

## Romance during the Revolution in Surabaya and Its Surrounding Areas

### (Romansa Pada Masa Revolusi di Kota Surabaya Sekitarnya)

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#### Abstrak

Artikel ini membahas aspek romantisme kehidupan sosial pada masa revolusi di Kota Surabaya dan sekitarnya. Pascapertempuran November 1945, istilah “aksi polisionil” menjadi sangat populer ketika Belanda pada 1947 dan 1948 melakukan berbagai tindakan kekerasan fisik. Aksi ini telah menjadi bagian penting revolusi dan kenangan kolektif masyarakat Surabaya. Ketika peristiwa tersebut terjadi, beberapa kota di Jawa Timur juga menjadi daerah pengungsian dan basis gerilya milisi dan pejuang, termasuk Mojokerto dan Malang, serta kota-kota lainnya. Tidak dapat dipungkiri bahwa masyarakat di wilayah tersebut juga turut terlibat dalam pergolakan tersebut. Penelitian ini bertujuan menjelaskan bahwa pada masa revolusi masih terdapat kasus-kasus yang belum terungkap mengenai masalah seksual. Di sisi lain, kehidupan prajurit dan pejuang juga berkaitan dengan urusan percintaan dan pernikahan, yang menjadi perhatian khusus pada saat perang, darurat, atau normal. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode sejarah, yaitu pelacakan sumber, verifikasi, kritik sumber, interpretasi dan historiografi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa perang dan seksualitas merupakan bagian yang tidak dapat dipisahkan dari perjuangan revolusioner dan kehidupan tentara yang terlibat dalam konflik. Berbagai kejadian terkait seks, gejolak, dan ketegangan telah terjadi di Jawa Timur pada umumnya dan Surabaya pada khususnya. Selain itu, korban sipil dan tahanan menjadi bukti adanya tindakan kekerasan sistematis yang dilakukan kedua belah pihak.

**Kata kunci:** revolusi, romansa, Surabaya

#### Abstract

This article discusses the romantic aspects of social life during revolutionary period in the city of Surabaya and its surroundings. After the battle of November 1945, the term “police action” became very popular when the Dutch in 1947 and 1948 carried out various acts of physical violence. This action has been a pivotal part of the revolution and the collective memory of the Surabaya people. While such incident occurred, several cities in East Java also became refugee areas and guerrilla bases for militias and fighters, including Mojokerto and Malang, as well as



other cities. It cannot be denied that the people of these regions were also involved in this upheaval. This research aims to explain that during the revolution there were cases that had not been revealed regarding sexual matters. On the other hand, the lives of soldiers and warriors are also related to matters of romance, love, and marriage, which are of special record in times of war, emergency or normal. The historical method were used in this research, which are tracking the sources, verification, source critique, interpretation and historiography. The results show that war and sexuality are inseparable parts of the revolutionary struggle, and the lives of soldiers involved in conflict. Various incidents related to sex, turmoil and tension have occurred in East Java in general and Surabaya in particular. In addition, civilian victims and prisoners are evidence of systematic acts of violence carried out by both sides.

**Keywords:** revolution, romance, Surabaya

## INTRODUCTION

East Java was the most violent and widely documented area of the Indonesian revolution. Half of these events occurred in the city of Surabaya. Interestingly, there are very few detailed records of the arrest and punishment of murder perpetrators. In many cases, military archives are mostly restricted, thus it creates problems and biases towards the balance of historical narratives (Frederick 2012). Meanwhile, the conflict and political turmoil in the city of Surabaya has been recorded as the arguably biggest events in the entire revolution. According to Sartono Kartodirdjo, the Indonesian revolution was a political process full of conflict between groups, mass rebellion against the existing order. In other words, Luttikhuis emphasized that there was authority from various elements over the actions and violence committed, including sexual matters (Kartodirdjo 1981; Luttikhuis 2018). Various actions aim to disrupt, break the opponent, and dominate the battlefield.

Sexual events in the revolution took place over a short period, including times of war emergency and normal conditions. Departing from the facts above, and aside of Luttikhuis' views regarding sexuality in the revolution, according to Sprecher (2018) sex specifically lies in interpersonal transactions, sexuality in the context of male and female relationships, sexual satisfaction, and the possibility of seeking sexual activity outside formal relationship.

