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Mixed Media to Build a New Interpretation of the 1965–1966 Massacre in Indonesia from the Victim's Point of View in W.J.T. Mitchell's Perspective

PhD Dissertation

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DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own original work undertaken under the guidance of my supervisor; and with the exception of references to other people's work which have been duly acknowledged, this dissertation has neither in part nor in whole been submitted for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

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Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and the presentation this thesis was supervised in accordance with the supervisor of thesis laid down by the University of Szeged.

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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS AND CONFERENCES

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Conferences

1. *Ütközéspontok VIII. Konferencia*, which was organized by Nemzeti Közszolgálati Egyetem, on February 5–6, 2021. The researcher presented a paper entitled "The Pragmatist Aspects of W.J.T. Mitchell's Picture Theory".
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3. *Ütközéspontok IX. Konferencia*, which was organized by DOSZ Filozófiatudományi Osztály, on February 26, 2022. The researcher presented a paper entitled "The Metapicture of the Indonesian 1965–1966 Massacre in Graphic Narrative".
4. *The International Conference on Freedom of Expression, Hate Speech, and Religious Freedom: A Human Rights Perspective*, which was organized by the UNEQUAL World Research Center, IPSEC, and UN Liaison Office for IRLA and SDA, on December 8–9, 2022. The researcher presented a paper entitled "Graphic Narrative's Power to Break the Silence of the 1965–1966 Massacres in Indonesia". The abstract is available at: https://religiousfreedom.education/agenda/

ABSTRACT

The significance of the image has been a central topic of discourse both in the academic sphere and public culture in recent decades. W.J.T. Mitchell calls this change the "pictorial turn" to mark a shift from the linguistic turn. The pictorial turn also impacts genocide and massacre studies. Images are not only tools for illustrating, but are also the main elements that contribute to knowledge formation of tragedy and memory transmission. The central concern of this research is mixed media, a graphic narrative entitled *Sejarah Gerakan Kiri Indonesia untuk Pemula* [The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners]. This mixed media work is a powerful instrument to build a new interpretation of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia from the victims' point of view, based on Mitchell's perspective.

The 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia killed more than 500,000 and arrested more than one million people without trial. The massacre targeted the members or partisans of the Indonesian Communist Party [*Partai Komunis Indonesia*] (PKI). In addition, the state used many cultural products, such as films and monuments, as means of indoctrination. In reaction to the situation, many survivors and artists have created alternative narratives of the 1965–1966 massacre in various media. One of the victim narratives is a 527-page illustrated book entitled *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* (2016), published by a group of illustrators, coordinated by Yayak Yatmaka.

This research employs Mitchell's key concepts, such as the pictorial turn, metapicture, biopicture, the relationship of image and text, and images' power, to examine mixed media and its power to build a new interpretation of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia.

This study suggests that mixed media can be a powerful instrument to represent the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia, primarily through its metapicture of perpetrators in animal visual metaphors and metapicture of mass violence in visual excess. This study also finds that Indonesia's 1965–1966 massacre image is a biopicture that always transforms into other media, despite the Indonesian state's banning of the victim narrative. To enhance the viewers' understanding of the massacre, the illustrated book employs a visual narrative to support the verbal narrative. The victim narrative mixed media also uses the "image against image" strategy to counter the master narrative's images.

Keywords: Pictorial Turn, Metapicture, Biopicture, W.J.T. Mitchell, Mixed Media, the 1965–1966 Massacre, Indonesia, Victim Narrative.

ABBREVIATIONS AND FOREIGN TERMS

Banser
Barisan Ansor Serbaguna (Ansor Multipurpose Brigade)

Dwikora
Dwikomando Rakyat (People's Double Command: to crush Malaysia and defend the Revolution)

ET Eks-Tapol
former political detainee

G30S
*Gerakan 30 Septembe*r (The 30 September Movement)

Gerwani
Gerakan Wanita Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Movement)

Gestapu
Gerakan September Tiga Puluh (army's acronym for September 30th Movement)

KAP-Gestapu
Komando Aksi Pengganyangan Gerakan September Tiga Puluh (Action Command to Crush Gestapu)

Kopkamtib
Komando Operasi Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban (Operations Command to Restore Security and Order)

Pancasila
Five Principles (Indonesian national philosophy)

Pemuda Rakyat
People's Youth

PKI
Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party)

RPKAD
Resimen Para Komando Angkatan Darat (Army Para-commando Regiment)

Supersemar
Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret (Order of March 11, 1966)

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of Problem

The “pictorial turn” coined by William John Thomas (W.J.T.) Mitchell marked a significant change in the academic sphere and public culture, in which the image became a central discourse topic (Mitchell, 1994: 11–13). Before the pictorial turn, the “linguistic turn” focused on the relationship between language, language users, and the world. The linguistic turn emphasizes the role of language in constituting knowledge (Bachmann-Medick, 2016: 22). In contrast, the pictorial turn emphasizes ‘the power of images’ to construct knowledge.

The pictorial turn has also affected discourse on images’ significance in genocide studies. Recently, genocide studies has been consolidated with many other disciplines, including film and media studies. In genocide studies, the image is no longer about how it can provide “illustrations for reinforcing other claims, but rather…in what ways images contribute both to the knowledge of events and to the transmission of memory, whether individual or collective” (Zylberman and Sánchez-Biosca, 2018: 1). Scholars debate graphic narratives’ capacity to portray violence (Veld, 2019: 1–2) and influence the audience to embrace humanity. They have often doubted graphic narratives’ ability to convey serious topics, such as a massacre. Some questions have emerged around this topic: “Was it too dangerous to turn violence into such an accessible style, like comics?”, “Would it end up with banalizing, objectification, and insensitivity of victims?” (Evans, 2021: 242).

For some people, graphic narratives, like graphic novels, picture books, and comic books, do not adequately represent genocide because of visual excess, emotional

manipulation, and a simplification of the moral and political situation (Veld, 2019: 2). Conversely, graphic narratives can become a powerful tool to speak victims' voices because it allows for a discussion and reflection about the massacre (Veld, 2019: 3).

The main hypothesis of this research is that mixed media, such as the graphic narrative entitled *Sejarah Gerakan Kiri Indonesia untuk Pemula* (*The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners*), is a powerful instrument for reinterpreting the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia from the victim's point of view, based on Mitchell's perspective. This research focuses on mixed media, especially the relation of text and image in graphic narrative form. Mixed media can help victims tell the truth about the massacre. Further, this research will contribute to the search for alternative media to enhance the historical understanding of Indonesia's 1965–1966 massacre.

The 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia is one of the worst massacres of the twentieth century. "Hundreds of thousands of people were massacred by the army and army-affiliated militias" across Indonesia, "largely in Central Java, East Java, and Bali, from late 1965 to mid-1966" (Roosa, 2006: 4). General Suharto led the extermination hundreds of thousands accused of being involved and affiliated with the Communist Party. Amid the national emergency, "Suharto used the movement as a pretext for delegitimatizing Sukarno and catapulting himself into the presidency" (Roosa, 2006: 4).

