: 30

³⁰The *UUD RIS* was a product of the *Konperensi Meja Bundar* [KMB, Round Table Conference] between Indonesia and Holland. This Constitution RIS approved of the federal system states, but it was later hastily replaced by a temporary Constitution when a unitary state was formed in August 1950.

became increasingly involved in the Assembly's affairs.³¹ At that point, the deadlock could have been solved, had Soekarno and the Military not interfered with the Assembly, and had the Assembly, which had accomplished 90 % of its job, been given more time to finish its task.³² Indeed, the failure of the Assembly was not caused by the deadlock, but by Soekarno's involvement, particularly by his ambition to implement the *Demokrasi Terpimpin* [Guided Democracy], as will be seen later.

It was on July 5th 1959 that Soekarno issued the *Dekret Presiden* [Presidential Decree] proclaiming that [1] the Constituent Assembly is to be dissolved, and [2] that a return to the Constitution of 45 is to take place. Obviously such a decree did not attach any weight to the Assembly or recognize any of its achievements. The arguments put forward by Soekarno in support of his decision were that the Assembly had failed to reach the compulsory two-thirds majority on its decision. Secondly, that most members of the Assembly refused to attend the meetings, thus paralyzing the Assembly and preventing it from completing its task. Thirdly, that this situation endangered the unity of the state, and the President had to intervene in order to prevent a crisis. Fourthly, that the President was supported by the majority of the people in his decision. And lastly, that the Jakarta Charter had already inspired the 1945 Constitution and formed a unity with it. Therefore, the debates around the Jakarta Charter and its seven words "*with the obligation for the adherents of Islam to practice Islamic law*" were unwarranted and should be eliminated. Nevertheless,

³¹B.J. Boland, 1982: 90-99; Saifuddin Anshari, "*Islam atau Pancasila Sebagai Dasar Negara*", 1990: 201; Herbert Feith, "*Dynamics of Guided Democracy*", in Ruth T. McVey [ed.], *Indonesia* [New Haven: Yale University Press], 1963: 317.

³²The involvement of Soekarno and the Military can be seen in Deliar Noer, 1987: 268; *Ibid.*, *Islam, Pancasila dan Asas Tunggal* (Islam, Pancasila and One Fundament) [Jakarta: Yayasan Perkhidmatan], 1983: 8-10; B.J. Boland, 1982: 100. The involvement of the Military in the Indonesian political arena has consciously been administered by General Soedirman since 17 October 1952. The Armed Forces have proposed a middle stance for themselves refusing to be a civilian instrument, or to engage in a military regime. Nugroho Notosusanto, "*Angkatan Bersenjata dalam Percaturan Politik di Indonesia*" (The Military in the Indonesian Political Constellation) in Farchan Bulkin [ed.], *Analisa Kekuatan Politik di Indonesia* (Analysis of Indonesian Political Strength) [Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial], 1988: 22-25. For the progress and development of the Assembly, see Saifuddin Anshari in "*Islam atau Pancasila Sebagai Dasar Negara*", and Deliar Noer, 1987: 265-267.

Soekarno was not consistent with this decree and continued to practice the so-called Guided Democracy through the concept of *Manipol-USDEK*³³; a concept which he had advanced since 1946. Under this Guided Democracy, Soekarno began his leadership adventure and inaugurated his concept of *Politik Mercusuar* [lighthouse politics] which addressed national power and prestige. He built skyscrapers, a steel factory, and an atomic reactor; bought light cruisers, destroyers, and long distance TU-16 battleships. He created an immense sports stadium and international hotels, thus enabling Indonesia to host the 1962 Asian Games. Moreover, he founded the Istiqlal Mosque which is the biggest mosque in Asia. Not surprisingly, these endeavours led to an increased inflation, a collapse of the economy, increasing foreign loans, and the collapse of transportation and industry. In addition, political intrigues and conflicts colored and added to those turbulences. An adverse nature also added to the country's chagrin. Floods and earthquakes occurred with an alarming frequency, leading to severe shortages in foodstuffs and destroying many homes. People began to queue up for rice, salt and limited quotas became the norm of the day.³⁴

During those years, the dream of building an Islamic state was undisputed and the Masjumi [Majelis Sjuro Muslimin Indonesia]³⁵, which was created on the 7th of

³³The *Manipol* was an acronym of *MANifesto POLitik* [Political Manifesto], while the *USDEK* comprised the initial letters of *Undang-Undang Dasar 45* [the Constitution of 45], *Sosialisme à la Indonesia* [Indonesian Socialism], *Demokrasi Terpimpin* [Guided Democracy], *Ekonomi Terpimpin* [Guided Economy], and *Kepribadian Indonesia* [the Indonesian Identity]. The *Manipol* was actually a collection of President Soekarno's speeches given every 17th August, starting from 1946 to 1960. It incorporated explanations of basic issues concerning the revolution, the general programs of the revolution, and the state's policies in guiding the country and its people. All of which were supposed to promote the so-called Guided Democracy and to replace the previous Liberal Democracy. The *USDEK*, therefore, was the essence of *Manipol*. Henceforth, the *Manipol* and the *USDEK* were intertwined with one another. Roeslan Abdulgani, 'Manipol' and 'Usdek': The Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia and Its Basic Elements: A Series of Radio Talks [Jakarta: Department of Information, Republic of Indonesia], 1961. The *Manipol-USDEK* was the reason for Soekarno's application of his brilliant concept of *Nasakom* [*Nasionalis, Agama, KOMunis*]. *Nasakom* is explained in Chapter 1, footnote 7.

³⁴Herbert Feith, The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia [Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press], 1962: 594-595, B.J. Boland, 1982: 102. By the end of the Old Order, inflation reached 650 %, see Deliar Noer, 1987: 392.

³⁵Masjumi was recognized as one of the two biggest parties in Indonesia [the other was PNI or Partai Nasionalis Indonesia], in which all the foremost Muslim social and

November, 1945, was the most persevering and courageous organization in pursuing that dream, the reason being that Masjumi was the only modern Muslim political party to support the creation of an Islamic state, and to actively promote it after the colonial epoch.³⁶ Moreover, Masjumi consisted of various Muslim mass-organizations from different parts of the country. This party's membership did not only include traditionalists and modernists, but also qualified politicians, erudite intellectuals and secular economists. In addition, Masjumi inspired other Muslim political parties like Perti, PSII, NU and others which adopted its conception of state ideology.³⁷ In addition, when some members of Masjumi played a role in the administration of Indonesian affairs during the so-called *Kabinet Parlementer* [the Parliamentary Cabinet, or the Liberal Democracy, or the Parliamentary

educational organizations such as Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama [NU], Perikatan Umat Islam and Persatuan Umat Islam [originally from Majalengka and Sukabumi, West Java], and some political parties such as the pre-war Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia [PSII] were affiliated with it. From 1947 onward, some respectable mass-organizations such as Persatuan Islam [Persis, originally from Bandung, West Java], Al-Irsyad [originally from Jakarta], Al-Jamiyatul Wasliyah [from North Sumatra], Al-Ittihadiyah [also from North Sumatra], Mathia'ul Anwar [from Banten, West Java], Nahdlatul Wathan [from Lombok], and Persatuan Ulama Seluruh Aceh [PUSA, originally from Aceh] were associated with Masjumi. It was in 1946 that a much smaller Muslim traditionalist organization from Central Sumatra, Persatuan Tarbijatul Islamijah [Perti] revived Masjumi and declared itself a political party. In 1947, PSII also declared itself a separate political party and withdrew from Masjumi. NU followed suite by withdrawing from Masjumi and transforming itself into a political party in 1952. The withdrawal of these parties was caused by political arguments and interests rather than by differing religious stands. They felt that they did not obtain a comfortable bargaining power in the Masjumi, and that they were considered representative of the traditionalist inclination, that they did not understand politics, and could only involve themselves in religious teachings. Thus due to their dissatisfaction, Perti, PSII and NU detached themselves from Masjumi, and became independent political parties. Later, they became close partners of the Old Order and Soekarno. Perti, for example, became very close to the PKI, and supported the PKI's activities, PSII allied itself to PNI, while NU maintained an affinity with Soekarno. NU relationship with Soekarno was politically targeted towards the position of Minister of Religious Affairs, which NU coveted for any of its members. Hence, due to its political ambitions, NU exaggerated in accepting *Nasakom*, considered Darul Islam [DI] rebellious against the legitimate government, and accused the PRRI-Permesta of *makr* [deception]. This information is condensed from Deliar Noer, Masjumi: Its Organization, Ideology, and Political Role in Indonesia [M.A. Thesis at Cornell University], 1960; *Ibid.*, 1987; *Ibid.*, "Contemporary Political Dimensions of Islam", in M.B. Hooker [ed.], Islam in South-East Asia [Leiden: E.J. Brill], 1983: 184-186; for the relationship between Masjumi and MIAI [Madjlisul Islamil A'laa Indonesia] see Harry J. Benda, The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945 [The Hague dan Bandung: W. van Hoeve Ltd.], 1958: 90-151; B.J. Boland, 1982: 10.

³⁶The vision and objective of the Masjumi party were to persuade the state and the people to practice Islamic teachings and law. Pedoman Perjuangan Masjumi (The Orientation of the Masjumi's Struggle) [Jakarta: Pimpinan Partai Masjumi Bagian Keuangan], 1955: 6.

³⁷Deliar Noer, 1987: 143, and especially the appendix pp. 462-463.

Democracy between 1945-1949], several vital achievements were successfully implemented. For example, during Mohammad Natsir's Prime Ministership in 1950, attention was favorably concentrated on the preservation of national unity through his *Mosi Integral* [Motion of Integrity]. Hence, the notion of a federal state was abolished and a unitary state re-established. Secondly, when Sukiman became Prime Minister in 1951, the Bank of Indonesia was nationalized, and Sjafruddin Prawiranegara became its first Indonesian governor. Thirdly, during Boerhanoeddin Harahap's Prime Ministership in 1955, general elections were held for both Parliament and the Constituent Assembly.³⁸ As a result, Masjumi was perceived by many as a political institution which could implement the expectations and political aspirations of Muslims.³⁹

Unfortunately, on 17 August, 1960 the Masjumi party was banned by Soekarno through the *Keputusan Presiden* [Presidential Decision] No. 200/1960. Although it is difficult to ascertain the exact reason for his decision, one thing is certain which is that the relation between Soekarno and Masjumi had become acrimonious during the last days of the party's existence. Masjumi had publicly opposed Soekarno's policies, which tended to protect the Communist party through the concept of *Nasakom*. Moreover, Masjumi believed that the concept of Guided Democracy is nothing but tyranny and dictatorship in disguise. Soekarno, on the other hand, distrusted Masjumi and accused it of being involved in and harbouring sympathy to the revolt conducted by the PRRI [Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia, Indonesian Republic Revolutionary Government] in Sumatra Barat, the reason being that Masjumi did not blame or object to the involvement of some of its members in the PRRI.⁴⁰ The revolt of the PRRI which occurred from 1958 to 1961, will be described in detail in the following pages.

³⁸*Ibid.*, "Contemporary Political Dimensions of Islam", in M.B. Hooker, 1983: 188.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 1987: 288, Fachry Ali and Bachtiar Effendy, Merambah Jalan Baru Islam: Rekonstruksi Pemikiran Islam Indonesia di Masa Orde Baru (Tracing the new Islamic Path: A Reconstruction of Indonesian Islamic Thought in the New Order) [Bandung: Mizan], 1986: 85-88.

⁴⁰Deliar Noer, 1987: 50-51; Ahmad Syafii Maarif, 1985: 187; Fachry Ali, 1986: 89; B.J. Boland, 1982: 99-105.