Most people of Surabaya basically did not expect the war to break out. However, the arrival of the Allies, supported by the Dutch, was one of the factors to revive the spirit of revolution through acts of violence and clashes between indigenous groups and Europeans (Abdullah & Lopian 2012, 205). Initially, the Dutch with their organic KNIL Ambon soldiers fought with the Allies against Japan, then received additional Dutch prisoners of war who were remobilized (Cribb 2010, 96). Under the pretext of carrying out disarmament against Japan, Allied troops and Gurkhas landed at Tanjung Perak Harbour, Surabaya, accompanied by Dutch troops (Soewito 1995, 129). Starting from this fact, in several cases this resulted in physical acts of violence due to resistance from fighters in Surabaya.

In this situation, on 25 October 1945 (Colombijn 2014) 48 British army ships representing the Allies anchored in Surabaya with permission from Jakarta by the Minister of Information Amir Sjarifuddin from Jakarta. As explained, the duties of the British army including: (1) protecting and evacuating prisoners of war and internees; (2) disarm and repatriate Japanese troops; (3) maintaining public order and security. Even though disarmament had been carried out by all the people of Surabaya, and security and order problems were resolved by the police, TKR, PRI

and all the people of Surabaya, various events were volatile until the murder of Brigadier General Mallaby at the end of October 1945 (Harsutejo 2010, 47–48; Frederick 1989, 306).

These times were described by R. Soeatmadji in his memoir, one of the freedom fighters who worked as a doctor. In the context of preparatory efforts in Surabaya, they evacuated, expelled all prisoners, both Japanese and Dutch prisoners who were moved to Mojokerto, Jombang, Kediri, Malang, and other areas (Soeatmadji n.d.). The big battle in Surabaya on 10 November 1945 broke out as a form of anger from the British as a result of the death of Brigadier General Mallaby. This battle took place in the city streets with guerrilla war resistance by youth militias (Harsutejo 2010, 48). Many Indonesian victims were found scattered on the streets and alleys of urban Surabaya (Soekotjo 2018).

According to Soemarsono in Harsutejo (2010, 46), if the Dutch and British did not disturb the comfort of the city of Surabaya, the situation could improve towards the stabilization of an independent and sovereign country after the takeover of power from Japan. When Japan surrendered to the Allies, the position of Mayor was handed over to his deputy, Rajamin Nasution. However, its implementation was less effective due to unsupportive situations (Basundoro 2012, 45–49; Sarkawi 2010, 32–33). The completion of the Allied army's mission was marked by the withdrawal of the British from the city of Surabaya in early 1946, so that the city was controlled again by the Dutch colonial authorities. The formation of a Provisional Government (*Hoofd Tijdelijk Bestuur*) with the Head of Haminte Affairs (*Kantoor voor Bevolkings Zaken*) being C. J. C. Becht invited organizations in the city of Surabaya to form a temporary representative council for the city of Surabaya. After the appointment of Mayor Mr. Indrakoesoema was then replaced by Mr. Soerjadi until January 1950 (Sarkawi 2010, 32). This shift in power structure was caused by unstable social and political conditions.

## **METHOD**

The scientific method in history is basically divided into several stages. First is the heuristic method, namely collecting sources according to the theme of this study. By collecting data through searching archives and other documents. The second stage, criticism of the source through selection, as well as external and internal criticism with the aim of obtaining the validity of the source. Next, in the third stage, after source criticism, interpretation was carried out on various data about social and sexual lives of the people in Surabaya that had been selected, and ultimately it is manifested in the form of written works (Garraghan 1957). The data used in this research was based on existing data in Surabaya and Jakarta. Interviews with informants were done by involving three informants in Surabaya, who are the victim of sexual violence, a public kitchen activist, and the witness of the revolution in Surabaya. Moreover, some researches were taken from archives at government agencies, newspapers, and other sources.

Then, the data collection process was carried out through searching library materials for secondary data. The formulation of the research instrument included compiling interview controls and tracing newspaper sources that are relevant to the theme. The field research stage was carried out at the East Java Provincial Archives, Surabaya City Archives, National Library of the Republic of Indonesia, and search for informants as well as interviews. The data processing and analysis stage is a description to answer the problem. Paying close attention to the results of the interviews, mapped out sexual romance issues and then interpreted the collective memory data to be rewritten as evidence of the role played by society.