For 32 years of Suharto's dictatorship, Indonesians lived under "the ideological hegemony of the state terrorism perpetrators" (Wieringa and Nursyahbani, 2019: 2). The Indonesian state uses many cultural products, like monuments, film, and literature, as means of indoctrination. For example, they use the army-controlled media (*Angkatan Bersendjata* and *Berita Yudha*), the book entitled *Tragedi Nasional*

Percobaan Kup G30S/PKI di Indonesia [The National Tragedy of the G30S/PKI Attempted Coup in Indonesia], and the film *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* [The Betrayal/Treachery of the Communists' 30 September Movement/PKI] (Heryanto, 2014: 78).

Suharto's regime called itself the New Order, while Sukarno's regime was the Old Order. After the New Order took the power, Indonesia reoriented itself as a pro-Western country, while millions of survivors and their relatives lost their civil rights. The state never organized any reconciliation or officially apologized to the victims, even after Suharto fell in 1998. In contemporary post-authoritarian Indonesia, after 1998, the New Order's views of left organizations and mass violence remain dominant. Left-wing organizations were considered cruel and bloodthirsty. Even today, the 1965–1966 issues remain unclear, and the state has not acknowledged that they are responsible for the 1965–1966 massacre (Eickhoff et al., 2017: 449).

In formal education, the school system becomes a tool for indoctrination (Leksana, 2009: 176). In the New Order era, every student was obliged to watch the film *The Betrayal/Treachery of the Communists' 30 September Movement/PKI*, which indoctrinated audiences about the cruelty of the Communist Party that killed several generals. History lessons in school also repeatedly emphasized that the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) was bloodthirsty and deserved to be suppressed (Leksana, 2009: 176). After Suharto's resignation as president in May 1998 – the Reformation Era – there are greater possibilities to discuss the 1965–1966 violence. Facts about the number of victims and their suffering were revealed (Leksana, 2009: 176). However, twenty years after the reformation, high school textbooks reported again that the Communist Party was responsible for the October 1, 1965 incident. There are some new inventions about the 1965–1966 massacres, but history as taught

according to the school system's curriculum has not changed significantly (Leksana, 2009: 177). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission for the 1965–1966 mass violence formed two years after Suharto's resignation. However, it has little support because most Indonesians are still not well-informed about the violence, except for the indoctrination of the New Order regime. Most people have inadequate knowledge about the massacre from the victims' point of view (Leksana, 2009: 176).

The main background to this dissertation is the fact that the emergence of many studies and book publications about the 1965–1966 massacre (such as Robert Cribb (2001), Saskia E. Wieringa (2002), John Roosa (2006), Geoffrey Robinson (2017), and Jess Melvin (2018)) did not change the New Order's dominant view in contemporary post-authoritarian Indonesia (after 1998). This circumstance came to be because of political censorship (the banning of communism/Marxism/Leninism teachings), less interest in studying Indonesian history, and limited access to this historical knowledge. Therefore, the research that examines the victim narrative of the 1965–1966 massacre in alternative media is important and relevant. Indonesians need to understand the massacre in more accessible media, such as graphic narrative, theater, or film. Furthermore, compared to historical explanation and study, art has more advantages, such as being more interesting, attractive, and universal.

The new interpretation of the massacre is still relevant today also because there have only been a few serious actions undertaken by the state to solve this issue, despite strong pressure from institutions concerned with human rights and victims of the 1965–1966 massacre (Bielecki, 2018: 232). The current president, Joko Widodo, has vowed to settle past human rights cases, including the 1965–1966 massacre. Yet, the government maintains the master narrative of the massacre in monuments, school textbooks, and film screenings (Parahita and Yulianto, 2020: par. 16). In reaction to

this situation, some artists and survivors manifest their new interpretations of the 1965–1966 massacres in artworks (Bielecki, 2018: 232). The dominance of the master narrative of this portion of Indonesia's history has led to the current state wherein the massacre and its representation presents an unresolved problem. From the victim's point of view, the scarcity of the historical knowledge of 1965–1966 can preserve the violent culture (Cribb, 2002: 556). In this case, art can help the victims to break their silence and articulate their voices (Ikhwan, 2019: 10).

Together with his colleagues, Hakimul Ikhwan, in their paper titled "The Contestation of Social Memory in the New Media: A Case Study of the 1965 Killings in Indonesia," found numerous untold stories and testimonies about the 1965–1966 massacre using mixed media, ranging from literature, paintings, and performance arts to film and animations (Ikhwan, 2019: 8). Artworks depicting the 1965–1966 massacres from the victims' point of view include Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *Nyanyi Sunyi Seorang bisu* [The mute's soliloquy: a memoir], Leila S. Chudori's novel *Pulang* [Coming Home], Dadang Christanto's painting exhibition *Nineteen sixty-five*, Papermoon Puppet Theatre's *Noda Lelaki di Dada Mona* [The Man's Stain on Mona's Breast] (2008), and Joshua Oppenheimer's films *The Act of Killing* (2012) and *The Look of Silence* (2014) (Bielecki, 2018: 232).

Other artists manifest the counter-narrative of the 1965–1966 massacres in graphic narrative. Yayak Yatmaka, for example, coordinated a group of illustrators who published *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* (2016), consisting of 537 pages of graphic narrative. The book speaks about the left movement in Indonesia from colonialism (seventeenth century) to the reformation period (after 1998), including the 1965–1966 massacre that targeted leftist proponents. In the graphic narrative, the authors depict the 1965–1966 massacres in visual

metaphor and detailed drawings, including the various ways of torturing people suspected of being Indonesian Communist Party's/ [PKI]'s members or sympathizers. This graphic narrative aims to prevent similar atrocities from happening again.

As this study will show in Chapter IV, the graphic narrative has some benefits in depicting mass violence. Unlike in cinema and theater, the graphic narrative allows nonlinear reading, thus the reader can skim over an entire page to grasp the whole image of a traumatic experience. (Spiegelman, 2011: 166).

This research uses of *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* as the central topic of analysis because it is the most comprehensive graphic narrative about the Indonesian left movement and the 1965–1966 massacre. Previously, in 2011, a graphic narrative entitled *Djinah 1965*, *Years of Silence* was created by Evans Poton and published by Menara Warungku, IKJ-TIM, Interrographic, and consists of 101 pages. However, this graphic narrative only focuses on Ms. Sudjinah's life (1928–2007) as a member of Gerwani (*Gerakan Wanita Indonesia* [Indonesian Women's Movement]) and a victim of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia, while *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* was created based on testimonies of many victims in many provinces across Indonesia. In other words, *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement* is a creative and meticulous graphic narrative that speaks about the extermination of Indonesians in 1965–1966. This illustrated book also includes references that the reader can use for further examination. Thus, the book can be seen as an introduction to trigger a further investigation into the 1965–1966 massacre.

Many researchers have examined the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia, though mainly focused on the historical investigation of physical and direct violence and the consequences of the massacres (Herlambang, 2011: 3). Some research, consisting of

both theses and journal articles, discusses art and its relation to the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia, yet does not analyze the role of mixed media, especially a graphic narrative, in building a new interpretation of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia. Previous research has examined cultural elements, such as the cultural ideology of liberalism known as universal humanism, and the official version of the 1965 coup's attempt to justify and normalize violence against alleged communists in the 1965–1966 massacre (Herlambang, 2011); how films and performance art can contribute to the process of dealing with Indonesia's past (Bielecki, 2018); contestation of the 1965–1966 massacre narratives on YouTube (Parahita and Yulianto, 2020; Ikhwan et al., 2018); criticism of Joshua Oppenheimer's film *The Act of Killing* (Paramaditha, 2013); and the works of two Indonesian artists, namely Dadang Christanto's paintings and Tintin Wulia's installation and performance projects, that provide new ways of understanding and responding to the historical trauma of the 1965–1966 mass killings (Dirgantoro, 2020).