For Indonesian Muslims, the dissolution of Masjumi and the putting of the Guided Democracy into effect signaled the growth in power and stature of PKI, which was led by Aidit from 1951 until 1965. During those years and under Soekarno's protective eyes, the PKI created several considerable disturbances in Indonesia. Moreover, when several key figures of Masjumi were jailed without court trial after 1960, the PKI's revengeful hand was suspected. The PKI was also behind many terrorist activities, uprisings and anarchical attempts. Moreover, Muslims in general and *kiyais* and '*ulamā*' in particular became the objects of humiliation and insults by the PKI. Young Indonesian Muslims were physically harassed, and some places of worship like mosques and *surau* [prayer house for any devotion except Friday prayer] were destroyed. Unfortunately, the Qur³ān was trampled upon, considered a disgusting thing and the cause of scabies. Property and wealth were confiscated and ordinary people lived in dread of their lives. During this era, Soekarno actively propagated communism through his concept of *Nasakom*, and prohibited anti-communist expressions, while at the same time declaring a low respect for Islam and propagating anti-Islamic ideas.⁴¹ He even followed PKI's advice on many occasions, and arbitrarily and cruelly sent people to prison without bringing them

⁴¹The PKI's actions towards Indonesian Muslims were public affairs and were rarely hidden or done in stealth. For examples of these attacks, see Mohamad Sobary, Kang Sejo Melihat Tuhan (Old Brother Sejo Sees God), especially in "Saya Cuma Kamino" (I am Just Kamino) [Jakarta: Gramedia], 1993: 3-5; Lukman Harun, "Sekelumit Kenangan dalam Pengganyangan Gestapu/PKI" (Some Memories on The Crushing of *Gestapu/PKI*), in Habib Sayid Husin Al-Muhdar [ed.], Sepuluh Tahun Lubang Buaya: Pemberontakan PKI (The Tenth Year of *Lubang Buaya*: the PKI's Rebellion). [Tangerang: Islamic research Institute], 1976: 134-135. *Lubang Buaya* is an old well where the six generals butchered by PKI were thrown, during the 1965 coup. For the history and activities of PKI under Dipa Nusantara Aidit, see the footnotes written in the first chapter of this thesis, also D.N. Aidit, Lahirnya PKI dan Perkembangannya [1920-1955]: Pidato untuk Memperingati Ulang Tahun ke-35 PKI, Diucapkan Tanggal 23 Mei 1955 di Jakarta (The Birthday and Development of PKI: A Speech for Celebrating PKI's 35th Birthday, Delivered on 23 May 1955 in Jakarta) [Jakarta: Yayasan "Pembaruan"], 1955; Corsino MacArthur, A Communist Revolutionary Movement as An International State-Actor of the PKI-Aidit [Republic of Singapore: Maruzen Asia], 1982; A.W. Pratiknya [ed.], Percakapan Antar Generasi: Pesan Perjuangan Seorang Bapak (A Dialogue Between Generations: The Struggle and the Message of A Father) [Jakarta: Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia dan Laboratorium Dakwah], 1989: 87.

to trial.⁴² Alas, PKI's cruelty spread its wings over the whole Indonesia in a very short time, and pervaded labour organizations, peasant organizations, landreform policies,⁴³ the press, films, art and literary enterprises, to name but a few.⁴⁴

Inevitably, the ideological debate touched upon the revolt of the *DI/TII* [*Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia*, State of Islam or House of Islam/Islamic Army of Indonesia] headed by Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo in West Java, which also colored the political arena during the 1960s. This revolt was caused by Kartosoewirjo's disillusionment with the *Perjanjian Renville* [Renville Agreement] which was signed on 14

⁴²A.W. Pratiknya, 1989: 50-87.

⁴³The policy of landreform was initiated by Soekarno to reduce the suffering of poor villagers. However, this policy met difficulties in its realization, and the PKI accused Muslims of being the source of difficulties. In fact, this was caused by a lack of understanding of the status of the *waqf* lands [pious donation of lands intended for religious use]. Realizing that the policy was done too slow, the PKI initiated a campaign of terrorism, physical warfare and so on in order to force the villagers to comply. The PKI created the slogan '*tujuh setan desa*' [seven satanic villagers] i.e. an evil landlord, a profiteer, a *tukang ijon* [a person who buys rice or other plants from a farmer by paying for it before the harvest is due], a capitalist-bureaucrat, an evil broker, a village-bandit, and an evil administrator. Not surprisingly, PKI's attempt was meant to serve a dual purpose, and tried to kill two birds with one stone. Firstly, it tried to fight for lands, the majority of which belonged to Muslims and secondly, to destroy Islam. Thus, this movement was both material and ideological. Deliar Noor, 1987: 406-410.

⁴⁴PKI, especially its affiliated-organization *Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat* [*Lekra*], was of the opinion that "*politik sebagai panglima*" [politics is the commander of every single aspect of life], meaning that philosophy, art, literature, films and other aspects should be in accordance with the decisions and policies made by the PKI party. Therefore, those who did not comply would have to be eliminated, and accused of being anti-revolutionary. Not surprisingly, many artists and litterateurs such as H.B. Jassin were jailed, because they were considered anti-*Manipol-USDEK*, and ultimately anti-revolutionary. Muslim artists were the very objects of PKI's hatred. Hamka, for instance, was accused by PKI of plagiarism and so on. In order to counter PKI's attacks, Indonesian artists and litterateurs declared a *Manifest Kebudayaan* [Cultural Manifesto], which was mocked by PKI through the acronym *Manikebu* = sperm of cow. The Manifesto was published on October 19th, 1963 in the newspaper *Berita Republik*. It was a denial of PKI's slogan "*politik sebagai panglima*". H.B. Jassin, *Kesusatraan Indonesia Modern dalam Kritik dan Esei I* (Indonesian Modern Literature in Critiques and Essays I) [Jakarta: Gramedia], 1985; Yahya Ismail, *Pertumbuhan, Perkembangan dan kejatuhan Lekra di Indonesia: Satu Tinjauan Aspek Sosio Budaya* (The Growth, Development and Collapse of *Lekra* in Indonesia: A Socio-Cultural Study) [Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka], 1972; Wiratmo Sukito, "*Manifes dan Masalah-Masalah Sekarang*" (The *Manifes Kebudayaan* and Recent Problems), *Horison*, No. 5, Year 2, May 1967: 132-133; Arief Budiman and A. Adjib Hamzah, "*Catatan Harian Manikebuis*" (A Diary of the People on the concept of *Manifes Kebudayaan*), *Horison*, No. 5, Year 2, May 1967: 153-157; D.S. Moeljanto, "*Lahirnya Manifes Kebudayaan*" (The Birthday of the *Manifes Kebudayaan*), *Horison*, No. 5, Year 2, May 1967: 158-159. For information and for the issues concerning the PKI and Indonesian films, see Salim Said, "*Politik adalah Panglima Film: Film Indonesia 1957-1965*" (Politics is A Commander of Films: Indonesian Films 1957-1965), in *Prisma*, November 1978, and in M. Amien Rais, 1986: 255-273.

March, 1947 by the Sjahrir Cabinet and the Dutch authorities. For Kartosoewirjo, such an agreement was nothing but a trap that would give the infidel Dutch the opportunity to colonialize Indonesia once again, and to harm Muslims and Islam. Kartosoewirjo's non-cooperative stance towards the Dutch was initiated in the 1930s, when he was a member of the PSII [Partai Sjarikat Islam Indonesia]. At the time, he also proposed turning Indonesia into a very Islamic theocracy. Not surprisingly, the Renville Agreement triggered a conflict between himself, on the one hand, and the government and the leaders of the Masjumi, on the other hand. Later, in 1948 he founded the *Negara Islam Indonesia* [NII, Indonesian Islamic State], popularly known as *DI* [*Darul Islam*], and named his soldiers *Tentara Islam Indonesia* [TII]. He announced his movement one more time on August 7th, 1949, when the Dutch made their *Serangan Kedua* [Second Attack] on Yogyakarta. Later, during the Guided Democracy era when the Communist party gained significant power under Soekarno, the Islamic faction within the *DI* grew stronger. At this point one should note that, even though there was no organizational link between Masjumi and the *DI*, there was a sympathetic relation between the figures of both parties, personally and publicly. This relation was manifested in their shared goal, which is the creation of an Islamic state where Muslims would have to follow Islamic law. Moreover, Kartosoewirjo himself was a member of the Masjumi executive committee between 1945-1947, and later became its commissioner for West Java. After being shot in battle on 24 April, 1962 and captured on 4 June 1962, Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo was executed on 12 September, 1962.⁴⁵

Alongside Kartosoewirjo's uprising, another revolutionary movement was born in the same era. This movement was led by Kahar Muzakkarin South Sulawesi. It started in 1950 and ended in the last quarter of 1964. Even though this movement maintained a strong affiliation to Kartosoewirjo's organization, and even though Muzakkar rejected the

⁴⁵B.J. Boland, 1982: 54-62; Karl D. Jackson, Traditional Authority, Islam, and Rebellion: A Study of Indonesian Political Behavior [California: University of California Press], 1980: 9-24; Barbara S. Harvey, Pemberontakan Kahar Muzakkar: Dari Tradisi ke DI/TII (translated from her dissertation, Tradition, Islam, and Rebellion: South Sulawesi 1950-1965) [Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti], 1989: 20.

Nationalist and Communist parties, whom he considered atheist, and advocated the implementation of rigorous Islamic teachings like the cutting off of a thief's hand, this movement was not based on an ideological framework. As a matter of fact, dissatisfaction with numerous national decisions and institutions, such as the military constituted the primary cause behind the formation of this organization. However, Muzakkar later affiliated his movement to Kartosoewirjo's upon the realization that Islamic symbols would attract Muslim interests, and would endow his movement with sympathy and a measure of respectability. Kahar Muzakkar was born in Desa Lanipa, Palopo, Luwu, Sulawesi, on 24 March, 1921. His dissatisfaction with the military started when he was relieved from his duties and asked by his superiors to leave the army. The latter believed that Muzakkar lacked the technological skills needed for modern warfare. Unfortunately, this was not true since he had demonstrated a remarkable ability as a skilled guerilla fighter during the Indonesian war of Independence. In fact, he was the founder of the guerilla military contingent in Sulawesi during the war against the Dutch.⁴⁶ Undoubtedly, his disillusionment and frustration were key elements behind his vehement opposition to the government and the armed forces.

The PRRI, which was set up in February 1958 in Bukittinggi, was established by the regional military commanders as well as some national political leaders, who included some Masjumi figures such as Mohammad Natsir, Boerhanuddin Harahap and Sjafruddin Prawiranegara. Both Natsir and Harahap had previously served as Prime Ministers, while Prawiranegara was the Governor of the Bank of Indonesia at the time. Prawiranegara was appointed as the President of the PRRI due to the fact that the PRRI needed figures of national or international renown to represent it, and to endow the party with a measure of respectability and credibility by their presence. Thus, Prawiranegara was chosen because the only figures of high national repute in the party were himself and the two other

⁴⁶This explanation is summarized from Barbara Sillars Harvey, 1989; B.J. Boland, 1982: 62-68.