By trying to reconstruct historical traces systematically and objectively, through collecting existing sources and documents, evaluating them, diversifying them and synthesizing evidence (Kartodirdjo 1992) or literary materials to assemble them so that it became a historical writing with the theme of the romance of the people of the city of Surabaya during the revolution. Historical writing is a unity, the reconstruction of which must relate to categories and can be understood as something complex which includes problems, themes and topics which are all placed in pairs of time (Kartodirdjo 1982). The results of this writing will show the relationship between dynamics, revolution, and social change in society into a chain of events that fulfills the rules of historical science.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### **The Discourse of Sexuality: Violence, Romance, and Pleasure**

Sexual violence is often related to conditions of war and certain moments when soldiers or men who have authority have more opportunities to carry out these acts (Alison 2007). In connection with the case of the revolution in Surabaya and its surroundings, the main agents of violence are very likely to come from elements of society who are struggling for hegemony and power over unstable political conditions.

Before the revolution, the practice of sexual violence had begun by Japanese soldiers known as *Jugun Ianfu* (Mariana 2015; Kurasawa 2016, 157–171). This practice was widespread in almost all of Japan's occupied territories when it came to power in Indonesia. The next period of the revolution was full of turmoil with various acts of robbery, crime, and sexual harassment, especially against people who were considered accomplices of the Japanese military or Dutch colonial rule. As Anton Lucas has written about these various actions during October–December 1945 in the Central Java region, including: Brebes Regency, Tegal, Pemalang, and Pekalongan Residency (Lucas 2004).

Interestingly, Geert Oostindie revealed in detail the confessions of Dutch soldiers regarding sexual behavior while on the island of Java, all of whom were mostly soldiers from the Dutch Army (KL). From the data, the figure is quite high, the same as research by Doeleman (1955), Donckers (2004), Wietsma & Scagliola (2013) (Oostindie 2016, 250–271). European soldiers on duty had become actors in violence during the revolution in Surabaya and its surroundings, including sexual violence (Limpach 2019, 137–138). The presence of Europeans has triggered various acts of violence from both parties, both the Dutch military against indigenous civilians, and vice versa by Indonesian fighters against European or Eurasian civilians (Frederick 2012, 359–380). Such reciprocal actions were logical consequence of acts of revenge, hatred, dislike, hurt and a kind of psychological terror.

From this case, as in Foucault's thinking (Foucault 2000), he views sex as a means of desire and power. Power and sex shape sexual behavior which can take the form of violence, lifestyle, and psychological warfare. The extent to which the pressure of "power" and biological desires is essentially human, when people have power to suppress weak opponents, namely women. Jung (2016, 207) agrees with Freud regarding sexuality as an important concept. Dogmatic values correlate with power relations, how recorded memories of events are retold by people who experienced, heard, and saw them. Therefore, the discourse on sexuality in wartime is associated with psychological assaults carried out by opposing parties.

Portraits of violence, sexual behavior, and romance during the revolution in Surabaya and its surroundings are partly depicted in several literary works which are historical romances.

Therefore, the approaches in several historical novel at the time, clearly represented social problems and conflicts that are currently happening. The idea of the story seems to be a reality which is very close to the interpretation in the literary perspective of their thinking. Literary studies in the form of historical novels deal with certain sexual behavior during the revolutionary period. Subagio Sastrowardoyo in his work *Kejantanan di Sumbing* (Manliness in Sumbing) contains seven short stories, five of the seven short stories are related to the atmosphere of the 1945 revolution. In this collection of short stories, the story of humans and their humanity in a state of war or peace includes aspects of sex, love, death, loyalty, fear, and courage (Sastrowardoyo 1982). Another novel by Suparto Brata also describes the social setting of the revolutionary period in Surabaya which was characterized by various youth and popular resistance (Brata 2016). The same thing is explained in Lan Fang's novel, how the Japanese behaved in their role as Geisha in Surabaya before the physical revolution. Some of these works can incorporate reflections and changes in social structures and dynamics that occurred during the revolution (Lan 2012).