Unlike previous research about the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia, this study focuses on the examination of mixed media, specifically the graphic narrative entitled *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners*, in order to reinterpret the massacre from the victims' point of view, in W.J.T. Mitchell's perspective. This research uses Mitchell's theory that deals with the complexities and paradoxes between image and text and the relation of image to the questions of power, politics, and ideology (Bohrer, 1997: 559). The perspective suits this research since this study discusses mixed media and its power to build a new interpretation of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia, a political and historical tragedy.

This research aims to analyze the graphic narrative *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* as a victim narrative using Mitchell's categories.

Furthermore, this research also has the purpose of demonstrating the relevance of Mitchell's key concepts (such as the pictorial turn, metapicture, biopicture, and the relationship between text and image) in the discussion of the graphic narrative.

This research consists of five chapters. The first chapter is the "Introduction," which presents the background to the problem, states the main research problem, defines technical terms, and reviews the structure of the research. This chapter also describes the gap in the existing research about the 1965–1966 massacres and the contribution of this research to academic discourse and the public. Chapter II is a historical examination of Indonesia's 1965–1966 massacres. This chapter discusses the 30 September Movement and the coup, as well as five theories regarding the perpetrators. It also depicts the master and victim narratives of the 1965–1966 massacre. Chapter III explores the conceptual framework that is applied in this research, i.e., Mitchell's theory. This chapter discusses Mitchell's key concepts, such as the pictorial turn, metapicture, the difference between image and picture, biopicture, and the relationship between image and text. It also examines Mitchell's notion of the relationship between images and power. Chapter IV analyzes how mixed media can build a new interpretation of the 1965–1966 massacres from Mitchell's perspective. This chapter also presents the graphic narrative's power to represent a massacre, the metapicture of the massacre, the victim narrative as a biopicture, and the image and text relationships in the illustrated book that support the victim narrative of the massacre. Chapter IV concludes with the "image against image" strategy that offers a new interpretation of Indonesia's 1965–1966 massacre and virtual space as the new opportunity to Indonesian social-commentary comics. Lastly, Chapter V summarizes the research and presents the conclusion as well as suggestions for future studies and the use of mixed media to construct a victim narrative of Indonesia's past.

1.2. Research Problem

The fundamental problem of this research is "How can mixed media build a new interpretation of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia from the victims' point of view, in W.J.T. Mitchell's Perspective?"

Some questions arise from this fundamental problem, such as: What is mixed media? How did the 1965–1996 massacre in Indonesia take place? How do the master and victim's narratives or points of view see Indonesia's 1965–1966 massacre? What is Mitchell's theory of media? How does Mitchell's perspective see the mixed media with which to build a new interpretation of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia?

As explained above, this research focuses on how mixed media can build a new interpretation of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia using Mitchell's key concepts. Thus, it is not comparative research that looks for similarities and differences between several massacres or media theories, but rather maintains focus on a single large event on which the analysis is undertaken.

1.3. Definitions of Terms

Before further discussion, this section needs to establish some technical terms in this research, namely "mixed media," "counter-narrative," and "massacre." First, the term "medium." According to Mitchell (2005), "medium" is "a set of material practices that brings an image together with an object to produce a picture." A medium can be text, image, video, or audio (Mitchell, 2005: xiii). Secondly, media, as the plural form of medium, is related to the emergence of mass media. It began with the eighteenth century's investment in paper as a medium of circulating information, to the nineteenth century's invention of electricity, until the emergence of newspapers in the later nineteenth century and television in the twentieth century. In this case, media is

not merely the plural of medium. It refers to the notion of a form of life, “a general environment for living” (ecosystem) – “for thinking, perceiving, sensing, and feeling” (Mitchell, 2010: xii). Thirdly, the definition of “medium” is related to the meaning of “mixed media.” Mixed media is the blending or hybridity of media. To Mitchell (2005), “all media are mixed media.” The notion of media always entails some “mixture of sensory, perceptual, and semiotic elements.” There is no pure media, whether visual, auditory, tactile, or olfactory (Mitchell, 2005: 261). Any instance of media is a case of blending or hybridity of media (Verstegen, 2017: 142–143). However, this hybridity does not mean the impossibility of distinguishing one medium from another (Mitchell, 2005: 260). Mitchell makes an association between the specificity of medium and a recipe in cooking. When cooking, many ingredients are combined in a specific manner and proportion, at a particular temperature, and for a specific amount of time. Someone can also still distinguish what kind of vegetables insides the cooking. Every media, like the cooking, always involves other various media in specific treatment. For example, writing is a convergence between painting, printing, and speaking; or poetic is a combination between writing and speaking. All media are mixed media, in which someone still can recognize the specificity of medium. Therefore, one can affirm that “all media is mixed media, without losing the concept of medium specificity” (Mitchell, 2005: 261–262). In this research, text and image are composite art, but can still be distinguished from one another. “Text” refers to word-based communication, both written and oral. "Image" is a likeness, ranging from concrete to abstract images (graphic, optical, perceptual, and mental images).

This research employs Mitchell’s theory to analyze the new interpretation of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia from the victims’ point of view. Many scholars address the 1965–1966 tragedy in different terminology. John Roosa (2006) calls this

tragedy “mass murder”; Martijn Eickhoff, Gerry van Klinken, and Geoffrey Robinson (2017) call it a “massacre”; Douglas Kammen and Katharine McGregor (2013) call it “mass violence”; Robert Cribb (2001) calls it “genocide.” In this study the term “massacre” is preferred over genocide, mass murder, or mass violence. Based on international law, as stipulated in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the crime of genocide “means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group…” (Art. II). As the driving force of the 1965–1966 violence was not ethnic, racial, or religious distinction, but rather ideological or political activities differences (Robinson, 2018: 7), it would not be appropriate to employ the terminology of genocide, and thus “massacre” is adopted.

Mass murder and mass violence are close to the term “massacre,” but the researcher prefers to use the term “massacre.” Several murders at a single place constitute mass murder and mass violence (National Centre for the Analysis of Violent Crime US, 2008: 8), such as mass shootings and terrorist attacks. However, the 1965–1966 massacres occurred in many different places in Indonesia, not only at a single place. This research defines massacre “as a form of action that is most often collective and aimed at destroying those who are not fighters but rather civilians.” A massacre usually happens in a serious crisis in which ideological discourse spreads as a “reading frame” of the situation. This “reading frame” classifies what or who is the “threat” and calls for a collective mobilization to destroy it. The victim usually knows their torturers, and both parties are often member of the same community (Semelin, 2003: 96).