Masjumi members. The PRRI was established in an effort to counter balance the Cabinet of Prime Minister Djuanda in Jakarta, which was deemed to be rather autocratic and neglectful of the socio-economic condition. Therefore, PRRI was more of a reaction and a refusal of the government's decisions particularly those favouring the Communist party. Indeed, the participation of anti-Communists was rather strong in the PRRI. In this respect, the PRRI was never a separatist party, and never meant to establish a new country or to separate from Jakarta. On the contrary, it wanted to establish an alternative government that would govern the whole of Indonesia. As such, the PRRI did not call for an alternative state but an alternative government: a government without Communists. This was largely due to Mohammad Natsir who played a key role in reining in the anti-Communist elements within the party, and in espousing a non-separatist stand. Alas, the PRRI was violently forced to disband its members at the end of 1961.⁴⁷ The revolt it initiated is commonly termed the PRRI/Permesta revolt [Perjuangan Semesta Alam, Inclusive Struggle], when it is used to refer to the revolt in Sulawesi and the Northern territories.⁴⁸ However, Permesta was actually an autonomous organization that affiliated itself to the PRRI during the revolt. Unlike the latter, Permesta was a small provincial organization that did not spread on the national level. It was actually the name of a charter issued in Makasar on March 2, 1957. One of its demands was provincial autonomy. This charter was a hoax that was meant to deceive the central government in Jakarta, and the leaders of the Permesta never expected the government to react with such a strong show of arms. The government, however, resorted to such force when Permesta received foreign assistance. Indeed, the leaders of the Permesta had miscalculated the whole affair and were totally unprepared for a rebellion or a

⁴⁷ Deliar Noer, 1987: 374-377; *Ibid.*, "Contemporary Political Dimensions of Islam", 1983: 189; George McT. Kahin, "In Memoriam: Mohammad Natsir [1907-1993]", Indonesia, No. 56, October 1993: 159-165; *Ibid.*, "Mohammad Natsir", in Yusuf Abdullah Puar, Muhammad Natsir: 70 Tahun Kenang-Kenangan Kehidupan dan Perjuangan (Muhammad Natsir: 70 Years of Memory and Struggle) [Jakarta: Pustaka Antara], 1978: 334.

⁴⁸ Alfian, "Pengantar Edisi Indonesia" (An Introduction to the Indonesian Edition), in Barbara Sillars Harvey, Permesta: Pemberontakan Setengah Hati (translated from her Ph.D. dissertation at Cornell University Permesta: A Half Rebellion) [Jakarta: Grafitipers], 1989: xiii. Alfian's work is only available in the Indonesian version of Harvey's book.

war, and that is why Permesta was dubbed a half- rebellion. The revolt was forced to an end in a very short time, and its leaders surrendered in 1961.⁴⁹

The failure of PKI's coup in 1965 signified the last major role the Communists played in Indonesia, as well as the demise of the Soekarno regime. Such an event was precipitated by tensions, doubt and a boiling rage since 1963. At the time, Indonesians anxiously awaited Soekarno's death, which they expected to happen at any moment, as rumors of his illness had been in circulation for quite some time. Then, on the night of the 30th of September, 1965, the PKI started its attempted coup by murdering a number of generals, whom it accused of establishing the *DD* [*Dewan Djenderal*, Council of Generals] and preparing for a military *coup d'état*. To prevent such a military take over, the PKI preceded the coup, and announced the establishment of *Dewan Revolusi* [Revolutionary Council], which was meant to safeguard the state and President Soekarno. However, PKI's maneuver did not last long as the coup was aborted a day later by General Soeharto, who was to become the next president. In hindsight, it appears that Soekarno's death was seen by all as a turning point. It was believed that his death would bring about a clash between the Communists on the one hand, and the Muslims, military, intellectuals, bureaucrats, and some Nationalists on the other hand. Thus, it became clear to the Communists that if such a clash were to occur, they would undoubtedly lose it. Therefore, when Soekarno's health became suddenly worse in August 1965, Soebandrio hastened to tell Aidit, the leader of PKI, to cut his journey to China and to bring with him several Chinese physicians. This Aidit did as he bid his time, and waited for the right moment before he could seize power and safeguard his supporters. In this respect, some scholars argue that neither he nor the Communists had planned on staging a full scale *coup d'état* as they were well aware of their infirm position. Moreover, the Communists must have also realized that once Soekarno died, they would be overpowered by their rivals. They must

⁴⁹Information about Permesta was obtained from Barbara S. Harvey, Permesta: A Half Rebellion. Monograph Series No. 57 [Ithaca, New York: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University], 1977.

have figured out that the only reasonable solution for them was to cooperate with their rivals after Soekarno's death, and to bid their time until the right moment materialized. This hypothesis could be substantiated from the name lists which the PKI announced on the 30th of September. Although, these names were of members of the Revolutionary Council, only five of them were genuinely Communists. As such, some scholars declare that the murder of the generals on the 30th of September, 1965 was an error and a hastily concocted affair. They even argued that the murder surpassed Aidit's expectations. Moreover, *coups d'état* are alien to the Indonesian spirit. On the other hand, one can also argue the contrary. One can say that the murder of the generals was not an accident and that the PKI intentionally set about toppling the *status quo*. Indeed, when questioned by the court, many PKI members affirmed their revolutionary intent. Secondly, it was commonly perceived that the inner spirit of the PKI was revolutionary, and that the PKI was ready to utilize any means that would further its goals. And lastly, one must remember that, at the time the PKI's power was at its peak, a factor that must have been encouraging. Like PKI, the military itself, of course, could have prepared for a quick seizure of power following Soekarno's death. However, that seizure would not have been in the manner of a quick *coup d'état*.⁵⁰

The zealous activities of some Christian missionaries were among the causes of worry and tension among many Indonesian Muslims. After the tragedy of the PKI's attempted coup Christianization endeavours intensified, and the population of Christian believers witnessed a dramatic increase in numbers. These endeavours were conducted through education, social services, art, culture, transmigration, community development, as well as political and governmental agencies. The concept of 'religious tolerance' was abused because non-Muslim believers, who are much smaller in number, had an equivalent number

⁵⁰B.J. Boland, 1982: 135-144; Donald Hindley, "Alirans and the Fall of the Old Order", *Indonesia*, Cornell University, April, No. 9, 1970: 23-66; Sjafrî Segeh, *Soebandrio Durno Terbesar abad ke-XX* (Soebandrio Is the Greatest Durno of the Twentieth Century) [Padang: Usaha Trimurfi], 1966.

of services and instruments as Muslims had. These services were not allocated according to the number of members of each religion, but according to the number of religions. For example, air time on television was divided equally among all the religions. The same can be said of places of worship which did not differ in quantity between Muslims and non-Muslims. Moreover, proselytization was conducted with the aid of foreign donations. As such, generous scholarships were made available for poor students, poor businessmen, and other poor people. Not surprisingly, the term *Kristen beras* [Rice Christian] became the popular designation of a person who converted because of the regular donations of rice he received. This Christianization actually started during the era of VOC [*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, Dutch East India Company], a trading company that held a monopoly of Indonesia, 1602-1799. During this era, the Dutch government propagated, supported and aided Christianization through the construction of churches, publications and so on. That is not to say that the Dutch did not aid Muslims; however, their aid never exceeded 3 % or 5 % of the aid allocated to others.⁵¹

After the failure of PKI's coup, the New Order was established. The fall of the Old Order and the rise of the New Order raised the hopes of many Indonesian Muslims, especially those who had hoped that Islam would be a major player on the political stage. However, this optimism was crushed when the New Order displayed no ideological orientation, and did not want the issue of religion brought up, thus ignoring the many ideological questions which were still unanswered. As such, many Muslims requested the rehabilitation of the Masjumi party. They assumed that the dissolution of the Masjumi was instigated by PKI, but now that the PKI was banned, a rehabilitation of the Masjumi was due, they argued. Unfortunately, the rehabilitation of the Masjumi was refused, for fear that the Masjumi might insist on the creation of an Islamic state, an act which would create fierce ideological debates and would ultimately lead to strife and revolt. Not surprisingly, the New Order made an effort to eliminate the ideological debate, and to concentrate on the

⁵¹A.W. Pratiknya, 1989: 88-100.

economic development of the republic. While the Old Order sought to minimize the ideological conflict through the concept of *Nasakom*, the New Order attempted to do so through the concept of *de-ideologisasi* [de-ideologization], and by insisting on the adoption of Pancasila as the sole ideology of every single party and organization. In addition, the New Order was of the opinion that the Communist coup had hampered national development, and it therefore upheld numerous concepts and programs that would promote national unity and economic progress. These included such concepts as *pragmatism*, *deparpolisasi* [depoliticization], *program oriented* [orientation to programs which can lead to the National development], and *pembangunan oriented* [developmental orientation]. These concepts did not only focus on the economic development,⁵² but served to counter the ideas disseminated by the Old Order, and to justify the existence of the New Order.⁵³

Hence, due to the fear of sectarian strife, the New Order postponed National elections, which were supposed to be held on the 10th of January, 1968 until [at least before the 5th of July] 1971. Such a delay was meant to guarantee the full implementation of the state ideology, Pancasila, and to safeguard it from change. The New Order did not want the political parties to raise the issue of state ideology in their election campaigns. Secondly, the government wanted enough time to select an equal number of members for the *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* [DPR, Indonesian Legislative Assembly] who came from outside Java as from Java. Thirdly, the Government wanted to appoint 100 [from the total of 460] members for the DPR, and 307 [from the total of 920] members for the *Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* [MPR, People's Consultative Council]. These appointed members were to represent the so-called functional groups consisting of the army, police, intellectuals, etc. among which the army was the most important group. And finally, the

⁵²By comparing the Old Order to the New Order, one can note that the economic factor is a key element in maintaining the present *status quo* and allowing its continuation until the present. See, Harold Crouch, "The Trend to Authoritarianism: The Post-1945 Period", in Harry Aveling [ed.], The Development of Indonesian Society: From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day [New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc.], 1980: 166-204.

⁵³Abdul Munir Mulkhan, Runtuhnya Mitos Politik Santri (The Collapse of the Myth of Santri Politics) [Yogyakarta: Sypress], 1992: 33-34; Fachry Ali et al., 1986: 93-95.

government wanted to insure that only the political parties, registered before the end of 1969, could participate in the National elections. This tactic effectively insured the elimination of the PKI from election. Thus, it was for all these reasons that the government played for time.⁵⁴

The postponement of the National elections held pros and cons for the political parties, the military, and the independent groups such as the students and intellectuals, who were not sure which political party to support. The Islamic parties wanted the elections to be conducted in 1968, because such a date would have given them a better chance at realizing their dream of an Islamic state, whereas the military, who considered themselves the saviour of the state from the hands of the PKI, favoured a lengthy period of time before the elections. The army wanted to stage the elections carefully and to set up a harmonious atmosphere that would ensure the effective running of the elections and the army's continued dominance of the *status quo*. Therefore, before holding the new elections, the military tried to eliminate any disturbing or problematic elements, and to convince the people that the military are the best navigator of the political constellation. Thus, a control of the PNI party was established, the rehabilitation of the Masjumi party was denied, the activities of ex-Masjumi members were limited, and the Sekber Golkar [Sekretariat Bersama Golongan Karya, Joint Secretariat of the Functional Groups] was re-erected by the New Order. Golkar, which later became the government's party and competed against the other parties, was made a twin sister of the military and fully supported the New Order.⁵⁵ Moreover, the military openly declared that they would not tolerate any future revolts and insisted that the *stabilitas politik* [political stability] was everything.⁵⁶

⁵⁴Abdul Munir Mul Khan, Perubahan Perilaku Politik dan Polarisasi Umat Islam 1955-1987 dalam Perspektif Sosiologis (The Sociological Perspective on the Change of Political Behaviour and Muslims' Polarization Between 1965-1987) [Jakarta: Rajawali Pers], 1989: 51; B.J. Boland, 1982: 154.

⁵⁵Daniel Dhakidae, "Pemilihan Umum di Indonesia: Saksi Pasang Naik dan Surut Partai Politik" (The National Elections in Indonesia as A Witness to the Rise and Fall of the Political Parties) Prisma, September 1981, and in M. Amien Rais, 1986: 169-211

⁵⁶Parakriti Tahi Simbolon, "Di Balik Mitos Angkatan 66" (Behind the Myth of the 1966 Young Generation), in Prisma, December 1977, and in Farchan Bulkin, 1988: 159-161.

