

Representation of Political Tragedy in *Cerita Cinta Enrico* by Ayu Utami

Asmawati, Yasnur Asri
STKIP YDB Lubuk Alung, FBS Universitas Negeri Padang
Asmawati715@gmail.com

Abstract- The aim of this study was to describe the political tragedy which becomes the background of the novel *Cerita Cinta Enrico* by Ayu Utami. This research used interpretative qualitative method and applied New Historicism approach. The data were in the form of words, phrases, sentences, and story units contained in Ayu Utami's novel *Cerita Cinta Enrico*. Based on the result of analysis, there are two tragedy politics that is found in this study. First is tragedy of PRRI (The Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia) happened in the era of old order government; Second is demonstration conducted by Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB) that rejected the nomination of President Soeharto that occurred during the New Order era. PRRI tragedy was carried out by the armed forces triggered by the inequality of development between the central and regional. Meanwhile, the demonstration tragedy was performed by the students (intellectuals) triggered by authoritarian New Order government, then they are led back by the authoritarian and corrupt President Soeharto. The findings suggested to the next researcher to examine the representation political tragedy in other Indonesian novels, therefore, the result of this research can be formulated in the form of political tragedy represented in Indonesian literature from the perspective of New Historicism.

Keywords- representation, political tragedy, and novel

I. INTRODUCTION

There are some reasons why representation political tragedy is important to examine in Ayu Utami's novel *Cerita Cinta Enrico*. First, tragedy or political event is one of the inspirations for writers to be served as a setting in their works. There are many Indonesian writers have raised tragedy or political event as the basis of the facts of the story, including Ayu Utami. Based on preliminary research, Ayu Utami's tendency is to make political event as the background of her story. For example, in novel *Larung*, Ayu Utami chose the tragedy of 30 September 1965 as the motive of the story, as well as in the novel *Manjali* and *Cakrabirawa*. Therefore, in the novel *Cerita Cinta Enrico* is assumed based on political event. This assumption is reinforced by Damono's perspective (1989, p. 1-2). This perspective states that literature never falls from the sky but is always in contact with the writers and the community who gave birth to it. For writers, the events or political tragedies can be a source of inspiration for their works. Therefore, in literature, we know the existence of the term novel history or political novels.

In this case, the political tragedy refers to events, figures, acts, thoughts, and words that have happened in the past. This political tragedy is known as long-lasting phenomenon, but in limited space (Kuntowijoyo, 2005, p. 5). Political tragedy as the history fact is diachronic science. According to Kuntowijoyo (2008, p. 10) the political tragedy must be supported by authentic, reliable and completed data. With the limited space, the political tragedies can be discussed various growth and development of problems, including political history, family history, intellectual history, history of morality and others.

In the context of literature perspective, the relationship between literature and political tragedy has long been the concern of literary scientists. The appearance of various approaches in literary studies, including literary sociology, comparative literary and new historicism, attempting to understand is the evidence the relationship between literature and political tragedy.

Second, the process of creating literary works has never been detached from the historical social conditions of the society that gave birth of it. Literary works is written by authors, who are the member of the society, based on the condition of reality that occurs in society. Literary works were born as recorders, documents, even evaluate the reality that occurred in society. It is similar with the creation of novel *Cerita Cinta Enrico* by Ayu Utami. This novel is published in 2012. *Cerita Cinta Enrico* has the correlation political event that happened in Indonesia before.

The relationship between literary works and reality that occurs in society, show us that to understand literary works needed a study involving the relationship between literary works and the aspects of society. By understanding literary works in relation to the social reality, culture, and political realities that occurs in society. Therefore, literary readers will rediscover the reality of political history that is described in literary works. In this case, the reality of political history, especially related to the past events, not only found in the historical text but also in literary work, such as novel.

Third, political tragedy that is represented in novel *Cerita Cinta Enrico* by Ayu Utami is analyzed using New Historicism approach. According to Melani Budianta (2006, p. 3) literary work, in New Historicism perspective cannot be separated from social, economy and politics praxis for taking part in it. Then, Budianta (2006, p. 4) explained that in his work of New Historicism, literature is not only seen as the mirror which transparently and passively reflects the culture of society, but literature also builds, articulates and reproduced convection, norm, and the value of culture through verbal act and creative imagination. New Historicism views the history or the world referred by literary work as more than just coherent and unified background that is transparently assessable. The historical reality is no singular and absolute anymore, however contained of contradictions, fragments, plurality and diversity. Therefore, the relationship between history and literature is an inter-textual link between various text (fiction and factual) that is produced at the same or different time periods.