This study also uses the terms “master narrative” and “victim narrative” with regard to the 1965–1966 massacres. A master narrative, or official narrative, is a historical

narration created and promoted by a government with very little public involvement. It aims to attain political goals that support only one interpretation of the past and reduce competing narratives (Marschall, 2013: 79; Parahita and Yulianto, 2020: par. 5). The victim narrative, counter-narrative, or vernacular narrative is a collective memory built by "ordinary people" and manifested in popular cultures, such as music, performance art, street art, and other artistic expressions (Marschall, 2013: 79; Parahita and Yulianto, 2020: par. 5).

CHAPTER II

THE 1965–1966 MASSACRE IN INDONESIA

2.1. The 30 September Movement and Coup

Before the 1965–1966 massacre, Indonesia faced a turbulent political and economic situation (McGregor et al., 2018: 7). The "bitter ideological conflict" between political groups arose when Indonesia announced its independence in 1945[1] (Robinson, 2018: 34). These political contentions continued to increase and intensify before 1965. Cribb (2001) labels three political forces in the early days of Indonesia as Islamists, Communists, and Developmentalist[2] (Cribb, 2001: 226). The tensions between these political groups were getting worse, particularly during Sukarno's Guided Democracy period of 1959 to 1966 (Wieringa et al., 2019: 10). Indonesia's economy had also declined rapidly before 1965 (McGregor et al., 2018: 7). "By 1965, Indonesia was experiencing triple-digit inflation" (Wieringa et al., 2019: 10) and was in danger of mass starvation due to rice shortages and inflation (McGregor et al., 2018: 8).

The 1965–1966 massacres happened at the peak of political tension between the army and the Indonesian Communist Party [PKI]. Both had serious plans for after Sukarno's death or removal from office. The army was preparing for Armed Forces

[1] The 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia can be better understood if the tragedy is seen as a continuation of historical events before 1965. The master narrative, or Indonesian official history, explains the massacre by focusing on the PKI's rebellion since the colonial period, in 1926 and 1948, and eventually accusing the PKI of orchestrating the coup in 1965. Other scholars argue that the 1965–1966 massacre has its roots in an exotic cultural pattern such as running amok, rebellion against authority, and religious fanaticism. As stated by Geoffrey B. Robinson, neither of these explanations are able to provide an adequate account of the historical forces that arose in the 1965–1966 massacre. Robinson argues that the 1965–1966 massacre is a result of historical forces, actors, and contingencies that facilitated and shaped the massacre (Robinson, 2018: 27).

[2] The Islamists want to build a modern nation based on the eternal prescriptions of Islam, the Communists imagine Indonesia's modernity "would be an expression in socialism, as a historical stage beyond capitalism and colonialism", and Developmentalist seem to be a pro-capitalist nation, that turn formidable apparatus from Dutch colonialist legacy to give more benefit for Indonesians (Cribb, 2001: 226).

Day, which would be held on 5 October, 1965, to compete with PKI's huge anniversary celebration in May 1965. Approximately twenty thousand troops were concentrated in Jakarta for Armed Forces Day. Meanwhile, another scenario was prepared by a small military unit (a squad) in the early morning of 1 October, 1965 (Robinson, 2018: 53).

The 1965–1966 massacres began early on 1 October, 1965 in Jakarta. Seven army troop teams were tasked with kidnapping a general. They successfully kidnapped Lieutenant General Achmad Yani and his five general staff (Major General S. Parman, Major General Mas Tirtodarmo Haryono, Major General R. Suprapto, Brigadier General Soetojo Siswomihardjo, and Brigadier General Donald Ishak Panjaitan) from their houses (Roosa, 2006: 36–37). The army fatally shot three of them before arriving at Lubang Buaya (literal meaning: Crocodile Hole/Pit), near Halim Perdanakusuma Air Force Base, where the three others were taken. Lubang Buaya is a dried-up well in a rubber grove. Meanwhile, a team failed to kidnap General Nasution. He managed to escape, but the army troops killed his five-year-old daughter and captured his adjutant. The bodies of the seven who had been either stabbed or shot to death by the army troops were dumped in Lubang Buaya (Robinson, 2018: 54; Roosa, 2006: 37: Cribb, 2001: 231).

The leader of the abduction and killing of several generals was Lieutenant Colonel (Lieut. Col.) Untung. He was also the commander of Sukarno's presidential guard (Cribb, 2001: 231). After the abduction operation, the leaders ordered three army officers to go to the president's palace. They informed Sukarno about the movement (Roosa, 2006: 37). Around 7:15 a.m., those who abducted the generals took over Radio of Republic Indonesia (RRI). Lieut. Col. Untung – the leader – announced that the group responsible for the abduction and killing of the generals was the 30

September Movement. He also announced that the movement aimed to save the president from the planned coup, supported by the army's right-wing officers. In this statement, the announcer also said that President Sukarno was safe and under the protection of the movement. Later in the afternoon, the second radio announcement, Decree No. 1, mentioned that the Revolutionary Council (*Dewan Revolusi*) would maintain revolutionary principles and hold the entire authority of the State. Decree No. 1 declared the decommission of President Sukarno's cabinet and that the Revolution Council would appoint future ministers (Robinson, 2018: 55–56; Roosa, 2006: 47). The first broadcast stated Lieut. Col. Untung and his teams had acted to prevent a military coup by the council of generals. However, the second broadcast claimed that the movement's leaders were the leaders of the Revolutionary Council, and that the Revolutionary Council held the full power of the state (Cribb, 2001: 231, Roosa, 2006: 47). In contrast to the first broadcast that said the movement was to protect the president, the second broadcast implied that in the early morning of 1 October the movement was more like a coup against the power and position of the president (Roosa, 2006: 47; Robinson, 2018: 56). After hearing about the generals who were killed, President Sukarno ordered that the activities be halted without making public statements (Robinson, 2018: 56).

During the interval, because the army commander, General Ahmad Yani, was killed, the remaining army was led by Major General Suharto, who eventually replaced Sukarno as president. Only hours after the first radio broadcast, Maj. Gen. Suharto launched a counterattack on the 30 September Movement. The troops, considered rebels, was suppressed by Suharto's loyalist troops. Less than a day after the movement started, General Umar Wirahadikusuma shut down all media, except the

media controlled by the army, *Angkatan Bersendjata* and *Berita Yudha* (Robinson, 2018: 56–57).

In the evening, Suharto announced that the movement was "counterrevolutionary." President Sukarno was safe, but the army maintained the leadership. Moreover, Suharto also issued an "ultimatum-like" message, stating that "Sukarno must leave Halim and the military units in there must surrender by the following morning, or he would send troops to remove them" (Robinson, 2018: 57).[3]

This movement also marked the end of Sukarno's presidency and the rise of Suharto's power (Roosa, 2006: 4). Afterward, in the early morning of October 3, 1965, Sukarno spoke on a radio station to convince people that he was safe and called for calm. Sukarno's announcement was quickly overwhelmed by the finding of the dead generals' bodies inside Lubang Buaya on the morning of 4 October. Mayor General Suharto witnessed the exhumation and denounced the treachery and barbarity of the murders. It was the first time Suharto suggested the involvement of Gerwani, Pemuda Rakyat (PKI's youth group) volunteers, and the air force in the killing of the generals. Suharto's statement spread nationwide in electronic and print media (Robinson, 2018: 58).