The above-mentioned descriptions were brief sketches of the socio-political conditions facing Indonesian Muslims in the 1960s, and would end here. However, our description would not be complete, if we did not analyze the given data and draw a few conclusions from it. Such an analysis would point out that Indonesian Muslims suffered at the hands of both the Old and the New Orders. One might also add that such suffering might have induced the condemnation of *Langit Makin Mendung* and the banning of *Sastra*. However, one should also consider other situations, in which the cause of Islam and Muslims had improved. These can be seen in the creation of some political parties such as Nahdlatul Ulama [NU] and Perti, the revolt of the PUSA in Aceh, and the military decision against Islamic groups.

Under the concept of *Nasakom*, only NU and Perti were considered fit representatives of the religious parties, and allowed to join the Communist party, even though NU rejected Communism and Communists. Alas, during the Old Order, NU sadly committed a few tragedies in order to further its own influence. Such endeavours included crushing its friends and foes, obeying and glorifying Soekarno's decisions, and even endowing the latter with the title '*waliyul amri dharuri bi syauqah*' [the legitimate ruler of the recent government], '*Pahlawan Islam dan Kemerdekaan*' [Hero of Islam and Freedom]. NU had also developed and implemented a movement called *NU-isasi*, which espoused the non-attainment of government positions by Muslims, who were not affiliated with NU. This policy was officially carried out in 1960, when, for instance, the staff of IAIN [Institut Agama Islam Negeri, State University of Islamic Studies] Syarif Hidayatullah, and those of the Religious Affairs Ministry were fired, except those affiliated with the NU.⁵⁷ In short, the NU employed some rather opportunistic tactics in order to enhance its political might during the Old Order. As for Perti, it too jumped on the NU bandwagon by joining the

⁵⁷Fachry Ali, "*Aktualisasi Politik MI-NU Masa ORBA*" (The Actualization of MI-NU Politics during the New Order) in his book, *Islam, Pancasila dan Pergulatan Politic* (Islam, Pancasila and Political Encounters) [Jakarta: Pustaka Antara], 1984: 51-54; B.J. Boland, 1982: 130-134.

Communist party. However, Perti did not play a significant role in contemporary affairs due to its limited membership and support.⁵⁸

The PUSA [Persatuan Ulama-Ulama Seluruh Aceh, Association of the '*Ulamā*' of Aceh] led by Daud Beureuh, a former governor of Aceh, carried out a revolt against the Central Government in 1953. The revolt was caused by the denial of the Acehnese demand for autonomy. The PUSA wanted to establish an independent province that is totally governed by Muslims. Therefore, when the Central Government denied PUSA's request, and even appointed a person affiliated with the PKI as the Governor of Aceh, PUSA felt compelled to revolt, and the movement was called *Darui Islam*. Again, the Central Government reacted with a show of arms, which was quite ineffective. The revolt came to an end on 26 May, 1959, when an agreement was signed establishing Aceh as a *Daerah Istimewa* [Special District, province]. This gave the Acehnese an autonomy regarding religious matters, local customs and educational interests, as long as they did not contravene the Constitution '45. Moreover, through this agreement, Ali Hasjmi was appointed as governor, and the University of Darussalam [House of Peace] and the city of students were built to memorize the peaceful settlement of the affair. This reconciliation was seen by many as a victory for Indonesian Islam.⁵⁹

In addition, in 1957, the military had created the position of *Imam Militer* [the Leader of Prayers for the Military] led by Colonel Muchlas Rowi. Then, in 1962, this position became more effective after a meeting of the Military Corps in Cipayung, which adopted the motto '*taqwa, wira dan karya*' [piety, knighthood and work]. These three words were meant to show the harmony between religion, the military and mundane affairs. They also indicated an effort by the army to improve the status of religion within its ranks, and a recognition of the role of Islam in the military. Indeed, Islam was and continues to be seen as an effective element in augmenting the morale and struggle techniques of its

⁵⁸B.J. Boland, 1982: 51.

⁵⁹B.J. Boland, 1982: 68-75.

adherents. Faithful soldiers were said to have high motivation, a fighting spirit, tenacity, ethics and polite manners, all of which were attitudes which the military wanted to cultivate and enhance. These qualities were exemplified during the Muslim struggle in the colonial era, and in the revolt movements. At the time, Muslims fought on behalf of their faith and were therefore heedless of death and pain. Thus, the military made an effort to promote Islamic teachings.⁶⁰

Lastly, it is hoped that all of the previously mentioned data would ward off any assumptions that reactions towards *Langit Makin Mendung* were purely political in context. If one is to consider the political aspect as a reason for denying the short story, then one will perceive that only the *kiyais* and the *‘ulamā’*, who had been the target of incitement during the Dutch colonial period until the establishment of the Old Order, could have used it. Indeed, the reaction towards the short story was more religious in nature. Indonesian Muslims do not support attempts that trivialize their sacred beliefs. This can be seen in the 1990 protests against the tabloid newspaper *Monitor* published by Arswendo Atmowiloto. The protests came following the publication of an article entitled "*Ini Dia: 50 Tokoh yang Dikagumi Pembaca Kita*" [Here They Are: 50 Figures Who Are Admired by *Monitor* Readers]. The lists were randomly collected from readers who were asked by *Monitor* to answer its questionnaire "*Kagum 5 Juta*" [5 million polls to choose one admired figure]. Then, upon receiving the results of the questionnaire, *Monitor* randomly selected 50 out of 5 million figures. This list of 50 figures placed the Prophet Muḥammad at number 11, following President Soeharto, B.J. Habibie [the Minister of Research and Technology], Iwan Fals [the most popular pop singer], and even Arswendo himself, who was listed as number 10. As a result, Indonesian Muslims launched protests and huge demonstrations and asked for the banning of *Monitor* and the death of Arswendo. As a result, Arswendo

⁶⁰Howard M. Federspiel, "*Militer dan Islam pada Masa Pemerintahan Soekarno di Indonesia*" (The Military and Islam During Soekarno's Regime), in Ahmad Ibrahim et al., 1990: 40-56.

was sentenced to prison for three years.⁶¹ Secondly, still in the same year, the tabloid newspaper *Senang* was stopped by its editors who feared protests from Indonesian Muslims following the paper's description of an invented picture of Muḥammad.⁶² Finally, Permadi Satrio Wiwoho, who is familiar as Permadi S.H., was in prison after ridiculing Muḥammad and stating that the Prophet was a dictator, and that in the Prophet's era there was not a safe community. On the contrary, he declared, wars, murders, and dissensions were in abundance when Muḥammad ruled the community. These three facts took place in 1993 and 1995 when the stability of the Indonesian socio-political situation had been at its peak, and there were no revolts. And yet, Muslims could not accept information which trivialized the sacred things of Islam. Thus, socio-political matters were not a reason for Indonesian Muslims' denial of *Langit Makin Mendung*, or other literary expressions similar to it. To sum up, in the case of the sacred matters, Muslims prefer theology to socio-politics.

⁶¹Tempo, No. 36 Year XX, 3 November 1990.

⁶²Tempo, No. 37 Year XX, 10 November 1990.

CONCLUSION

Langit Makin Mendung provides a concise illustration of the tension existing between Islamic dicta on the one hand and literary works on the other; a tension common to Islam in general and Indonesian Islam in particular. In this respect, the questions of freedom of speech and freedom of expression are but vehicles manifesting the polarity between Islamic values and literary values. This study maintains that freedom of speech and expression in literary works is restricted in Islam by an effort to elevate all that is sacred and to ensure that sacred matters are not debased in any way, the reason being that Islam preserves and justifies all sacred matters in legitimate theology, and prohibits Muslims from whimsically altering them. As such, *Langit Makin Mendung*, which provoked its contemporary milieu and utilized the Old Order and PKI as a background, faced objections of a theological essence upon its publication. Although Kipandjikusmin successfully alluded to contemporary issues in his fictional enterprise, he failed to give them due attention. Such a neglect was caused by his deliberate disobedience of Islamic theology. However, in spite of the fact that the story offended many Indonesian Muslims and was taken to court, most critics objected to the ban imposed upon the magazine *Sastra*, and declared that only the author and the editor, i.e. Kipandjikusmin and Jassin, should be charged, not the publisher or the magazine as a whole.

At the time, most Indonesian Muslims considered the story *Langit Makin Mendung* to be blasphemous and insulting. Moreover, many of those who attacked the short story were, in fact, Muslim authors and thinkers renowned for their progressive and revolutionary ideas. Such authors include Hamka, Sju'bah Asa, Taufiq Ismail, Ajip Rosidi and others. This indicates that the theological aspects of Islam are of concern to Indonesian Muslim critics, regardless of their intellectual inclination, whether it is modernism, traditionalism, neo-modernism or any other school of thought. Furthermore, the

participation of such diverse litterateurs also indicates that the contemporary socio-political milieu was not the force behind the rejection of the short story.

It is also interesting to note that the preoccupation with theology is not only manifest in Indonesian literature, but also extends to all forms of written and oral enterprises irrespective of their means. The cases of the Indonesian tabloids *Monitor*, *Senang* and *Permadi* in 1993 and 1995 illustrate how Indonesian Muslims behave towards their sacred matters. These cases also demonstrate that the political conditions are not entirely responsible for Muslim reactions towards fiction, since Indonesian Muslims were politically stable in 1993 and 1995. In addition, there are other cases demonstrating that intellectual works, academic writings and criticism leveled at Muslim scriptures were accepted as long as they were supported by valid arguments and historical verifications, even if the latter advanced unfavourable views. The works of the orientalist on Islam substantiate this argument, and are a case in point.

By comprehending the critiques of Indonesian Muslims on the short story *Langit Makin Mendung*, one can observe that *fiqh* is strongly preserved in Indonesian Islam. In fact, both defenders and attackers of Kipandjikusmin and his short story based their arguments on the *fiqh* approach. Even Jassin, who did not know *fiqh*, and Bahrum Rangkuti, who preferred the non-*fiqh* methodology of literary criticism, utilized *fiqh* terms in defending *Langit Makin Mendung*. This can be seen in the description of God's attributes, the utilization of *ḥadīths* concerning anthropomorphism, Islamic proselytization and so on.¹

¹In the Indonesian context, *fiqh* was and is influential. Moreover, Indonesian Islam tends to favour a *sharī'ah*-oriented approach. Even the *taṣawwuf* movement, which spread throughout Indonesia, was primarily influenced by al-Ghazzālī's *taṣawwuf*, which emphasized *fiqh* and the practice of Islamic teachings before entering *taṣawwuf*. Al-Ghazzālī's *taṣawwuf* is a moderate *taṣawwuf* that requires an adherence to *sharī'ah* and is quite different from Ibn 'Arabī's or al-Jilī's *taṣawwuf*. The movement from *tarekat Shattariyyah* to *tarekat Naqsbandiyyah* ca. 1850 was an alteration which strengthened the Indonesian *fiqh* position and denied practices related to the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* [unity of being, or monism as reality]. The *Shattariyyah* was well-known as an *aliran tarekat* [ṣūfī order] advocating the concept of pantheism and *waḥdat al-wujūd*. However, the *Naqsbandiyyah* leaned towards the *taṣawwuf* of al-Ghazzālī. While, for instance, the *Shattariyyah* could receive a member who did not perform his five daily prayers, the *Naqsbandiyyah* could only accept a member who adhered to the duties of the *sharī'ah* such as the five daily prayers. In the colonial era, the *Naqsbandiyyah*, and not the *Shattariyyah*, was considered a threat to the Dutch government, because the former was advocating pure

Moreover, this thesis concludes that the defense as advanced by Jassin is inconsistent since it insists on the one hand that God, Muḥammad, Gabriel and all religious matters are nothing but figments of the author's imagination, yet on the other hand that the description of *PBR*², the socio-political context, and all other Indonesian issues are realities which Kipandjikusmin felt, reacted to and commented upon in his short story.