Then, in the practice study, according to Barry (2010, p. 12) new historicism put literary texts within the framework of non-literary texts. The historical documents are not subordinated as context, but are analyzed as separate text and called as co-texts, not contexts. Texts and co-texts that will be showed as expressing the same historical moment and interpreted based on those term. This is different from sociology of literature that tends to place historical documents as the context which becomes the background of literary works.

Based on three considerations, the focus of this research is on political tragedy that is represented in the novel *Cerita Cinta Enrico* by Ayu Utami. In Ayu Utami's novel represented the historical fact of political life that has occurred in Indonesia. The main problem that has to be answered in this study is what is the political tragedy that is represented by Ayu Utami in novel *Cerita Cinta Enrico* (hereafter in CCE)?

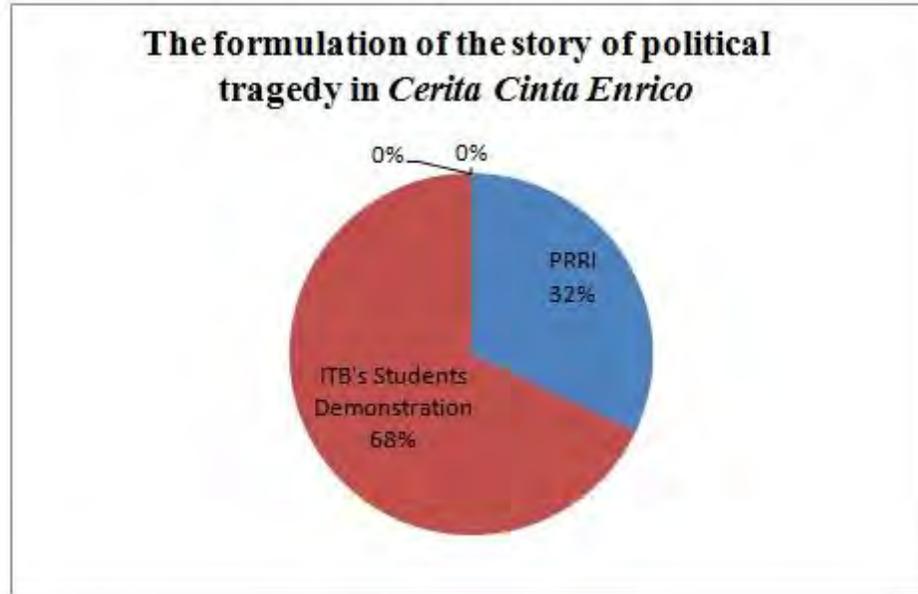
II. METHODS

The method used to investigate the representation of political tragedy in novel *Cinta Enrico* by Ayu Utami was research method qualitative interpretative with approach parallel reading between literary text which represent historical event of political tragedy (fiction reality) and historical text of political tragedy (objective reality) representing the same event. The source of the data in this study was novel *Cerita Cinta Enrico* (2012) and history books of Indonesia that talks about relevant political history event with said political tragedy. The data in this study were in the form of words, phrases, sentences and a unit of story taken from the novel that becomes research object, which contains any information related to problems of the research. The data were noted on data cards and put into classification in accordance with the related research problems. Next, the data were analyzed with descriptive qualitative technique through categorization act, tabulation, and inference. Categorization is used to group data based on already decided category. Tabulation is used to conclude overall data in the form of table. Inference is used to interpret and conclude the result of the research accordingly to the problems of the research. In this study, inference is based on the theoretical background and new historicism approach, with steps as follow. First, understanding the historical phenomena in the literary work and the history text, second; focusing attention to the text whether the literary work or the history text on issue regarding nation's power and continue it, on patriarchy and its conservation, and on colonization process with "mind-set" that follows it, and third; using the way of poststructuralist thinking, by understanding every aspect of reality included in texts (in Derrida's concept) and social structure decided by dominant „discursive practice“ (in Foucault's concept) (Barry, 2010, p. 209).

III. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Based on the data analysis, there are two political tragedies that are represented in novel *Cerita Cinta Enrico* by Ayu Utami. Both of these tragedies are: First, tragedy of revolutionary government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI) that happened in Padang on February 15, 1958. This tragedy is represented by author through the figure Enrico (Prasetya Riska). Enrico was born as the only child of a soldier involved in PRRI on February 15, 1958 in Padang. Second, the tragedy of ITB's students demonstration in 1978. This tragedy is represented by Ayu Utami through the event when Enrico (Prasetya Riska) as the student of ITB become a part of student who demonstrated and the publication of 1978 student white book that rejected the re-elevation of Soeharto as the President of Indonesia. The demonstration of ITB's students as the second tragedy is more discussed in this novel as the formulation story. The first tragedy formulation only used by author for described the background of main character (Enrico). The part of PRRI tragedy is found 32 %, meanwhile the part of the ITB's students demonstration tragedy is found 68%. For more details, the formulation story of political tragedy that is represented in this novel can be described in this diagram below:

Diagram 1. Formulation of Political Tragedy in *Cerita Cinta Enrico*



In the beginning, Ayu Utami tells about the birth of Enrico who born on the day of PRRI rebellion, as the statement below:

Bentukku meramalkan bentuk revolusi bagi ayahku. Sebuah Revolusi dengan kaki-kaki kurus. Ya, sebuah pemberontakan Yang lahir pada tanggal 15 Februari 1958 di Padang adalah Pemberontakan berkaki kurus. Saat dokter dan perawat telah Meninggalkan mereka berdua, Irsad mengajak istrinya Bicara mengenai hal itu. "Kamu sudah dengar? Revolusi Sudah diumumkan." Istrinya mengangguk lemah.

....

Esoknya aku dibawa masuk ke belantara Sumatra. Aku Menjadi bayi gerilya. (CCE, data no. 4)

As we know through the history of Indonesia that the PRRI rebellion can ultimately be foiled by Colonel Ahmad Yani's army. The colonels of Ahmad Yani's army are federation of military operation between AD, AL, and AU, which is named operation august 17 (Kartodirdjo, et al., 1995, p. 99).

Sekarang marilah kita bayang kanapa yang terjadi di pulau Jawa. Ketika Kolonel Ahmad Yani (yang kelak menjadi "Pahlawan Revolusi") memimpin pasukan untuk Menghancurkan pemberontakan PRRI dalam operasi yang Dinamakan Operasi 17 Agustus, seluruh keluarga ayah dan ibuku gejer.... (CCE, data no. 5)

Enrico's father, LetdaIrsad is described as the member of Achmad Hussein's troops. Because of the PRRI movement is considered as a rebel, Then, Enrico who just have been born must follow his guerilla parent in the forest and be chased by the Operation team of 17 Agustus.

Letda Irsad barbaris bersama seluruh gerilyawan, yang pada hari itu tidak bisa lagi menyebut diri mereka pasukan revolusi. Mereka adalah pasukan pemberontak, seperti nama yang diberikan Jawa kepada mereka. Revolusi berkaki kurus itu telah sepenuhnya menjadi pemberontakan setengah hati. Irsad tetap mencoba berdiri dengan sikap tegap seutuhnya, dengan kehormatan penuh, meskipun hatinya hancur ketika perwira pasukan Yani melucuti tanda pangkatnya.... (CCE, data no. 7)

The PRRI rebellion in the novel *Cerita Cinta Enrico* was used by Ayu Utami to tell the birth of Enrico. Yamin (2009, p. 1) states that the appearance of the revolutionary government of Republic of Indonesia (PRRI) as an accumulation of people's disappointment in the region against the central government in Jakarta. The disappointed caused by the centralization of power and the emergence of development gaps in all fields between centers and regions, the development in region especially in central Sumatera. PRRI was proclaimed by Ahmad Husein in Padang on February 15, 1958 and received support from *Perjuangan Semesta* (PERMESTA) in Sulawesi. A number of national figures, both civilian and military also gave a supported and they joined PRRI in West Sumatera, including M. Natsir, Syafruddin Prawiranegara, Burhanudin Harahap, M. Syafe'i, Colonel Dahlan Djambek, Colonel Mauludin Simbolon and Lieutenant colonel Ahmad Husein (Zed, 2001, p. 274).