The terrible representation of the kidnapping and killing in the army-controlled media, combined with the display of a military procession for the dead generals, resulted in revenge against the generals' murders. Crowds prohibited all organizations affiliated

[3] Sukarno met Brigadier General Suparjo at Halim Air Force Base. Sukarno knew that Supardjo was one of the representatives of the 30 September Movement that had just murdered his army commander, Lieut. Gen. Achmad Yani. At the Mahmilub trial in 1967, Supardjo mentioned that Sukarno did not react to the kidnapping of the general with great alarm. According to Supardjo, Sukarno viewed this movement as a common gesture of a revolution. Although Sukarno was not anxious about the movement, he asked Supardjo to abort the movement. In Sukarno's view, the movement would spread wider and give an advantage to the neo-colonials (Roosa, 2006: 51–52). The second meeting of Sukarno and Supardjo occurred in the house of Commodore Soesanto. They discussed the placement of Yani as the commander of the army. "The officer whom Sukarno chose was Pranoto, a member of Yani's staff who was not abducted." However, the Revolutionary Council did not broadcast Sukarno's order on the radio. Almost at the same time, the radio station announced the implicit statement that deposed Sukarno as president and decommissioned the cabinet (Roosa, 2006: 53). At the cabinet meeting in early November 1965, Sukarno expressed his resentment against the movement's announcement that said Sukarno will decommission his own cabinet (Roosa, 2006: 54).

with the left, believing they were involved in the action. The violence began to spread, and crowds burned Pemuda Rakyat and PKI's offices and homes (Robinson, 2018: 58).

Image 1: Persecution of the communists after the coup (October 1965). (International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam)

Suharto led the extermination of all suspected PKI members and those affiliated with the party. More than one million victims were arrested and killed without trial. The worst bloodbath occurred in Central Java, East Java, and Bali from late 1965 to the middle of 1966. The army and civilians affiliated with the army massacred hundreds of thousands of individuals (Roosa, 2006: 4–5). Civilian allies mainly belonged to anticommunist religious groups and participated in this mass violence (Eickhoff et al., 2017: 449). After 11 March, 1966, Suharto established himself as de facto president and ruled Indonesia for the following thirty-two years under dictatorship (Roosa, 2006: 4–5).

2.2. The Five Theories of the 30 September Movement's Mastermind

2.2.1. The PKI's Coup

According to the master narrative history, the mastermind of the 30 September Movement was the PKI. This theory states that the PKI Politburo designed the coup as a shortcut to seize power, although not all PKI members were aware of the plan. The PKI killed seven army generals as part of the attempted coup. According to this version, the PKI, together with affiliated organizations such as Pemuda Rakyat and Gerwani, systematically planned this forcible transfer of power (Adam, 2009). In this version, the state used propaganda that the PKI was a group of atheist, hypersexual people, contrary to the national foundation, the Pancasila and Constitution (Wieringa and Katjasungkana, 2019: 16). The propaganda also accused Gerwani of sexual perversion toward the army generals (Wieringa and Katjasungkana, 2019: 26). As will be discussed below, many scholars have questioned this version, as the *Visum et Repertum* of six generals' bodies reported no incisions on the genitals and no gouged eyes (Anderson, 1971: 645; Adam, 2018: par. 19).

Nugroho Notosusanto is one of the historians who expressed this theory. In 1964, Notosusanto was the head of the Republic of Indonesia's Armed Forces History Center (*Kepala Divisi Sejarah Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia*) and, along with Ismael Saleh, wrote a book entitled *The Coup Attempt of the "September 30 Movement" in Indonesia* that aimed to counter the Cornell Paper which stated that the coup attempt was a result of the army's internal problems (Adam, 2018: par. 17). *The Coup Attempt* was translated into Indonesian, published, and titled *Tragedi Nasional, Percobaan Kup G30S/PKI*. In 1992, the secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia published the *buku putih,* or the official history of the 30 September Movement, entitled *Gerakan 30 September Pemberontakan Partai Komunis Indonesia, Latar*

Belakang, Aksi dan Penumpasannya [The 30 September Movement, Indonesian Communist Party's Rebellion, Its Background, Action, and Extermination] (Adam, 2018: par. 22). Notosusanto also initiated the making of the film *The Betrayal/Treachery of the Communist's 30 September Movement/PKI* directed by Arifin C. Noer. This film was mandatory viewing on national television, schools, and government institutions on 30 September between 1984 and 1997 (Adam, 2018: par. 21). This version can also be found in history textbooks. Although after the reformation (1998) there was an initiative to update historical narratives about 1965 in school textbooks, the 2006 curriculum returned to teaching the official version of the New Order government about the 30 September Movement (Adam, 2018: par. 14).

2.2.2. The Problems Internal to the Army

Another theory of the 30 September Movement argues that this movement resulted from an internal quarrel among army members. Historians, including Benedict R. Anderson and Ruth McVey, proposed this theory at Cornell University in the United States (Adam, 2009: 142). Ben Anderson, Ruth McVey, and F.P. Bunnell wrote a research report that identified the attempted coup as the peak of the army's internal problems. The Cornell historians wrote this report in 1966 but officially published it in 1977. This report was called the Cornell Paper (Adam, 2018: par. 17).

Harold Crouch mentions that the Army General Staff (SUAD/*Staff Umum Angkatan Darat*) was divided into two factions, the "middle faction" and the "right faction," toward the end of 1965. Both factions were anti-PKI but had different attitudes toward President Sukarno. The middle faction was a group loyal to President Sukarno, led by Pangad Lt. Gen. Ahmad Yani. The middle faction only opposed Sukarno's policy of national unity, which included the PKI. The right faction was against Sukarnoism.

This faction included General Nasution and Maj. Gen. Suharto. The incident, which claimed to protect Sukarno, was a step to bring down the main officers in the middle faction. According to the Cornell Paper, the movement would pave the path for power struggles by right-wing forces. W.F. Wertheim supports this version and adds that Syam Kamaruzaman, the Head of the Special Central Bureau of the PKI, was a "dual agent" working for Aidit, the General Secretary of the PKI as well as the army (Adam, 2009: 143).

2.2.3. The British-America Intervention

Confidential US and British documents (opened after 25 or 30 years) revealed foreign parties' involvement in the 1965 tragedy. These documents are the property of the CIA, and state that the CIA helped disburse funds to the KAP-Gestapu/ Komando Aksi Pengganyangan Gerakan September Tiga Puluh [Action Command to Crush the 30 September Movement] for the extermination of PKI, with Adam Malik as the intermediary. The United States was at the time engaged in a cold war against the communist bloc, as well as at war with Soviet-backed North Vietnam. As a capitalist bloc, the United States tried to prevent other countries, including Indonesia, from joining the communist bloc (Adam, 2009: 144).

Asvi Warman Adam, in *Membongkar Manipulasi Sejarah, Kontroversi Pelaku dan Peristiwa* [Revealing the Manipulation of History, Controversy of Actors and Events] summarizes David T. Johnson's six course of actions run by the US regarding the 1965 coup. These are: 1) letting the chaos happen; 2) persuading Sukarno to change policy; 3) getting rid of Sukarno; 4) encouraging the army to take power; 5) damaging the power of the PKI; and 6) engineering the destruction of the

PKI as well as the downfall of Sukarno. The US opted for the last course of action (Adam, 2009: 144).