Lastly, it is on the strength of the previously-mentioned theological debates that this thesis is able to conclude that both the defense and the condemnation of *Langit Makin Mendung* are unjustified, since Islam has its own paradigms and reasons in authorizing or prohibiting certain matters. As such, the author of this thesis is of the opinion that any literature delving into Islamic theology should be viewed from the Islamic theological perspective and none other. Although such a stand may appear apologetic in its attempt to bridge the gap between art and theology, without compromising either, one can similarly argue that when dealing with Islamic doctrines, any fictional enterprise should be viewed in the context of the overall principles governing these doctrines, just like any other science. This does not mean that other opinions and ideologies should be disregarded, but rather that more emphasis should be placed upon the Islamic perspective.

Islamic teachings, while the latter was not dangerous and was in fact cooperative with the government. Moreover, *fiqh* is the main subject in the curriculum of the *pesantrens*. Books of *fiqh* have been prominent as the main sources of Islamic teachings in Indonesia since the 1900s, while books on *taṣawwuf* were not recommended. The *taṣawwuf* was not even taught in the *pesantrens* or in Islamic schools. It is tempting to make much of the fact that those books of *fiqh*, which were recommended, were not originals but *sharḥ* [commentaries, and summaries of the original *fiqh* volumes]. Nevertheless, in spite of this fact, *fiqh* occupies a special position in Indonesian Islam. Karel A. Steenbrink, Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19 (Several Aspects of Islam in Indonesia in the 19th Century) [Jakarta: Bulan Bintang], 1984: 6-174, 154-160; see also, Azyumardi Azra, "Islam di Asia Tenggara: Pengantar Pemikiran", 1989: xv.

²See Chapter 1, p. 10, foot note 16.

APPENDIX

The original version of *Langit Makin Mendung* is copied from Jassin's book, *Heboh Sastra 1968: Suatu Pertanggung-jawab* [p. 87-104], whereas the *glossary* is cited from Jassin's *Polemik: Suatu Pembahasan Sastra dan Kebebasan Mencipta Berhadapan dengan Undang2 dan Agama* [p. 243-244].

The original text is written in accordance with the old Indonesian style. As such, the number /2/ appears on top of words that are to be repeated to represent the plural, for example, /lama²/ for /lama-lama/, or /pensiunan²/ for /pensiunan-pensiunan/ and so on. The text also adopts the old Indonesian alphabet and employs /tj/ for /c/, /dj/ for /j/, /j/ for /y/, and /nj/ for /ny/. A translation of the *glossary* is not offered since Chapter 1 presents adequate annotations and footnotes.

Lampiran

LANGIT MAKIN MENDUNG

Kipandjikusmin

Lama² mereka bosan djuga dengan status pensiunan-nabi di-sorgaloka. Petisi dibikin, mohon (dan bukan menuntut) agar pensiunan² diberi tjuji bergilir turba kebumi, jang konon makin ramai sadja.

— Refreshing sangat perlu. Kebahagiaan berlebihan djustru siksaan bagi manusia jang biasa berdjua. Kami bukan malaikat atau burung perkutut. Bibir² kami sudah pegal² kedjang memudji kebesaranMu; beratus tahun tanpa henti.

Membatja petisi para nabi, Tuhan terpaksa meng-geleng²kan kepala, tak habis pikir pada ketidak-puasan dibena² manusia Dipanggillah penanda-tangan pertama: Muhammad dari Medinah, Arabia. Orang bumi biasa memanggiloja Muhammad s.a.w.

— Daulat, ja Tuhan.

— Apalagi jang kurang disorgaku ini? Bidadari djelita berdjuta, sungai susu, danau madu. Buah appel emas, pohon limau perak. Kidjang² platina, burung² berbulu intan baiduri. Semua adalah milikmu bersama, sama rasa sama rata!

— Sesungguhja bahagia lebih dari tjukup, bahkan tumpah ruah me-limpah².

— Lihat rumput² djamrud disana, bunga² mutiara bermekaran.

— Kau memang maha kaya. Dan manusia alangkah miskin, melarat sekali.

— Tengok permadani sutera jang kau indjak. Djubah dan sorban cashmillon jang kau pakai. Sepatu Aladin jang bisa terbang. Telah kuhadiahkan segala jang indah²!

Muhammad tertunduk, terasa betapa hidup manusia hanja djalinan² penjadong sedekah dari Tuhan. Alangkah nista pihak jang selalu mengharap belas kasihan. Ia ingat, waktu sowan kesorga dulu dirinja hanja sekeping djiwa telandjang.

— Apa sebenarnja kautjari di bumi? Kemesuman, kemunafikan, kelaparan, tangis dan kebentjiaan sedang berketjamuk hebat sekali.

— Hamba ingin mengadakan riset. (Djawabnja lirih).

— Tentang apa?

— Achir² ini begitu sedikit ummat hamba jang masuk sorga.

— Ach, itu kan biasa. Kebanyakan mereka dari daerah tropis kalau tak salah?

— Betul, kau memang maha tahu.

— Kemarau kelewat pandjang disana. Terik matahari terlalu

lama membakar otak² mereka jang bodoh. (Katjamata model kuno dari emas diletakkan diatas medja dari emas pula).

— Bagaimana, ja Tuhan?

— Ummatmu banjak kena tusukan sinar matahari. Sebagian besar berubah ingatan, lainnja pada mati mendadak.

— Astaga! Betapa nasib mereka kemudian?

— Jang pertama asjik mabadut dirumah-rumah gila.

— Dan jang mati?

— Ada stempel Kalimah-Sjihadat dalam paspor mereka. Terpaksa radja iblis menolak memberikan visa-neraka untuk orang² malang itu.

— Heran, tak pernah mereka mohon suaka kesini! (Kening sedikit mengerut).

— Tentara neraka memang telah merantai kaki² mereka dibatu nisan masing².

— Apa dosa mereka gerangan? Betapa malang nasib ummat hamba, ja Tuhan!

— Djiwa² mereka kabarnja mambu Nasakom. Keratjunan Nasakom!

— Nasakom? Ratjun apa itu, ja Tuhan! Iblis laknat mana meratjuni djiwa mereka. (Muhammad s.a.w. nampak gusar sekali. Tindju mengepal) Usman, Umar dan Ali! Asah pedang kalian tadjam²!

— Tuhan hanja meng-angguk², senjum penuh pengertian — penuh kebapaan.

— Tjarilah sendiri fakta² jang autentik. Tentang pedang² itu kurasa sudah kurang laku dipasar loak pelabuhan Djeddah. Pentjipta Nasakom sudah punja bom atom, kau tahu!

— Singkatnja, hamba diidjinkan turba kebumi? (Ia tak takut bom atom).

— Tentu sadja. Mintalah surat djalan pada Soleman jang Bidjak disekretariat. Tahu sendiri, dirasai Botes pulisi² dan hansip² paling sok iseng, gemar sekali ribut² perkara surat djalan.

— Tidak bisa mereka disogok?

— Tidak, mereka lain dengan pulisi dari bumi. Bawalah Djibrail serta, supaja tak sesat!

— Daulat, ja Tuhan (Bersudjud penuh sukatjita).

* * *

Sesaat sebelum berangkat, sorga sibuk sekali. Timbang terima djabatan Ketua kelompok Grup Muslimin disorga, telah ditandatangani uaskahnja. Abubakar tertjantum sebagai pihak penerima. Dan masih banjak lainnja.

— Wahai jang terpujji, djurusan mana jang paduka pilih? (Malaekat Djibrail bertanja takzim).

— Ketempat djazadku diistirahatkan; Medinah, kau ingat? Ingin kuhitung djumlah musafir² jang ziarah. Disini kita hanja kenal dua matjam angka, satu dan tak terhingga.

Seluruh penghuni sorga menghantar kelapangan terbang. Lagu² padang pasir terdengar meraju², tapi tanpa tari-perut bidadari². Entah dengan berapa djuta lengan Muhammad s.a.w. harus berdjabat tangan.

Nabi Adam a.s. sebagai pinisepuh tampil depan mikropon. Dikatakan bahwa penurbaan Muhammad s.a.w. merupakan lembaran baru dalam sedjarah manusia. Besar harapan akan segera terdjalin saling pengertian jang mendalam antara penghuni sorga dan bumi.

— Achir kata saudara², hasil peninjauan on the spot oleh Muhammad s.a.w. harus dapat dimanfaatkan setjara maksimal nantinja. Ja, saudara² para sutji! Sebagai kaum arrive sorga, kita tak boleh melupakan perdjuaan saudara² kita dibumi melawan rongrongan iblis² Neraka beserta antek²nja. Kita harus bantu mereka dengan doa² dan sumbangan² pikiran jang konstruktif, agar mereka semua mau ditarik kepibak Tuhan; sekian. Selamat djalan Muhammad. Hidup persatuan Rakjat Sorga dan Bumi.

— Ganjang!!! (Berdjuta suara menjahut serempak).

Muhammad segera naik kepungung buroq — kuda sembrani jang dulu djadi tunggangannya waktu ia mi'radj.

Setcepat kilat buroq terbang kearah bumi, dan Djibrail jang sudah tua ter-engah² mengikuti dibelakang.

Mendadak, sebuah sputnik melajang diangkasa hampa udara.

— Benda apa disana? (Nabi keheranan).

— Orang bumi bilang sputnik! Ada tiga orang didalamnja, ja Rasul.

— Orang? Mendjemput kedatanganku kiranja? (Gembira).

— Bukan, mereka djustru rakjat negara kapir terbesar dibumi. Pengikut Marx dan Lenin jang ingkar Tuhan. Tapi pandai² otaknja.

— Orang² malang; semoga Tuhan mengampuni mereka. (Berdoa). Aku ingin lihat orang² kapir itu dari dekat. Ajo, buroq!

Buroq melajang deras menjilang arah sputnik mengorbit. Dengan pedang apinja Djibrail memberi isyarat sputnik berhenti sedjenak.

Namun, sputnik Rusia memang tak ada remnja. Tubrukan tak terhindarkan lagi. Buroq beserta sputnik hantjur djadi debu; tanpa suara, tanpa sisa. Kepala² botak dilembaga aeronautica di Siberia bersorak gembira.

— Diumumkan bahwa sputnik Rusia berhasil mentjium planet jang tak dikenal. Ada sedikit gangguan komunikasi (Terdengar siaran radio Moskow).

Muhammad dan Djibrail terpentak kebawah, mudjur mereka tersangkut digumpalan awan jang empuk bagai kapas.

— Sajang, sajang. Neraka bertambah tiga penghuni lagi. (Berbisik sedih).

Sedjenak dilontarkan pandangannya kebawah. Hatinja tiba² berdesir, ngeri.

— Djibrail, neraka lapis keberapa disana gerangan?

— Paduka salah duga. Dibawah kita bukan neraka tapi bagian bumi jang paling durhaka, Djakarta namanja. Ibukota sebuah negeri dengan seratus djuta rakjat jang malas dan bodoh. Tapi ngakunja sudah bebas B.H.

— Tak pernah kudengar nama itu. Mana lebih durhaka, Djakarta atau Sodomah dan Gomorah?

— Hampir sama.

— Ai, hidjau² disana bukankah warna api neraka?

— Bukan, paduka! Itulah barisan sukwan dan sukwati guna mengganjang negara tetangga, Malaysia.

— Adakah ummatku di Malaysia?

— Hampir semua, ketjuali tjanja tentu.

— Kalau begitu, kapirilah bangsa dibawah ini!

— Sama sekali tidak, 90% dari rakjatnja orang Islam djuga.

— 90% (Wadjah nabi berseri), 90 djuta ummatku! Muslimin dan muslimat jang tertjinta. Tapi tak kulihat mesdjid jang tjukup besar, dimana mereka bersembahjang djum'at?