As Lucas (2004) researched in Central Java, violence and sexual behavior from indigenous people also occurred during the revolutionary period in the city of Surabaya. A social reflection depicted in Notosusanto's literary work; Indonesian youths commit acts of sexual violence against refugees from Surabaya. Meanwhile, a historical romance writer named Idrus in his story describes a woman who was suspected and beaten by young fighters in the Mojokerto area just because she was wearing a red scarf, white shirt, and blue slippers (the symbol of the Dutch flag). In another part, Idrus (1953) also discusses the city of Surabaya, explaining how the parliament session fell into debate since many soldiers were behaving impolitely, making out with interned Dutch women (Notosusanto 1958, 58–59). Lust in a revolutionary and normal atmosphere apparently is not only owned by Europeans, but with its power and strength it can be exercised by the Indonesian side as well. This shows that the social reality that often occurs strongly supports various actions that lead to these unpleasant acts.

### **Women and Sexuality: A Blurry Portrait of Psychological Terror**

“Saja tak membentji orang laki-laki, tetapi sifat mendjadjah, mengombang-ambingkan dan memerintah semau2nja sadjalah jang saja bentji” (“Saja Bentji Sifat Pendjajah Kaum Laki” 1952)

[“I do not hate men but colonial character, that vacillates and rules as he pleases, that is what I hate about”] (“I Hate Colonialist Character of Men” 1952)

The phrase above was written in the *Java Post* newspaper from the 1950s entitled “Saja Bentji Sifat Pendjadjah Kaum Laki” (“I hate Colonialist Character of Men”). This sentence was uttered by Anniek Fatimah, one of the singers of the RRI Surabaya orchestra. He experienced two periods during the Japanese era and the revolution when the Allied (Dutch) attack occurred in the city of Surabaya. The life story of Anniek Fatimah is an interesting record of how the bitter atmosphere of the revolutionary era was experienced. At least the illustration presented about how the lives of art workers live is very close to the reality of the existence of colonialists. His figure in the newspaper review implicitly implies revenge, hatred, anger, sadness and even things related to romance. As Pramoedya Ananta Toer wrote in the novel *Larasati*, he saw that social conditions during the revolution had an influence on various attitudes and actions in dealing with the realities of that time (Toer 2003). A woman's mental struggles indicate her inner and outer life choices with various risks.

There are not many detailed stories about Anniek Fatimah, but her contribution to her life journey is a piece of her dark story that is not too extreme. Tur's sad story is different, as she is a victim of sexual violence. Tur, with tears in his eyes, said that she had been raped by the Dutch organic army (KNIL). This incident occurred towards evening, around 1948. The soldiers received information that the guerrilla area of the Indonesian fighters was heading from Malang towards Blitar. With this news, the Dutch organic army had to chase after the irregulars and fighters in the South Malang area. The targets of the chase were men because they were allegedly involved in various acts of resistance. They did not find a single man in the area, finally entered people's houses, and found several women to threaten and rape.

"Zaman agresi (Belanda) saya di rumah ini... tapi rumah ini masih gedek. Waktu itu kira-kira jam 4 sore... didatangi tentara Belanda... mana orang laki-laki... ke sawah tuan... terus saya disuruh masuk kamar. Mereka berpakaian loreng-loreng... rambutnya brintil dan kulit hitam-hitam. Saya takut sekali... karena mereka membawa bedil...saya diajak ke kamar digiring sama bedil itu. Lima orang yang masuk ke rumah saya itu... saya tidak berani menatapnya... saya gemetaran... lalu saya di ajak ke kamar... karena waktu itu saya hamil anak pertama keguguran... jadi saya pakai stagen di perut... dikira saya menyimpan peluru... sesuatu... terus ditelanjangi dan diperkosa oleh 5 orang giliran... tapi tidak lama karena kondisi perang... masih ada suara letusan [...]" (Tur 2011).

["In the era of Dutch aggression, I lived in this house... but this house was still a hut. It was around 4 in the afternoon... Dutch soldiers came... where were the men... they went to the rice fields, sir... then I was told to go to my room. They were dressed in stripes... their hair was in knots and their skin was black. I was very scared...because they were carrying rifles... I was invited to the room and led by the rifle. The five people who entered my house... I didn't dare look at them... I was shaking... then I was invited to the room... because at that time I was pregnant with my first child, I had a miscarriage... so I used sash on my stomach... I thought I was keeping bullets... something... continued to be stripped naked and raped by 5 people in turn... but not for long because of war conditions...there were still sounds of explosions [...]" (Tur 2011)]

Tur's suffering was the "voice" of the victims of the ferocious revolution at that time, the soldiers did not find the targets they were looking for as soldiers and fighters, so psychological terror was done through acts of rape against women, to spread fear and discomfort among the local population. Their aim and purpose were none other than to provoke the anger of Indonesian warriors and militias. According to Tur's confession, there are still two people namely: Sup and Win, who suffered the same fate as her in her village. However, these two people have died and their families no longer live in Peniwan village, they have moved to another village. The bitter experiences of these three women are a representation that can be believed that similar incidents must be happened in other places.