Peter Dale Scott is one of the historians who supports this version. According to Scott, since 1953, the US was interested in helping the Indonesian army "to prevent permanent communist control" (Scott, 1985: 245). The CIA 's Directorate of Plans (currently Directorate of Operations) had long desired to remove Sukarno from the presidency and dismantle the PKI (Scott, 1985: 252). From 1957 to 1958, the CIA provided arms and personnel to support the regional rebellions against Sukarno (Scott, 1985: 246). By encouraging the 1965 coup, the US attained its goal of exterminating left generals and civilian leftists.

2.2.4. The "Creeping Coup" by Suharto

The theoretical departure point of this theory is that Suharto knew about the 30 September Movement before the executions though did not report the important incident to his superior, General Ahmad Yani. For Suharto, the movement was a pretext for delegitimizing Sukarno and establishing himself as president (Roosa, 2016: 4). The Creeping Coup analysis comes from a series of events, starting with the slow fall of Sukarno to the rise of Suharto's power. The Creeping Coup theory is promoted by scholars such as Y. Pohan, Saskia Eleonora Wieringa, Peter Dale Scott, and recently Soebandrio, former head of the Central Intelligence Agency (BPI/*Badan Pusat Intelijen*) (Adam, 2009: 153).

Soebandrio divided the coup d'état into four stages: 1) getting rid of Suharto's general rivals through the killings that took place on 1 October, 1965, in the early hours of the morning; 2) dissolving the PKI; 3) arresting 15 ministers who were loyal to Sukarno; and 4) seizing power from Sukarno. This analysis shows a systematic attempt to seize

power that occurred between 1965 and 1967/1968, although the steps developed based on the situation (Adam, 2009: 153).

2.2.5. The Mao-Sukarno-Aidit Conspiracy

Victor Miroslav Fic reveals this theory in his book *Kudeta 1 Oktober 1965, Sebuah Studi tentang Konspirasi* [The 1 October 1965 Coup, A Study of Conspiracy]. Fic mentions that four factors led the PKI to risk a coup attempt on 1 October, 1965: 1) Sukarno's health, which had deteriorated to the point of losing consciousness four times on 4 August, 1965 which raised the urgent question of who would succeed him; 2) the Chinese doctors who treated the president said that he would probably die or become permanently paralyzed if he had another health attack; 3) on 5 August, 1965, Mao Zedong suggested Aidit cooperate with the president to pave the path to the transition of state power to the PKI by crushing the army leaders; and 4) Beijing needed the support of Southeast Asian countries including Indonesia in its struggle against Moscow. Beijing, for this reason, urged the Indonesian transition of power to be completed as quickly as possible under the leadership of Aidit (Fic, 2000: 8). Fic obtained documents such as Aidit's letter dated 6 October, 1965, to President Sukarno and instructions from the Communist Party's Central Committee. Fic collected the documents from Lt. Col. Djiwo Sugondo of the Central Examination Team, the Operations Command to Restore Security and Order (Teperpu Kopkamtib/*Tim Pemeriksa Pusat–Komando Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban/ Central Investigation Team–Operations Command to Restore Security and Order*).

To date, the mastermind behind the 1965 coup is still a subject of much debate. The mastermind of the coup and movement might not be a single person but a confluence of multiple reasons (Adam, 2018: 27). As this research will discuss below, the master

narrative that states that the "PKI was the mastermind of the 1965 coup" is still dominant among Indonesians. However, recent academic discourse on the 1965 topic is better compared to the New Order era. The rich academic resources on this topic open the possibility of building a more comprehensive picture of the 1965 coup (Robinson, 2018: 12). The next subchapter points out the two contested narratives of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia: the master narrative and the victim narrative.

2.3. The Master Narrative of the 1965–1966 Massacre in Indonesia

According to the master narrative history, the coup was a PKI post-Sukarno event. The PKI spread a rumor about a council of generals and organized a meeting to discuss the target of the coup. The air force trained PKI volunteers at Halim Air Force Base (Wieringa, 2002: 285). The movement was supposedly a part of the Communist Party's social revolt. This narrative is the basis for legitimizing Suharto's dictatorship. During his presidency, Suharto presented himself as the nation's savior for defeating the communist force (Roosa, 2016: 7).

The master narrative history called the abduction and killing of the generals the G30S/PKI (The 30 September Movement/Indonesian Communist Party) in order to establish the belief that the PKI was the mastermind of this tragedy (Ikhwan et al., 2019: 5). The master narrative also refers to the movement as Gestapu (Gerakan September Tiga Puluh/ The Movement of September 30). The naming of Gestapu suggests an association with the Nazi secret police, the Gestapo, by analogizing the generals' killing to the cruelty of the Nazis (Robinson, 2018: 166).

Major General Suharto witnessed the excavation of the generals' corpses in Lubang Buaya. He testified about the involvement of communist-affiliated organizations, especially Gerwani and Pemuda Rakyat, in the killing of several generals. Suharto's

testimony was reported and broadcast nationwide (Robinson, 2018: 58). The first media to mention the involvement of Gerwani and Pemuda Rakyat in the killing of the generals was an editorial in *Angkatan Bersendjata* [The Armed Forces]. The editorial reported that both organizations might be related to the killings since their training camp was nearby, in Lubang Buaya (Wieringa, 2002: 302).[4]

The master narrative portrays the PKI and all other organizations associated with it as atheist, anti-nationalist, and sexually perverse (Wieringa and Katjasungkana, 2019: 13). For example, the New Order's propaganda depicts the members of Gerwani as "communist, perverted madness [who] had the major hand in torturing and killing the Generals" (Wieringa, 2002: 291). According to the master narrative, Gerwani members seduced the generals by performing a naked dance called the Fragrant Flower Dance while singing the "communist" song Genjer-Genjer. Thereafter, the Gerwani women castrated the generals and gouged out their eyes (Wieringa and Katjasungkana, 2019: 26). According to this version, Gerwani and women of Pemuda Rakyat were trained by the air force at the training camp (Wieringa, 2002: 291). The autopsy results of the generals' corpses, revealed several years after the massacre, confirmed that "the reports of sexual mutilation and eye gouging of generals were false" (Wieringa, 2002: 313). The authorities could at that time access the autopsy result but did not publish them. The autopsy report was only known outside of Indonesia when Benedict Anderson accessed and published them in 1987 (Wieringa, 2002: 303). The report mentioned that "the wounds on the generals' bodies were either bullet wounds or were heavy, dull traumas" (Wieringa, 2002: 303). It is consistent with the findings that the generals were beaten by their executioners with

[4] In 2000, the PP AURI (*Persatuan Purnawirawan Angkatan Udara Republik Indonesia* [Retired Air Force Association of the Republic of Indonesia]) provided historical clarification that explained that Lubang Buaya, where the generals' bodies were dumped by the army, was not part of the Halim Perdanakusuma Air Force Base, but was in fact part of the Pondok Gede area (Adam, 2018: 25).

rifle butts or thrown into a 36-foot well. There was no trace of razor cuts to the genitals, and all eyes were still in their sockets (Wieringa, 2002: 303).