— Soal 90 djuta hanja menurut statistik bumiawi jang ngawur. Dalam tjatatan Abubakar disorga, mereka tak ada sedjuta jang betu² Islam!

— Aneh. Gilakah mereka?

— Tidak, hanja berubah ingatan. Kini mereka akan menghanturkan negara tetangga jang se-agama!

— Aneh!

— Memang aneh.

— Ajo Djibrail, segera kita tinggalkan tempat terkutuk ini. Aku terlalu rindu pada Medinah!

— Tidak inginkah paduka menjelidiki sebab² keanehan itu?

— Tidak, tidak ditempat ini! (Djawabnja getas.) Rentjana risetku di Kairo.

— Sesungguhnya padukakah nabi terachir, ja Muhammad?

— Seperti telah tersurat dikitab Allah. (Sahut nabi dengan rendah hati).

— Tapi bangsa dibawah sana telah menabikan orang lain lagi.

— Apa perduliku dengan nabi palsu!

— Umat paduka hampir takluk pada adjaran nabi palsu, Nasakom !

— Nasakom, djadi tempat inilah sumbernja. Kau bilang ummatku takluk, nonsense !! (Kegusaran mewarnai wadjahnja).

— Ja, Islam terantjam. Tidakkah paduka prihatin dan sedih? (terdengar suara iblis, disambut tertawa riuh rendah).

Nabi tengadah keatas.

— Sabda Allah tak akan kalah. Betapapun Islam, ia ada dan tetap ada, walau bumi hantjur sekalipun !

Suara nabi mengguntur dahsjat, menggema dibumi ; di-lembah², di-puntjak² gunung, di-kebun² karet dan ber-pusar² dilaut lepas.

Gaungnja terdengar sampai kesorga, disambut takzim utjapan serentak :

— Amien, amien, amien.

Neraka guntjang, iblis² gemetar menutup telinga. Guntur dan tjambuk petir ber-sahut²an.

— Baiklah. Mari kita berangkat ja Rasulollah !

Muhammad tak hendak berandjak dari awan tempatnja berdiri. Hatinja bimbang pedih dan dukatjita. Wadjahnja gelap, segelap langit mendung dikiri-kanannja.

Djibrail menatap penuh tanda-tanja, namun tak berani bertanja.

* * *

Musim hudjan belum datang² djuga. Di Djakarta banjak orang kedjangkitan influenza, pusing² dan muntah².

Naspro dan APC se-konjong² melondjak harga. Djangan dikata lagi pel vitamin C dan ampul penstrip.

Kata orang sedjak pabriknja diambil alih bangsa sendiri, agen² Naspro mati kutu. Hanya apotik² Tjina dan tukang² tjatut orang dalam leluasa njomoti djatah lewat djalan belakang.

Koran sore „Warta-Bhakti“ menulis : Di Bangkok 1000 orang mati kena flu, tapi terhadap flu Djakarta. Menteri Kesehatan bungkem.

Paginja Menteri Kesehatan jang tetap bungkem dipanggil menghadap Presiden alias PBR.

— Zeg, Djendral. Flu ini bikin mati orang apa tidak ?

— Tidak, pak.

— Djadi tidak berbahaja ?

— Tidak pak. Komunis jang berbahaja, pak !

— Ach, kamu. Komunisto-phobi, ja !

Namun, meski tak berbahaja flu Djakarta tak sependai pulisi²nja. Flu tak bisa disogok, serangannja membabi-buta tidak pandang

bulu. Mulai dari pengemis — pelatjur — Njonja Menteri — sampai Presiden diterdjang se-mena².

Pelajan² istana gejer, Menko² menarik muka sedih dan pilu, Panglima² terbalik petnja karena gugup menjaksikan sang PBR muntah² seperti perempuan bunting muda.

Sekedjap mata dokter² dikerahkan, kawat tilgram sibuk minta hubungan rahasia ke Peking.

— Mohon segera dikirim tabib² Tjina jang kesohor, Pemimpin Besar kami sakit keras. Mungkin sebentar lagi mati.

Kawan Mao disinggasananja tersenyum-senyum, dengan wadjah petuh welas-asih ia menghibur kawan seporos jang sedang sekratul-maut.

— Semoga lekas sembuh. Bersama ini rakjat Tjina mengutus beberapa tabib dan dukun untuk memeriksa penjakit saudara.

Terlampir obat kuat akar djinsom umur seribu tahun. Tanggung mandjur. Kawan nan setia : tertanda Mao (Pada tabib² dititipkan pula sedikit oleh² untuk Aidit).

Rupanja berkat chasiat obat kuat, sisakit ber-angsur² sembuh. Sebagai orang beragama tak lupa mengutjap sjukur pada Tuhan jang telah mengaruniai seorang sahabat sebaik kawan Mao.

Pesta diadakan. Tabib² Tjina dapat tempat duduk istimewa. Untuk sedjenak tuan rumah lupa agama, hidangan daging babi dan kodok idjo disikat tandas². Kyai² jang hadir ter-senyum² ketjuk.

— Saudara². Pers nekolim gambar-gembor, katanja Soekarno sedang sakit keras. Bahkan hampir mati katanja. (Hadirin tertawa. Menertawakan kebodohan nekolim). Wah, saudara². Mereka itu selak kemudu² melihat musuh besarnja mati. Kalau Soekarno mati mereka pikir Indonesia ini akan gampang mereka iles², mereka kuasai senanak udelnja sendiri, seperti negernja Tengku.

Padahal (menundjuk dada) lihat badan saja, saudara², Soekarno tetap segar-bugar. Soekarno belum mau mati, kataku (Tepuk tangan gegap gempita, tabib² Tjina tak mau ketinggalan). Insja Allah, saja belum mau menutup mata sebelum projek nekolim "Malaysia" hantjur lebur djadi debu. (Tepuk tangan lagi).

Atjara bebas dimulai. Dengan tulang²nja jang tja Presiden menari lenso bersama gadis² daerah Menteng spesial diundang.

Patih² dan menteri²nja tak mau kalah gaja. Tinggal hukubalang² tjemas melihat Panglima Tertinggi bertingkah seperti anak ketjil urung disumat.

Dokter pribadinja berbisik.

— Tak apa. Baik buat gindjahnja, biar kentjng batu PJM tidak kumat².

— Menjanji! Menjanji, dong pak! (Gadis² merengek).
— Baik, baik. Tapi kalian mengiringi, ja! (Bergaja burung onta).

Siapa bilang Bapak dari Blitar.
Bapak ini dari Prambanan.
Siapa bilang rakjat kita lapar.

"Malaysia" jang kelaparan

— Mari kita bergembira (Nada² sumbang bau champagne).

Disudut gelap istana tabib Tjina ber-bisik² dengan seorang Menteri.

— Gembira sekali nampaknja dia.

— Itu tandanja hampir mati.

— Mati??

— Ja, mati. Pating tidak lumpuh. Kawan Mao berpesan sudah tiba saatnja.

— Tapi kami belum siap.

— Kapan lagi? Djangan sampai keduluan kdik Nasution.

— Tunggu sadja tanggal mainnja!

— Nah, sampai ketemu lagi. (Tabib Tjina tersenyum puas).

Mereka berpisah.

Mendung makin tebal dilangit, bintang² bersinar guram satu². Pesta diakhiri dengan lagu langgam "Kembang-katjang" dibawakan nenek² kisut 68 tahun.

— Kawan lama Presiden! (Bisik orang²).

Kemudian tamu² permisi pamit, perut kenjangnja mendatului kaki² setengah temas; beberapa orang umumt² mabuk dihalaman parkir.

Sendawa mulut mereka berbau alkohol, sebentar² kyai² mengutip "alhamdulillah" setjara otomatis.

Menteri² pulang belakangan bersama gadis², tjani kamar-acwa. Pelajan² sibuk kumpulkan sisa² makanan buat oleh² anak-isteri di rumah.

Andjing² istana mendengkur kekenjangan — mabuk anggur Malaga. Pengemis-pengemis diluar pagar istana memandang kupa, cesaki nasib kenapa djadi manusia dan bukan andjing!

* * *

Desas-desus Soekarno hampir mati-lumpuh tjepat mendjalar dari mulut kemulut. Meluas seketika, seperti lontjatan api dikebakaran gubug² gelandangan diatas tanah milik Tjina.

Sampai djuga ketelings Muhammad dan Djibrail jang mengubah diri djadi sepasang burung-elang. Mereka bertengger dipuntjak menara emas bikinan pabrik Djepang. Pandangan kesekeliling begitu lepas-bebas.

— Allahuakbar, nabi-paku hampir mati. (Djibrail mengepakkan sajab).

— Tapi adjarannja tidak. Nasakom bahkan telah mengotori djiwa prad'urit-prad'urit. Telah mendarah-daging pada sebagian kyai²ku. (Mendengus kesal).

— Apa benar jang paduka risaukan?

— Kenapa kaupilih bentuk burung elang ini dan bukan manusia? Pasti kita akan dapat berbuat banjak untuk ummauku!

— Paduka harap ingat; di Djakarta setiap hidung harus punja kartu penduduk. Salah² kena garuk razia-gelandangan!

— Lebih baik sebagai Roh, bebas dan aman.

— Guna urusan bumi wadjib kita djadi sebagian dari bumi.

— Buat apa?

— Agar kebenaran tidak telanjang didepan kita.

— Tapi tetap diluar manusia?

— Ja, untuk mengikuti gerak hati dan pikiran manusia djustru sulit bila satu dengan mereka.

— Aku tahu!

— Dan dalam udjud jang sekarang mata kita tadjam. Gerak kita tjepat!

— Ach, ja. Kau betul, Tuhan memberkatimu Djibrail. Mari kita keliling lagi. Betapapun durhaka, kota ini mulai kutjintai.

Sepasang elang terbang diudara sendja Djakarta jang berdebu, menjesak dada dan hidung mereka asap kenapot dari beribu mobil.

Diatas pasar Senen tertjhum bau timbunan sampah menggunung, busuk dan mesum.

Kemesuman makin keras terbaw diatas Stasiun Senen. Peruh ragu Nabi hinggap diatas atap-seng, sementara Djibrail membuat lingkaran manis diatas gerbong² kereta Daerah Planet.

Pelatjur² dan sundal² asjik berdandan. Bedak² penutup bopeng, gintju² merah murahan dan pakaian² pengantin bermuntjul.

Dibawah-bawah gerbong, beberapa sundal tua mengerang — lagi palang merah — kena radja singa. Kemaluannja penuh borok, lalat² pesta menghisap nanah. Sendja terkapar meaurum, diganti malam ber-tebar bintang di sela² awan. Pemuda tanggung masuk kamar mandi berpagar sebatas dada, tjuji lendir. Meriusul perempuan gemuk penuh panu dipunggung, kentjing dan tjebok. Sekilas bau djengkol mengam-

bang. Ketiak berkeringat amoniak, hasil main akrobat dirandjang reot.

Dikamar lain, handot tua asjik main pompa diatas perut perempuan muda 15 tahun. Siperempuan tak ajah dihimpit, sibuk tjari tuma dan njanji lagu Melaju.

Hansip² repot mengontrol, tjari uang rokok.

— Apa jang Paduka renungkan ?

— Di negeri dengan Rakjat Islam terbesar, mereka begitu bebas berbuat tjabul ! (Menggelengkan kepala).

— Mungkin pengaruh ajaran Nasakom ! Sunda² djuga soko guru Revolusi, kata si Nabi palsu.

— Ai, binatang hina jang melata. Mereka harus dilempari batu sampai mati. Tidakkah Abubakar, Umar dan Usman teruskan perintahku pada kyai² disini ? Berdjina, alangkah kotor bangsa ini. Batu, mana batu ! !