The sad story of Tur, Sup, and Win is a form of sexual violence in a war situation. The defeat of women in the face of strength, power, and hegemonic masculinity (Foucault 2000; Goodman 2002; Littlewood 1997). Sexual violence is a deliberate process of intimidation in which men create a position for women in a state of fear and terror of war (Littlewood 1997). According to Fried, the threat of violence terrorizes many women making them suffered, and haunted by the fear of being victims when emergency conditions occurs (Fried 2003). Meanwhile, according to

Alcoff, the concept of “victim” can occur because this terminology departs from the category of agent (perpetrator) (Alcoff 2009), who has a specific goal.

The revolutionary war in Surabaya and the increasing political turmoil for the Dutch army had instilled a sense of revenge, cruelty and at the same time spread tremendous psychological pressure on the local population. South Malang was chosen, according to Sosroarmodjo's memoir (1986, 63), because this area was a guerrilla base. It is not surprising that Dutch soldiers were chased from South Malang to Blitar when the Dutch second military aggression was launched. This fact is the same as the report in the Indonesian Magazine *Oemoem* which wrote about “Statement of Dangerous Conditions,” it was reported that some regions of the Republic which are centers of defense power, namely Java and Madoera were declared to be in a state of danger (*Revue Magazine* 1946, 251). In a report regarding the situation in the Dutch occupied area in East Java, the Malang area began to be a closed area since March 1948. There, the Dutch soldiers carried out a cleansing operation targeting Republican warriors (ANRI 1948). Tur and his friends were sexual victims of the actions of cleaning up the people they were chasing and had the spirit of warriors to fight the Dutch army.

Such unpleasant actions were not limited to the case of Tur and his friends. Another victim in this cleanup action occurred in Dawuhan (Bansari) Bondowoso Village, Dutch soldiers conducted searches in residents' houses looking for male fighters. During the search, no one was found who matched the search target, but a village girl was raped by Dutch soldiers (Soewito 1994, 383). An incident was took place in Bunder Bondowoso Village, as the search of people's homes did not find anyone suspected of being a guerrilla helper, Dutch soldiers started to seduce a local married woman. Meanwhile in Pancoran Village, they did not find guerrilla troops, they also seduced a woman named Munati (Soewito 1994, 384). It is very unfortunate, detailed information about cases like this is not widely revealed, only being a small note from the Indonesian side.

Meanwhile, on the Indonesian side of the war conflict, there were also acts of violence and sexual pleasure. A warrior figure named Sabarudin became famous at the beginning of the revolution in the city of Surabaya because of his cruelty when he was Commander of the PTKR based in Pacet, Mojokerto. Some Dutch prisoners who were originally interned by the Japanese were captured by their group. These Dutch girls (*noniks*) were made into a harem by Sabarudin. Not only women, male prisoners who were considered enemies or Dutch spies were captured by their group. Some were sentenced to death, some were doused with petrol and then burned, and some were dragged behind moving trucks (Brata 2011, 68; Raben 2012).

Frederick was more extreme in describing violence and other cruelties that led to sexual symbols in the group murders of Dutch people and people of Eurasian descent carried out by a group of young men. Another victim reported seeing a woman tied to a tree and repeatedly stabbed in the genitals by young men with bamboo spears, one woman was also burned in the genitals with cigarettes (Frederick 2012). The description of the actions carried out by young people is certainly very reasonable, because of the hatred and anger towards the Allies, or Dutch soldiers during the revolutionary period. Even prostitutes had strength and played a role during this period of struggle. Apart from bandits, they are part of the organization formed by General Major dr. Moestopo named Terate (Cribb 2010, 152–153). This group was trained, then went to cities under Dutch occupation. Prostitutes spread pornographic images into military barracks. The aim was to tempt Dutch soldiers (Sapto 2018, 258) so that they would be interested in making love. They were considered a brave group and had carried out acts of resistance while

they were having an affair with Dutch soldiers. This moment was a reaction to retaliation for the attack and occupation of the Dutch army. The method used is by pretending to provide sex services for them.