Although the autopsy documents were made public, the official master narrative history remained dominant in the New Order era and several years later. The New Order regime created the myth of a Communist Coup to legitimize their political power. In 1966, the New Order government issued a decree that ordered the PKI's dissolution and prohibited the spreading or development of the communism/Marxism/Leninism doctrine in any activities. Suharto and his regime used the term "latent danger" of a "Communist threat" to justify the repression of his opponents. This Communist threat myth also appeared repeatedly in the media (Sen and David T. Hill, 2007: 4).

The New Order's propaganda of the 1965–1966 massacres focused on the alleged sexual perversion of Gerwani and communists as atheists and anti-nationalists (Wieringa and Katjasungkana, 2019: 2). The main instruments of the master narrative's propaganda were the army-controlled media (*Angkatan Bersendjata* and *Berita Yudha*), a book entitled *The National Tragedy of the G30S/PKI Attempted Coup in Indonesia* and a film entitled *The Betrayal/Treachery of the Communists' 30 September Movement/PKI*. The New Order regime knew that film was important as a propaganda instrument. In April 1965, the Commander-in-Chief of Kopkamtib (the Command for the Restoration of Security and Public Order) issued an instruction to form the Kopkamtib Film Project as a "medium of psywar" against enemies both inside and outside of Indonesia (Heryanto, 2014: 78). The propaganda films about the 1965–1966 tragedy produced by these institutions were *The Treachery of the 30 September Movement* (1984) and *Penumpasan Sisa-sisa PKI Blitar Selatan* [The Suppression of Remnants of the PKI in South Blitar] and *Operasi Trisula* [Operation

Trisula] (1986), which portrayed a "witch-hunt of Communist survivors by the military in South Blitar" (Heryanto, 2014: 78).

The state also distributed master narrative propaganda to the populace through "textbooks, monuments, street names,… museums, commemorative rituals, and national holidays" (Roosa, 2016: 7). During Suharto's presidency, "every year on September 30th, Suharto and his top officials held a ceremony" at the Sacred Pancasila Monument (*Monumen Pancasila Sakti*) to mark their loyal commitment to Pancasila. On the night of 30 September, all television stations were also required to broadcast the film *The Treason of the 30 September Movement/PKI*. Schoolchildren and civil servants were obliged to watch the film about the killing of the seven army generals (Roosa, 2016: 10).

As will be shown in the next sub-chapter, many scholars have questioned this master narrative of Indonesia's 1965–1966 massacre, including Benedict Anderson, Saskia Wieringa, John Roosa, Robert Cribb, Gerry van Klinken, Martin Eickhoff, Geoffrey Robinson, Katherine McGregor, Jess Melvin, and Grace Leksana. These scholars have collected extensive testimony from the victims and witnesses of the massacre to build the counter-narrative of the 1965–1966 massacres in Indonesia.

2.4. The Victim Narrative of the 1965–1966 Massacre

The New Order's propaganda leads Indonesians to believe that the massacre resulted from a "spontaneous" uprising by people or an "explosion of communal clashes" in some areas of Indonesia. "This is simply not the case" (Melvin, 2018: 51). The master narrative cannot explain how the massacre lasted for months, at almost the same time, and covered various regions across Indonesia. In fact, the large areas of Indonesia in

which the massacre occurred indicates the state's involvement in organizing and triggering the massacre (Heryanto, 2016).[5]

The victim narrative that can only speak after the resignation of Suharto as president offers a new interpretation of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia. After the Reformation era (1998), several counter-narratives began to emerge. For example, the movement was "an internal army matter" between "progressive officers" and "the right-wing generals" (Roosa, 2016: 141); the massacre was "initiated and implemented by the Indonesia military" (McGregor et al., 2018: 51); the massacre was supported by the US who helped the Indonesian army to get rid of communist forces (Roosa, 2016: 13); and the movement was a part of Suharto's creeping coup (Wieringa, 2002: 328). From these victim narratives, we know that those who were massacred were not only leaders or members of the PKI and other organizations affiliated with PKI (Robinson, 2018: 121–122), but also those who were not major politics figures. They were farmers, laborers, factory workers, teachers, students, artists, civil servants, and many others. Most did not understand and were not directly engaged in the 1965 alleged coup. They were targeted for undertaking activities or having family or a close friend linked to the PKI or other affiliated organizations. Most victims did not even know about the 1965 coup or the communist doctrine – they were targeted only because they were labeled PKI (Robinson, 2018: 122–123).

The vengeance unleashed on the leftists increased, especially after the army's propaganda in print and electronic media. In many cases, the killing of the leftists only began after the arrival of special forces like the Army Paracommando Regiment (RPKAD/*Resimen Para Komando Angkatan Darat/* Army Para-commando Regiment). Sometimes military units had the main role in the killing, but more often

[5] Ariel Heryanto, 2016, Simposium Nasional Membedah Tragedi 1965 Melalui Pendekatan Kesejarahan [National Symposium Revealing the 1965 Tragedy Through a Historical Approach], Jakarta, April 18–19, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9VaF1WJDKDU

local militias carried out the killing. At that time, the youth organizations affiliated with the main political party and involved in the intimidation and small-scale violence. After the alleged 1965 coup, the military supported some of these youth organizations with weapons and semi-military training, especially the Muslim Ansor in Central and East Java (Cribb, 2001: 233).

The 1965–1966 massacres did not apply modern technologies, such as "high-powered firearms, aerial bombardments, gas chambers, or chemical weapons," to kill the victims. In this regard, it is dissimilar to the genocide in Germany and closer to the mass killings in Rwanda and Cambodia (Robinson, 2018: 123). The executors usually used everyday equipment such as knives, swords, sickles, machetes, ice picks, bamboo spears, or iron sticks (Robinson, 2018: 123). Still, some of them beat and shot their victims to death. In some cases, the victims' bodies were mutilated or dumped into rivers or caves, while other victims were forced to dig their own graves. In some cases, victims' body parts were even displayed (Cribb, 2001: 233).

Image 2: Victims were preparing to die in a mass grave.
(https://www.globalresearch.ca/how-the-australian-british-and-us-governments-shamelessly-helped-kill-countless-people-in-indonesia-in-1965/5537406)

The operations to eradicate the PKI's proponents were executed by youth organizations with the army's support. They ran systematically based on lists and local informants who were responsible for identifying targeted party members (Cribb, 2001: 233).[6] Some villages were entirely swept away, but in most cases, the executor selected those considered "guilty" (Cribb, 2001: 233).

Wieringa wrote down some testimonies of Gerwani members and volunteers who point out that the military had forged documents about Gerwani involvement in the generals' killing. One of the women volunteers at Lubang Buaya in the early morning of 1 October said that she was a member of Pemuda Rakyat and thought there was a Dwikora exercise at Lubang Buaya. She witnessed the soldiers killing the generals, whereafter she then ran back home, but was arrested at nine o'clock in the morning by the military. She was beaten and interrogated by the military. They forced her and some other women to undress and dance naked in front of them while they took pictures (Wieringa, 2002: 296).