The struggle of PRRI is regarded as a rebellion that has been crushed by the Indonesian government. The background of PRRI is because the disillusionment of the uneven centralization of power and development. Because of that, the novel *Cerita Cinta Enrico* has a meaning that the people in region, who are led by the fighter that is lived in that area, will not remain silent with the injustice in carrying out regional development.

The historical events that related with Revolutionary Government of Republic of Indonesia (PRRI/ Permesta) in novel *Cerita Cinta Enrico* is used to describe the birth of main character (Enrico). Enrico as a son of a soldier who was born at the same time with that rebellion on February 15, 1958 in Padang.

The event of Revolutionary Government of Republic of Indonesia (PRRI) formed from the formation of the Banteng Council in West Sumatera by Akhmad Husein on February 10, 1958. This council stated that the ultimatum in the central government said that Djuanda Cabinet must resign within in 5x 24 hours. The Djuanda Cabinet is formed on April 9, 1957 as Cabinet Zaken. This Cabinet Zaken has a job to face upheaval in the region, the struggle to restore Irian Jaya into Indonesian territory, and also had to face the state of bad financial economy, declining foreign exchange and low export figures, with five programs (1) establishing the National Council, (2) normalizing the Republican state, (3) facilitating the cancellation of the KMB, (4) the West Irian struggle, and (5) enhancing the development (Kartodirdjo et al, 1995, p. 99-100). Receiving the ultimatum the government acted decisively by dismissing the disrespectful Akhmad Hussein, Simbolon, Zulkifli Lubis, and Dahlan Djambek who were regarded as the leader of separatist movement. Next, on February 15, 1958 Akmad Husein proclaimed the Revolutionary Government of Republic of Indonesia (PRRI) with Syafruddin Prawiranegara as the Prime Minister, followed by establishment of the *Permesta* movement in Palu (Central of Sulawesi) to Manado (North Sulawesi). However, both of these movements were destroyed by Central government through operations 17 August in 1958 (Kartodirdjo et al, 1995, p. 99-100).

Political tragedy about ITB's student demonstration and the publication of the student white book in 1978 that rejected President Soeharto's reappointment was a political tragedy that occurred during New Order era. In this novel told that after graduation from High School in Padang, Enrico continue his study in ITB (Bandung Institute of Technology) in 1977. On January 16, 1978, Enrico and other students held a demonstration to reject the reappointment of Soeharto as the President. As stated below:

Pada pagi harinya, mahasiswa telah memasang kain merah Besar bertuliskan "Dewan Mahasiswa ITB tak menginginkan Saudara Soeharto terpilih kembali sebagai Presiden RI". Spanduk menyala itu dibentangkan untuk menyambut Sidang Umum MRP 1978, yang sudah pasti akan memilih Jenderal Soeharto lagi.

Kami tahu bendera itu akan segera diturunkan Beberapa menit saja setelah dipasang. Tapi tidak apa, toh Pernyataan itu akan menjadi berita. Media akan memuatnya dan seluruh Indonesia akan menjadi tahu bahwa tidak semua orang ingin dia menjadi pemimpin lagi. Seluruh Indonesia akan jadi tahu bahwa ada yang berani bersuara. Tapi kami tidak terlalu menduga bahwa pembalasannya akan seperti ini.

Aku tiba di kampus ketika spanduk itu sudah direnggut. Mahasiswa mengadakan rapat dan dalam rapat itu ada yang Nyampaikan berita bahwa kampus akan diduduki tentara. Bukan polisi, melainkan Angkatan Darat – yang paling berkuasa di antara angkatan lain....

Apapun kami memutuskan untuk mempertahankan kampus.