— Batu² mahal disini. Satu kubik duraturupiah, sajang bila hanja untuk melempari pedjina². Lagipula

— Tjari disungai dan digumung² !

— Batu² seluruh dunia tak tjukup banjak guna melempari pedjina²-nja.

Untuk dirikan mesjidipun masih kekurangan, Paduka lihat ?

— Bagaimanapun tak bisa dibiarkan ! (Nabi merontak).

— Sunda² diperlukan dinegeri ini, ja Rasul.

— Astaga ! Sudahkah iblis menguasai dirimu Djibra² ?

— Tidak Paduka, hamba tetap sadar. Dengarlah penuturan hamba. Kelak akan lahir sebuah sadjak, begini bunjinja :

Polatjur² kota Djakarta
Naikkan taripmu dua kali
dan mereka akan kelabakan
mogoklah satu bulan
dan mereka akan pujeng
lalu mereka akan berdjina
dengan isteri saudaranya.

— Penjair gila ! Tjabul.

— Kenjataan jang bitjara. Ketjabulan terbuka dan murah djustru membendung ketjabulan latent di dada² mereka. (Muhammad membisu, wadjah muram durdja).

Didepan toko buku "Remadja" suasana meriak kemelut, ada tjopet tertangkap basah. Tukang² betjak mimpin orang-banjak menghadjarnja ramai². Sitjopet djatuh-bangun minta² ampun, meski hati geli menertawakan kebodohannya sendiri : hari naas, ja keliru ndjam-

bret dompet kosong milik Kopral sedang preman. Hari naas selalu berarti tindju², tendangan² separu dan tjatjian² tak menjenangkan baginja. Tapi ku rutin belaka. Pulisi² Senen tak atjuh melihat tontonan se-hari² : orang mengerojok orang sebagai kesenangan. Mendadak sosok badjuhidjau muntjul, menjelak ditengah. Sitjopet diseret keluar dibawa entah kemana.

Orang² merasa kehilangan mainan-kesajanganja, melongo.

— Dia djagoan Senen ; anak buah Sjafii, radja tjopet !

— Orang tadi menjuri, tidak ? (Pandangan Nabi penuh sedidik).

— Betul. Orang simi menjebutnja tjopet atau djambret.

— Kenapa mereka hanja pukuli srangan pandjang ? Mestinja dipotong tangan tjelaka itu ! Begitu perintah Tuhan kepadaku dulu.

— Mereka tak punja pedang, ja Rasul.

— Toch bisa di impor !

— Mereka perlu menghemat devisa. Impor pedang dibatasi untuk perhiasan kadet² Angkatan Laut.

— Lahu dengan apa bangsa ini berperang ?

— Dengan omong kosong dan bedil² utangan dari Rusia.

— Negara kapid itu ?

— Ja, sebagian lagi dari Amerika. Negara penjembah harta dan dollar.

— Sama djahat keduanja pasti !

— Sama baik dalam mengatjo dunia dengan kebentjan.

— Dunia sudah berobah gila ! (Mengeluh).

— Ja, dunia sudah tua !

— Padahal kiamat masih lama.

— Masih banjak waktu, ja Nabi !

— Banjak waktu untuk apa ?

— Untuk mengisi kesepian kita disorga.

— Betul, betul, sesungguhnya tontonan ini mengasjikkan, meski pun kotor. Akan ku usutkan dipasang T.V. di sorga.

Kedua elang terbang digelap malam.

— Djibra²l, tjoba lihat ! Ada orang ber-lari² andjing kesana, hatiku tiba² merasa tak enak.

— Hamba berperasaan sama. Mari kita ikuti dia, ja Muhammad.

Sebentar kemudiam diatas sebuah pohon pinang jang tinggi mereka bertengger. Mata tadjam mengawasi gerak-gerak orang berkatja mata.

— Siapa dia ? Mengapa begitu gembira ?

— Djendral² menamakannja Durno. Menteri Luar Negeri merangkap pentolan mata².

— Sebetulnja siapa menurut kamu ?
 — Dia hanja Togog. Begundal radja² angkara murka.
 — Sst, surat apa ditangannja itu ?
 — Dokumen.
 — Dokumen ?
 — Dokumen Gilchrist, hamba dengar tertjetjer di rumah Bill Palmer.

— Gilchrist ? Bill Palmer ? Kedengarannja seperti nama kuda !
 — Bukan, mereka orang² Inggris dan Amerika.
 — Ooh.

Dibawah sana si Togog melondjak² kegirangan. Sekali ini betul² makan-tangan, nemu djimat gratis. Kertas kumal mana ia yakin bakal bikin geger dunia. Tak henti² ditjiuminja djimat wasiat itu.

Angannja mengawang, tiba² senjum sendiri.

— Sedjarah akan mentjatat dengan tinta emas : sang Togog berhasil telandjangi komplotan satria² pengraman baginda radja.

Terbajang gegap-gempita pekik sorak rakjat-pangemis dilapangan Senajan.

— Hidup Togog, putra mahkota ! Hidup Togog, tjalon baginda kita !

Sekali lagi ia senjum² sendiri. Baginda tua hampir mati, radja muda Togog segera naik tachtta, begitu djendral² selesai dibikin mati kutunya.

Pintu markas BPI ditendang keras², tiga kali. Itu kode !

— Apa kabar, jang mulia Togog ?

— Bikin banjak² fotocopy dari dokumen ini ! Tapi awas, top-secret. Djangan sampai botjor kotangan dinas² intel lam. Lebih² intel AD.

— Tapi ini autentik apa tidak, pak Togog ? Pemeriksaan laboratoris ?

— Hah, banjak tjintjong kamu ! Djalankan perintah, habis perkara. Ngenti ! (Membentak).

— Baik, baik jang mulia. (Pura² ketakutan).

— Nah, kan begitu. BPI-Togog harus disiplin dan taat tanpa reserve pada saja, tanpa hitung² untung atau rugi. Semua demi revolusi jang belum selesai !

— Betul, pak ; eh, jang mulia.

— Djadi kapan selesai ?

— Seminggu lagi, pasti beres.

— Kenapa begitu lama ?

— Demi security, pak Begitu saja batja dari buku² komik-detektif.

— Bagus, kau radjin meng-up-grade diri. Soalnja begini, saja mesti lempar copy² itu depan hidung para panglima waktu briefing dengan PBR besok. Gimana ?

— Besok djuga bisa, asal uang lembur dimuka. (Membuat gerak menghitung uang dengan djari²nja).

Togog meluruskan seragam-dewanja. Dan gumpalan uang puharribu keluar dari kantong belakang. Sambil tertawa senang di-tepuk²nja punggung pembantunja.

— Diam ! diam ! Dokumen ini bakal bikin kalang-kabut nekolim dan antek²nja dalam negeri.

— Siapa mereka ?

— Siapa lagi ? Natuurlijk de zogenaamde "our local army friends". Djelas toch ?

Sepeninggal Togog djimat adjaib ganti berganti dibatja djim² liar atau setan² bodoh penjembah Dewa Mao nan agung. Mereka djadi penghuni markas BPI setjara gelap sedjak ber-tahun².

Sjahdan desas-desus makin laris seperti nasi murah. Rakjat djembel dan kakerlak² badju hidjau rakus berebutan, melahap tanpa mengunyah lagi.

— Soekarno hampir mati lumpuh ; djendral² kapbir mau coup, bukti² lengkap ditangan partai !

* * *

Sajang, ramalan dukun² Tjina sama sekali meleset. Soekarno tidak djadi lumpuh, pintjang sedikit tjuma. Dan pintjang tak pernah bikin orang mati. Tanda² kematian tak kundjung tampak, sebaliknya Soekarno makin tampak muda dan segar.

Kita orang dia banjak indjeksi H—3, obat pemulih tenaga kuda. Ketjewalah sang Togog melihat baginda radja makin radjin pidato, makin gemar menjanji, makin getol menari dan makin giat menggilir randjang isteri² jang entah berapa djumlahnja.

Hari itu PBR dan Togog ter-mangu² berdua di Bogor. Briefing dengan panglima² berachir dengan gandjalan² hati jang tak lampias.

— Djangan² dokumen itu palsu, hai Togog (PBR marah²).

— Ach, tak mungkin pak. Kata pembantu saja, djimat tulen.

— Tadinja sudah kau peladjar baik² ?

— Sudah pak. Pembantu² saja bilang, siang malam mereka putar otak dan bakar kemenjan.

— Djuga sudah ditanjakan pada dukun² klenik ?

— Lebih dari itu, djaidangkung bahkan memberi gambaran begitu pasti !

— Apa katanja ?

— Biasa, de bekendste op vrije voeten gesteld, altijd !
 — Ach, lagi² dia. Nasution sudah saja kebiri dengan embel² monokohankam-kasab. Dia tidak berbahaja lagi.
 — Ja, tapi djailangkung bilang CIA jang mendalangi "our local army friends".
 — Gilchrist toch orang Inggeris, kenapa CIA ditjampur-adukan?
 — Begini, pak. Mereka telah berkomplot. Semua gara² kita nuruti kawan Mao buka front baru dengan konfrontasi Malaysia.
 Dunia tahu, Hanoi bisa bernapas sekarang. Paman Ho agak bebas dari tekanan Amerika.
 — Kenapa begitu?
 — Formil kita berhadapan dengan Inggeris Malaysia. Sesungguhnya Amerika jang kita rugikan: mereka harus memetjah armadanya djadi dua. Sebagian tetap mengantjam RRT, lainnja mengantjam kita!
 — Mana lebih besar, jang mengantjam kita atau RRT? (Tjemas).
 — Kita. Itu sebabnja AD ogah²an mengganjang Malaysia. Mereka chawatir Amerika mendjamah negeri ini.
 Soekarno tunduk. Keterangan Togog membuatnja sadar telah ditipu mentah² oleh sahabat Tjmanja. Kendornja tekanan Amerika, berarti beaja pertahanan negeri Tjina dapat ditransfer keproduksi. Dan Indonesia jang terpentjil djadi kerandjang sampah raksasa buat tampung barang² rongsokan Tjina jang tak laku dipasaran.
 Kiriman bom atom — upah mengganjang Malaysia — tak ditepati oleh Chen-Yi jang dojan omong kosong. Tiba² PBR naik pitam.
 — Togog, panggil Duta Tjina kemari. Sekarang!
 — Sekarang tengah malam pak!
 — Pensean dengan tengah malam. Bawa serdadu² pengawal itu semua kalau kamu takut.
 Seperti maling kesiram air kentjeng Togog berangkat dimalam dingin kota Bogor. Angan² untuk serandjang dengan gundiknya jang di Tjabinong bujar. Dua jam kemudian digiring masuk seorang Tjina potongan pendjual bakso. Dia tjuma pakai pyuma, mulutnja berbau ang tju dan keringatnja berbau daging babi.
 — Ada apa malam² panggil saja? Ada redjeki, nah! (Duta Tjina itu sudah pinter ngomong Indonesia. Dan PBR serang pada kepintarannja).
 — Betul, kawan. Malam ini djuga kau harus pulang kenegeri kehuhur. Dan djangan kembali kemari sebelum dibekali oleh² dari Chen Yi. Ngerti toch?