“Bukan sadja di kalangan lelaki, maka achir2 ini wanita2 pun menundukkan keberaniannya jg tidak terhingga. Di Surabaya ada larangan jg. Menjatakan, bahwa orang2 Belanda tidak diperkenankan bermalam dalam kamar dihotel dgn. Perempuan Indonesia [...] Hal ini disebabkan, karena telah kedjadian seorang serdadu Belanda keesokan harinja terdapat mati tertusuk badannya, sehabis bermalam dgn. Perempuan dalam hotel. Peristiwa tadi merupakan suatu bukti lagi akan keberanian wanita Indonesia di daerah pendudukan, biarpun sampai harus mengorbankan segala perasaan!” (“Wanita djantan!” 1948)

[“It’s not just among men, lately women have also been subdued by their boundless courage. In Surabaya there are restrictions too. Saying that Dutch people are not allowed to spend the night in a hotel room with Indonesian women [...] This is because it happened that a Dutch soldier the next day was stabbed to death after spending the night with a woman in a hotel. This incident is another proof of the courage of Indonesian women in the occupied areas, even though they had to sacrifice all their feelings” (“Wanita djantan!” 1948)]

The story of the murder of Dutch soldiers provides an indication that a woman was willing to sacrifice her body and soul for the struggle by becoming a sex servant. However, this was done solely as a ploy and strategy to launch an attack with the target of killing the Dutch soldiers. In fact, as a consequence of this incident, there was a ban on Dutch people not being allowed to stay in hotels with Indonesian women. On the one hand, this kind of prohibition was a breath of fresh air for Indonesian fighters, as an indication of its success in spreading fear among Dutch soldiers who liked to make love with native women. On the other hand, the death of a Dutch soldier in a forbidden love affair had a very negative impact on social conditions during the struggle. In 1948, various searches and arrests were carried out by the Dutch in various places, such as: Surabaya, Malang, Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Lumajang and others in East Java. However, the various actions taken by the Dutch did not dampen the national spirit of the Indonesian people (“Wanita djantan!” 1948).

Prohibitions, searches, and arrests are a form of terror against Indonesian warriors. However, on the contrary, the actions of women who dare to fight through the camouflage of sexual services are a form of the role of gender relations in the politics of struggle. Summerfield reveals how women's mobilization during wartime created a harmonious appearance and erased the visual boundaries between masculinity and femininity (Summerfield 1997), although it was done in a certain way. The brave act of murdering a man was a form of threat and at the same time psychological terror for Dutch soldiers whose hobby was making love with native women. This hobby of making love, as described by Dick, was caused by many Dutch soldiers who were frustrated while serving on the island of Java (Dick 2002, 178–180), in which one of the most common forms of escape was seeking for sexual pleasure.

### **Love and Romance: From (Public) Kitchen to the Battlefield**

The war situation experienced by Oei Hiem Hwie during the revolution was quite bitter. He was involved as a public kitchen volunteer whose job was to cook and collect firewood. In activities like this, there is a get-to-know-and-greet interaction between young men and women, romantic relationships blossom even though they are in a situation of war.



“[...] waktu itu saya ikut dapur umum... masak-masak untuk keperluan makan bagi para pejuang dan masyarakat umum... orang-orang kita banyak yang tertembak... selama dapur umum ada kesempatan saling mengenal antara anak muda laki-laki dan wanita...berkenalan...omong-omong dan pacaran... ada juga yang langsung terlibat gerilya...” (Oei 2019).

[“[...] at that time, I joined the public kitchen... cooked food for the fighters and the common society... many of our people were shot... during the public kitchen there was an opportunity for young men and women to get to know each other... get to know each other... talking and dating... there are also those who are directly involved in guerrilla warfare...” (Oei 2019).]