*Dengan cara berbaring di jalan di pintu masuk. Lewati dulu
Mayat kami sebelum kau kuasai ITB. Jika panser itu
memaksa, mereka akan masuk dengan melindas mati
mahasiswa. Kami akan jadi tameng hidup, bukan hanya bagi
kampus ITB. Kampus itu kini adalah simbol akal sehat,
lambang ketidaktundukan pada kekuasaan yang telah korup.
Aku tak berpikir ulang. Tak ada satu pun di antara kami
Yang berpikir ulang. Sebab kami memperjuangkan cita-cita
luhur.
Aku terbaring di lapisan kedua. Di lapisan terluar
Barang kali adalah aktivis mahasiswa yang lebih senior.
Yang lebih ke dalam adalah mahasiswa yang selama ini tidak
menjadi aktivis kampus dan para mahasiswi... (CCE, data 53)*

The objective reality of this story can be searched through <http://km.itb.ac.id/site/?p=102>) that told the travel record of ITB's student activities. Based on the record of ITB's student activities, there are four notes that are described. First, the tragedy note on January 16, 1978, a ceremony was held along 2000 ITB's students led by the General Chairman Heri Akhmadi declared „Unbelief and Reject Soeharto as President of Republic Indonesia. Publishing the white book of student struggle in 1978. The producing of this book was led by Rizal Ramli, the Chairman of the Student Council. The Publishing of this white book was supported by some campus intellectual such as Prof. Iskandar Alisjahbana (Rector of ITB) and Prof. Slamet Iman Santoso (former dean Faculty of Psychology UI).

Second, the note of tragedy on January 21 and February 9 1978. The college were raided twice and occupied by military for 6 month. The old students is gathered on basketball court and expelled. Only the 78 undergraduates that are allowed to attend the class. Rector of ITB, Prof. Iskandar. Laksusda is killed in his house in West Java. Therefore, Heri Akhmadi, Rizal Ramli, Indro Tjahjono, Al Hilal Hamdi, and Ramles Manampang Silalahi are the suspect of this accident and imprisoned. Normalization of college life is enforced, DM in Indonesia is dissolved, and the government proposes the concept of SMPT (College Student Senate) as the substitute Student Council, however the concept is declined because of overpowering the government intervention and campus bureaucracy in the organization.

Third, the record of the tragedy in 1979 is the establishment of *Badan Koordinasi Kemahasiswaan* (BKK). This organization as the operational of NKK policy addressed by rejecting of ITB students. As a result, this organization is not running well.

Fourth, tragedy record in 1978 to 1982 that contained of strong pressure from Rector. The rector wants to dissolve DM with a threatening letter of DO for each elected Chairman. The Blue book is published as continuation to the publication of the white book.

In New Historicism perspective, the political tragedy in the novel *Cerita Cinta Enrico* by Ayu Utami is represented to ask the historical truth that happened in Indonesia. New historicism examined each reality that is in the text and social structure determined by the dominant „discursive practice“. Therefore, it must be questioned again the truth.

From the two of political tragedy that is told by Ayu Utami in her novel, it shows that the tragedy was perpetrated by an intellectual or pro-democracy educated group. In the official history of the government version (both the Old Order and New Order governments), these group were labeled as rebels who disrupted the order and security of the state. Because of that, these groups must be dismissed, its existence is prohibited. The suspects must be arrested and punished. Through this novel, these events are given space and a voice to acknowledge its existence, not as an insurgent party to disturb order and peace, but as a party that strives to end authoritarian and injustice. The PPRI tragedy as the example, this tragedy is triggered by the view of armed forces that were disappointed with central government centralization and inequality development. Likewise, the student's demonstration tragedy was triggered by authoritarian New Order government, so that they were re-enacted by the authoritarian and corrupt President Soeharto.

In New Historicism point of view, both of political tragedy destruction (PRRI and ITB's student demonstration tragedy) in novel *Cerita Cinta Enrico* its present the question of historical truth that has been recorded before. The Old Order government that was unfair in carrying out development between the regions and the center, the New Order was considered to have excessive repression in handling the demonstration of ITB's students. In 1978 that refused Suharto's reappointment as a President.

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the findings and discussion above, it can be concluded that the novel *Cerita Cinta Enrico* by Ayu Utami represent two political tragedy, they are PRRI tragedy that happened in the era of old order government and the tragedy of ITB's students demonstration who reject the candidacy of President Soeharto that happened in the era of new order government. PRRI tragedy is done an armed company triggered by the inequality development between central and regional. Meanwhile the demonstration tragedy done by Students (the intellectuals) triggered by the authoritarian government of new order, therefore they to be lead again by President Soeharto who is authoritarian and corrupt. Based on these findings it can be suggested that to researchers to make a continual study of other novels by Indonesia writers, thus from the results of those studies it can be formulated kinds of political tragedy that becomes the background in writing such novels.

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