— Buat apa bom atom, sih? (Duta Tjina menghafal kembali instruksi dari Peking). Tentaramu belum bisa merawatnja. Djangan² malah terbengkalai djadi besi tua dan didjual ke Djepang. Ach, sahabat Ketua Mao; lebih baik kaubentuk angkatan kolima. Bambu runtjing lebih tjotjok untuk rakjatmu.
 — Gimana ini, Togog?
 — Saja chawatir bambu runtjing lebih tjotjok untuk botjorkan isiperut Tjina² WNA disini. (Togog mendongkol).
 — Djelasnja? (Tanja PBR dan Duta Tjina serentak).
 — Amerika ngantjam kita gara² usul Pemerintah kamu supaja Malaysia diganjang. Ngerti, tidak? (Tjina itu mengangguk).
 Dan sampai sekarang Pemerintahmu tjuma njokong dengan omong kosong!
 — Kami tidak memaksa, bung! Kalau mau stop konfrontasi, silahkan.
 — Tak mungkin! (PBR meradang). Betul of tidak, Gog?
 — Akor, pak! Konfrontasi mesti djalan terus. Saja djadi punja alasan berbuat nekad.
 — Nekad bagaimana? (Tjina menjipitkan matanja jang sudah sipit).
 — Begitu Amerika mendarat, akan saja perintahkan potong leher semua Tjina² WNA. (Menggertak).
 — Ach, djangan begitu kawan Hadji Togog. Anda kan orang beragama!
 — Masa bodoh. Ketjuali kalau itu bom segera disirim.
 — Baik, baik. Malam ini saja berangkat.
 PBR mau tak mau kagum akan ketihaian si Togog. Meroka berangkul²an.
 — Kau memang Menteri Luar Negeri terbaik didunia.
 — Tapi Yani djendral terbaik kata bapak kemarin.
 — Memang, ada apa rupanja? Apa dia ogah²an djuga ganjang Malaysia?
 — Maaf PJM, hal ini kurang djelas. Faktanja keadaan berlaru² hanja menguntungkan RRT.
 — Yani ragu²?
 — Begitulah. Sebab PKI ikut djadi sponsor pengganjangan. Sedangkan mayoritas AD anggap aksi ini tak punja dasar.
 — Lahu CIA dengan "our local army friends"-nja mau apa?
 — Konfrontasi harus mereka hentikan. Tjaranja mana kita bisa tobak? Mungkin tjoba² menybudjuk dulu lewat utusan diplomat penting. Kalau gagal, tjara chas CIA akan mereka pakai.
 — Bagaimana itu?

— Unsur² penting dalam konfrontasi akan disingkirkan. Soekarno-Subandrio-Yani dan PKI harus lenjap!

Sang PBR meng-angguk², karena ngantuk dan setuju pada analisis buatan Togog.

Hari berikutnya berkitjaulah Togog depan rakjat djembel jang haus sensasi. Seperti pendjual obat pinggir jalan, ia sering lupa mana propaganda djiplakan dan mana hasil gubahan sendiri.

— Saudara². Disaat ini ada bukti² lengkap datangan PJM Presiden/PBR tentang usaha Nekolim untuk mengharjurkan kita. CIA telah mengomando barisan algodjonja jang bertjokol dalam negeri untuk menjingkirkan musuh² besarnya. Waspadalah saudara², Soekarno-Subandrio-Yani dan rakjat progresif-revolusioner lainnya akan mereka musnahkan dari muka bumi. Tiga orang ini djustru dianggap paling berbahaya untuk madjikan² mereka di London dan Washington.

Tapi djangan gentar, saudara². Saja sendiri tidak takut, demi Presiden/PBR dan demy revolusi jang belum selesai. Saja rela berkorban jiwa raga. Sekali lagi, tetapliah waspada. Sebab algodjo² tadi ada diantara saudara².

Rakjat bersorak kegirangan. Bangga punya Waperdam berkaliber Togog jang tidak gentar mati. Sedjenak mereka lupa perut² lapar, ditukar dengan kegemasan dan geram me-luap² atas kekurang-adjaran nekolim.

Rapat diachiri dengan membakar orang²an berbentuk Tengku sambil me-nari². Bendera² Inggeris dan Amerika jang susah pajah didjahit perempuan² mereka dirumah, di indjak² dan di robek² penuh rasa kemenangan dan kepuasan luar biasa.

Setelah bosan mereka bubar satu². Tinggal pemuda²nja jang melotot kesana kemari, bergaja tukang tjopet. Mereka ingin mentjari tahu algodjo² nekolim jang dikatakan Togog barusan.

Di Harmoni segerombolan tukang betjak asjik kasak-kusuk, bitjara politik. Kalau di Rusia Lenin bilang koki djuga mesti melek politik, di Djakarta tukang² betjak djuga kerandjangan ngomong politik.

— Katanja Dewan Djendral mau coup. Sekarang Yani mau dibunuh, mana jang benar?

— Dewan Djendral siapa pemimpinnja?

— Pak Yani, tentu.

— Djadi Yani akan bunuh Yani. Gimana, nih?

— Ala, sudahlah. Kamu tahu apa. (Suara sember).

— Untung Menteri Luar Negeri kita djago. Rentjana nekolim bisa dibotjorin.

— Dia nggak takut mati!

— Tentu sadja, kapan dia sudah puas hidup. Berapa perawan dia ganjang! (Suara sember menjela lagi).

Jang lain² tidak heran atau marah. Seakan sudah djamak Menteri ngganjangi perawan dan isteri orang.

Pengganjangan Malaysia jang makin ber-tele² segera dilaporkan PBR ke Peking.

— Kawan seporos. Harap bom atom segera dipaketkan, djangan di tunda². Tentara kami sudah mogok berperang; djendral² asjik ngobjek tjari redjeki dan pradjurit² sibuk ngomprens serta nodong.

Djawaban dari Peking tak kundjung datang. Jang datang membandjir hanja tekstil, korek api, senter, sandal, pepsoden, tusuk gigi dan barang² lain bikinan Tjina.

Soekarno tiba² kedjatuhan ilham akan pentingnja berdiri diatas kaki sendiri.

Rakjat jang sudah lapar dimarahi habis²an karena tak mau makan lain ketjuali beras.

— Padahal saudara². Saja tahu banjak sekatu makanan bervitamin selain beras. Ubi, djagung, singkong, tikus, bekitjot, dan bahkan kadal djustru obat eksim jang paling mandjur.

Saja sendiri dikira makan nasi tiap hari? Tidak! PBR mu ini tjuma kadang² makan nasi sekali sehari. Bahkan sudah sebulan ini tidak makan daging. Tanja sadja djendral Saboer!

"Itu Pak Leimena disana (menundjuk seorang jang kurus kering), dia lebih suka makan sagu dari pada nasi. Lihat Pak Seda bertubuh tegap (menundjuk seorang bertubuh kukuh mirip tukang betjak). dia tak bisa kendja kalau belum sarapan djagung."

Paginja ramai² koran. membuat daftar menteri² jang makan djagung. Lengkap dengan potretnja sekali.

Sajang rakjat sudah tidak pertjaja lagi, mereka lebih pertjaja pada pelajan² Istana. Makan pagi Soekarno memang bukan nasi, tapi roti panggang bikinan koki Perantjis di H.I. Guna mentjegah darah tingginja kumat, dia memang tak makan daging. Terpaksa hanja telur goreng setengah matang ditjampur sedikit madu pesanan dari Arab sebagai pengiming roti. Menjusul buah apel kiriman Kosygin dari Moskow.

Namun rakjat tidak heran atau marah. Seakan sudah djamak seorang Presiden harus bohong dan buka mulut seenalnja.

Rakjat Indonesia rata² memang pemaaf serta baik hati. Kebohongan dan kesalahan Pemimpin selalu disambut dengan dada lapang.

Hati mereka bagai mentari, betapapun langit makin mendung, sinarnja tetap ingin menjentuh bumi.

Sastra Th. VI No. 8, Agustus 1968.

GLOSSARY

(daftar kata-kata sukar yang terdapat dalam cerpen langit makin mendung, dari awal hingga akhir.

- Turbu = turun bawah, mengadakan lawatan dikalangan rakyat.
 Sowan = angsa, maksudnya disini perjalanan Nabi ke sorga.
 Mambu = berbau, busuk.
 Nasakom = Formula politik Sukarno, gabungan saham Nasional, Agama, dan Komunis.
 Lnak = barang-barang yang sudah dipakai, barang-barang bekas.
 Botes = pembantu2 polis
 Hansip = pasukan pertahanan awam.
 Sok = gemar
 Iseng = berbuat sesuatu asal jangan mendiamkan diri saja.
 Disogok = diberi rasuah.
 Pinisepuh = asal usul turunan
 Tuhjukan = tubruk, langgar, berlanggar, eksiden.
 H.H. = huta huruf
 Sodomah dan Gomorah = dua kota di Palestina zaman purbakala, terkenal karena penduduknya cabul dan rusak akhlak, dan karena kejahatan-kejahatan itu maka Tuhan hancurkan kedua-dua kota ini.
 Sukwan = ringkasan dari Sukarelawan.
 Sukwati = ringkasan dari Sukarelawati
 Ngawur = tak tentu arah.
 Getas = tegas.
 Prihatin = sedih oleh sesuatu.
 Apotik = Kedai penjual obat.
 Chatut = pasar gelap, orang berjual-beli di pasar gelap.
 Nyomoti = mengambil chara tak halal.
 Jatah = jumlah yang ditentukan.
 Koran = surat-kabar.
 Nore = petang.
 Bungkem = mendiamkan mulut.
 PBR = Ringkasan Pemimpin Besar Revolusi, gelar yang diberikan oleh rakyat Indonesia kepada Sukarno, usul dari Chairul Saleh.
 Phobi = Benchi atau sakit hati kepada sesuatu, takut kepada suatu.
 Menko = Ringkasan dari Menteri Koordinator.
 Pet = topi uniform.
 Kesohor = termasyhur.
 Welas-arih = belas kasihan
 Manjur = mujarrab.
 Kodok ijo = katak hijau
 Tandas-tandas = habir kikis
 Nekolim = Ringkasan dari Neo Kolonialism, istilah yang dicipta oleh Jeneral M. Yani waktu terjadi Konfrontasi antara Indonesia dan Malaysia.
 Kemudu2 = terkulat-kulat
 Gampang = mudah.
 Hles2 = ules, warnai, corakkan menurut sukanya.

- Udel = selera
 Spesial = khas
 PJM = Paduka Yang Mulia.
 Keduluan = didahului.
 Klik = golongan sefaham.
 Parkir = tempat letak kereta.
 Gubug = guhuk, pondok buruk.
 Razia = serhuan untuk melakukan penangkapan ramai-ramai.
 Kenalpot = cherobong asap kereta.
 Mobil = motokar
 Tanggung = alang-kepalang.
 Jengkol = jering.
 Itanjang = katil.
 Sokoguru = tiang seri, tiang tengah.
 Tarip = harga, harga yang ditentukan.
 Kelabakan = bingung, menggelepar.
 Puyeng = pening kepala.
 Latent = diam, bersembunyi, sesuatu yang tersembunyi diam-diam
 Copet = seluk aku, penyeluk aku.
 Jambret = ragut, menarik dengan paksa.
 Begunda = abdi, kaki-tangan, mata-mata musuh.
 Gratis = percuma.
 BPI = Badan Pusat Inteligent.
 Intel = inteligent.
 AD = ringkasan dari Angkatan Darat.
 Cingcong = cerewet.
 Kapbir = ringkasan dari Kapitalis Birokrasi.
 Getol = rajin.
 Jailangkong = permainan dukun memanggil roh atau orang halus.
 Embel-embel = menambahi sesuatu yang kurang.
 Ogah = enggan.
 Buyar = berkecai.
 Bakso = mi siam, bihun.
 WNA = ringkasan dari warga negara asing.
 Waperdam = Wakil perdana menteri.
 Keranjingan = sangat gemar.
 Sember, = serak, pecah, garau.
 Ngobjek = cari sasaran untuk diperas.
 Ngompreng = makan percuma
 Nodong = merompak dengan ancaman senjata api.
 Senter = lampu suluh.
 Singkong = ubi kayu.
 Bekicot = sesumpah
 Kadal = Mengkarung.
 Kumat = bentan, kambuh, sakit kembali.
 H.I. = ringkasan dari Hotel Indonesia.
 Petisi = Petition, surat permohonan.

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