During the revolution and struggle, they did not have many opportunities for comfortable romantic relationships. They were only attracted to each other because they were involved in the same location in public kitchen activities. Furthermore, a love relationship will be established later when the revolutionary period is over and the situation is calm and peaceful. The story of Oei Hiem Wie, almost the same as that experienced by Sulistina, Bung Tomo's wife, tells of her first meeting with Bung Tomo. The meeting took place during a war situation in the city of Surabaya. Sulistina felt her heart tremble when Bung Tomo looked intently into her eyes when she had to move base because there was the sound of mortars and threats of attack.

“[...] kami berangkat siang itu juga ke Surabaya, ke garis depan. Ada rasa bangga luar biasa, kami bisa ke garis depan. Aku masih ingat hari pada tanggal 11 November 1945. Kami, tiga gadis dari PMI tetapi sudah mendapat latihan kilat tentang senjata... Jarak-Malang-Surabaya yang hanya 90 kilometer kami tempuh berjam-jam. Kami harus menunggu di Desa Candi, menunggu kabar “*all clear*” dari Surabaya... tengah malam kami baru tiba di Surabaya... pagi-pagi kami ke markas BPRI... hari semakin siang dan semakin banyak yang datang... tiba-tiba ada bunyi mortir menggelegar... pesawat terbang melintas di atas markas, riuh bunyinya... Kami bertiga anggota PMI dari Malang langsung menyurukkan badan bersembunyi di kolong meja... Aku dengar ada yang tertawa keras. Huh, pemuda dari Surabaya yang sudah terbiasa dengan hujan mortir itu menertawakan kami dari Malang... “Durung maju perang wis ndelik. Yok opo se...!” [“Belum maju perang sudah sembunyi. Bagaimana sih...!"]. Aku merasa ada sepasang mata mengawasiku. Matanya yang bulat itu tidak menertawakan kami. Ia mengerti ketakutan kami sampai bersembunyi di kolong meja... suatu pagi seorang pemuda menghampiriku... *Jeng*, kita pindah markas. Kita mundur ke Jalan Mawar. Di sini tidak aman lagi. Dan keadaan bertambah gawat, Palang Merah juga harus pindah... matanya menancap di mataku. Entah mengapa hatiku bergetar. Aku tidak kuasa menjawabnya. Hanya mengangguk... ketika menjauh, aku bertanya pada seorang kawan siapa dia... ya itu Bung Tomo...” (Sutomo 2008, 10–13).

The love story of Bung Tomo and Sulistina is not as intimate as a typical couple. Even those who have applied rarely meet, because Bung Tomo is always busy with the struggle. Their engagement was carried out on May 5, 1946, marked by a proposal by Bung Tomo's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Ciptowidjoyo, who brought a set of *peningset* (literally, a binder; similar to dowry) as a sign of their promise of love. A ring with the words “Sutomo and Sulistina” was wrapped around each finger (Sutomo 2008, 42). This engagement was carried out immediately, considering that many other girls during the struggle liked and had feelings for the charismatic

Bung Tomo. He belongs to everyone, the leader and instigator of the spirit of revolution. Finally, their marriage was held on June 19, 1947 in Malang. In the memoir, it is said that there were disagreements regarding the wedding plan, since Bung Tomo was somehow inconsistent with his promise not to marry before the struggle ended. In Javanese tradition, it is believed that if a violation occurs, bad things will happen in the future.

Another story related to romance in the struggle was also told by Lily M. Soekotjo, one of the Women's Fighters during the revolution. Her husband, M. Soekotjo, was a fighter soldier who fought together during the revolution. This meeting with her husband took place when they were in struggle activities in the city of Surabaya.

"[...] yang berjuang di Surabaya itu... bukan Arek Suroboyo saja, ada yang Mojokerto, Jombang... jadi mereka bergabung... persatuan luar biasa... pada saat terjadi peperangan korbannya itu... banyak... hanya sekelompok daging dan tulang tidak berwujud manusia... ngeri dan hancur... ada remaja-remaja putri seusia saya mereka juga berjuang bersama-sama dan semangat... mereka juga ada yang menjalin asmara dengan pemuda pejuang [...]" (Soekotjo 2018)

"[...] those who fought in Surabaya... were not just Arek (people of) Suroboyo, there were those from Mojokerto, Jombang... so they joined... an extraordinary unity... during the war the victims... were many... just a bunch of intangible flesh and bones humans... horrified and devastated... there are young women my age who also fight together and with enthusiasm...they also have romance with young fighters [...]" (Soekotjo 2018)

This is different from Siti Hanifah's story, she said that the period of struggle was not just tension, including some being threatened with bayonets. Siti Hanifah's love story blossomed amidst the storm of bullets, where her life journey was matched by Soehaimi Ikhsan, a fighter. In his memoirs, it is said that one day Hanifah, who was originally from Surabaya, was detained along with his friend Soekarti by Allied troops in Kediri because of their activities in the war. Soehaimi manfully went to the enemy commander where his lover was being held, he happened to be fluent in Dutch, asking that he not be harmed because he was still pregnant. However, according to Hanifah, she is not yet pregnant. Soehaimi's strategy was successful, the next day Hanifah was taken to Surabaya in an Allied troops' truck. Upon arrival in Surabaya, he was dropped off in front of his house in Pabean Sayang, where he was born. Hanifah herself survived from enemy's captivity. (Liberty 1984).



Picture 1. Hanifah's story about meeting her soulmate during the war in Surabaya  
(Source : Dinas Perpustakaan dan Kearsipan Jawa Timur, Arsip No.17.1C)

The representation of story fragments from Oei Hiem Hwie, Sulistina, Lily and Hanifah are a form of memory awareness to remember different narratives in an atmosphere of tension, fear, anxiety, and threat of death. It cannot be denied that there is a correlation between the desire for sex, love, and pleasure in the instincts between men and women. As Haavio-Mannila, Roos and Kontula refer to Anthony Giddens who claims that sexual bonds, marriage and long friendships are forms of pure (natural) relationships (Haavio-Mannila, Roos & Kontula 1996). In this context, romance and romantic relationships have brought meaning to the presence of war as a human process, to the emergence of feelings and the sharing of feelings.

Love is not merely happened in war and conflict situations for a guerilla fighter. Suhario Padmodiwiryo married his wife Lily Suhario in the city of Surabaya during the final period of Japanese rule. The poor economic situation meant that the wedding had to be held simply, the wedding dress was lent by Doctor Suharsono and the gray wool jacket was given by Mulyo. After getting married a few days later he invited his wife to return to Jakarta by lying to his family, saying he already had a place to live and complete kitchen equipment (Padmodiwiryo 1995, 45–46). In reality, he lived in a small room, with an alternating diet of cassava, yams and other tubers. This was due to the high price of rice which was unaffordable, during political conditions leading up to the end of Japanese rule (Abdullah & Lapian 2012, 89–91).

Sexual behavior, mate-ship, and romance are manifestations of hegemonic masculinity in the realm of normal, emergency, or war situations (Goodman 2002). Its presence is a representation of the strength of individuals or groups who have power. According to Meehan in his study, love and revolution are a strong reciprocal relationship between love and struggle, men and women are the owners of the play (Meehan 2006). The relationship between men and women has become a social reality that has been shaped historically by social processes, in many cases women are in a subordinate position in sexual life (Abdullah 2001, 49).

## CONCLUSION

In the discourse of sexual violence and war, women are victims of anger and revenge against targets sought by men, as in the story of Tur and his friends who experienced military rape. However, the other side of the depiction of romantic relationships between men and women during the struggle is also an inseparable part. These love stories are a natural space for expression whoever they are as agents of history. In Foucault's terms, this is because biological desire is an essential human form in gender relations.

Conflicts of interest in competing for power can also occur, as women are not only sexual victims, but they also play a role as perpetrators in the revolution in Surabaya. The killing of Dutch soldiers in the hotel by tough native women is proof of the representation that they were agents of the struggle with a camouflaged role as comfort women. The two parties confronted each other with acts of mutual terror, so the Dutch were forced to make a rule prohibiting staying in hotels with Indonesian women. Not much different from the case in the South Malang area as a guerrilla base, victims of sexual violence are a threat to men who struggle to leave their wives and daughters at home.

In terms of historiography, this article shows that the hidden history of sexuality is the biggest challenge in narrating it. Traumatic issues and dark memories are difficult to read because they are covered by shame over these past events. Meanwhile, on the other hand, the realm of sexuality becomes a commodity during times of revolution and struggle. The presence of sexuality discourse can take the form of romance, pleasure, and violence. If the relationship

between a man and a woman becomes a manifestation of their natural character for pairing, then this reality also emphasizes sex as an instrument that conveys strength and power for masculinity.

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