The number of people killed in this massacre is still open to debate (Cribb, 2001: 233). The question of the number of victims sometimes becomes a bitter polemic between the New Order supporters and their critics. For certain reasons, both groups

[6] The Swedish ambassador confirmed one of the executions occurred at the Goodyear rubber plantation near Medan, North Sumatra. The head of the plantation told the Swedish ambassador that "every Saturday night, a couple of trucks arrived and took away a hundred or so [people] to the nearby bridge by a fast-flowing river close to the plantation headquarters. They were killed with jungle knives on the bridge and their bodies were thrown into the river" (Robinson, 2018: 126). In some cases, many victims were passively brought to their deaths. In North Sumatra, the victims were lined up by the river waiting to be beheaded. Meanwhile, in Bali, the victims believed that they would go peacefully if they wore traditional white funeral clothes (Cribb, 2001: 234) In Jembrana, Bali, thousands of corpses were dumped in mass graves or into the sea (Robinson, 2018: 128). In East Java, the dead bodies floated in the Brantas River, some of them bound to bamboo stakes and collected on rafts (Robinson, 2018: 128). The victims were more often decapitated or dismembered, as happened in Banyuwangi, Kediri, Bali, and Medan (Robinson, 2018: 128–129). In some cases, the corpses, heads, or other body parts were displayed to sow terror (Robinson, 2018: 129). Some of the female victims were raped and mutilated. According to the Banser Commander in Kediri, East Java, a murderer of Gerwani members, one of the Gerwani leaders named Jamsiah was detained, picked up, and brought to Sumberbage forest, Gadungan. Her body was cut into two parts. In Blitar, East Java, Japik, the local Gerwani representative was raped many times, and her body was eventually slit open from her breasts to her vulva (Robinson, 2018: 130). Sexual harassment not only happened to women but also men, some of who were castrated. In a red-light district near Kediri, East Java, according to Pipit Rochijat, in front of a prostitution house, there were a lot of male genitals belonging to communist suspects. The castration of men was also carried out by the executors in North Sumatra (Robinson, 2018: 131).

sometimes claimed higher or lower figures than the fact. Indonesian authorities did not deny the massacres, but focused exclusively on the killing of the seven generals in order to glorify the army. The massacres of the leftists are no more than a footnote (Robinson, 2018: 120). Some scholars mention 400,000–500,000 deaths, while others report the number of victims to have reached 1 million people (Cribb, 2001: 233). The broader scholarship has recently reached the consensus that the number of victims is around 500,000. This number is consistent with many estimations, such as from major Western embassies that suggested in late February 1966 that 400,000 deaths were an underestimated figure and that the figure might reach 1 million. Senior Indonesian officials, like Kopkamtib chief of staff Admiral Sudomo, said on Dutch television in 1976 that more than half a million people were killed after the alleged coup.

2.5. *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners*

One of the mixed media that expresses the victim narrative of the 1965–1966 massacre is a graphic narrative entitled *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* (2016).[7] As will be discussed later in Chapter IV, graphic narratives such as illustrated books and graphic novels frequently deal with mass violence because they can describe mass violence in a productive way, by stating the explicit truth and connecting to a wider audience (Veld, 2019: 1). For example, *Maus* (Art

[7] After the collapse of the New Order regime in 1998, there was a greater possibility to discuss, reveal the truth, and pursue justice related to the 1965–1966 massacres. Several films and illustrated books were created by younger generations Indonesians. They enjoy the power of new media technology and greater freedom of speech, although only a few of them appear to have an interest in the history of violence (Heryanto, 2014: 76).
In visual arts, the representation of the 1965–1966 massacre transmits the memories of both direct and indirect victims. For instance, Dadang Christanto's works in the exhibition entitled Nineteen Sixty-Five at QUT Art Museum, Brisbane (November 2015–February 2016) (Dirgantoro, 2020: 302) are inspired by his personal experience, in which his father remains unknown since the violent political upheaval in 1965–1966. ("Nineteen sixty-five: Dadang Christanto. Past exhibition". QUT Art Museum. https://www.artmuseum.qut.edu.au/whats-on/2016/exhibitions/nineteen-sixty-five-dadang-christanto).
In other cases, the victims and survivors express their own experiences in music. For example, the Dialita (*Di Atas Lima Puluh Tahun* [Over 50 Years]) Choir creates music to honor those who were wrongly imprisoned by the government during the 1965 tragedy (see Dylan Amirio (The Jakarta Post). "Dialita Choir: Voices of the silenced". https://www.thejakartapost.com/life/2017/12/21/dialita-choir-voices-of-the-silenced.html).

Spiegelman, 1986 and 1991) and *Auschwitz* (Pascal Croci, 2002) address the Holocaust and *Safe Area Goražde* (Joe Sacco, 2000) deals with the Bosnian war.

The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners is an illustrated book created by a collective of artists and published by Ultimus in 2016. This book is interesting because it offers the victims' narrative from a different point of view. The picture book is neither an autobiographic graphic novel like Art Spiegelman's *Mauss* and Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis*, nor a journalistic graphic novel like Joe Sacco's *Palestine* and *Footnotes in Gaza*. The artists created this picture book based on victims' oral stories and research on the alternative narrative of the 1965–1966 massacres, such as that by John Roosa, Geoffrey Robinson, and Robert Cribb. The authors of this picture book are not direct victims. *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* can be a bridge over a large generational gap between the victims (the primary witnesses) and the current generation. In this case, "the victim (the primary witness) gives a voice of their own fragmented memory" to the artists and "constructs those who listen as witnesses. This engenders a secondary witness through whom the trauma may spread and be passed on to others." The artist is usually "either traumatized or directly affected by traumatic events" (Dirgantoro, 2020: 306).

This book highlights the story of the establishment of the PKI, the mass murder of people suspected as PKI members, and the demand for state responsibility after 1998.[8] *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* tells the untold story of leftist movements in Indonesia. This graphic narrative consists of 84 pages of preface notes from several experts and academics about the 1965 massacre in Indonesia[9] and

[8] See https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2019/02/29

[9] In the preface, twenty-two experts give their opinion of the 1965–1966 massacre and Leftist movement in Indonesia according to their areas of expertise, such as comics, Indonesian leftist movements, history, feminism, human rights, agrarian issues, political identity, journalism, and fine arts.

527 pages of graphic narrative about the Indonesian left movement from the Colonial period to 50 years after the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia.

The book is divided into four chapters. The first chapter describes the emergence of a revolutionary movement in the colonial era. This chapter begins with the European colonization that began in the sixteenth to seventeenth century. Dutch settlers established the Dutch East India Company (VOC), which later transformed into a political body supported by the Dutch state and military. During this period, the Dutch colonial powers imposed the system of compulsory plantations and forced labor. The resistance and working-class organizations were born in response to colonial oppression. One of the organizations was the Indies Social Democratic Association (ISDV/*Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging)*. Later, the ISDV changed its name to the Communist Union in the Indies (*Perserikatan Komunis di Hindia*) and then again to the Indonesian Communist Party (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 3–35; Estrellita, 2019: par. 2).

The second chapter portrays the development of the left movement from 1920 to 1965. During this period, several popular movements engaged in resistance, for example peasants' revolts, railway workers' strikes, hospital staff strikes, and ship factory workers' strikes (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 53; Estrellita, 2019: par. 3). The PKI was the first to use the name "Indonesia" instead of "Indies," in order to show their rebellion against Dutch colonialism (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 51; Estrellita, 2019: par. 3). This chapter also depicts Islamists and communists who fought Dutch oppression and overcrowded Dutch colonial prisons, the emergence of the Indonesia National Party (PNI), Sukarno's struggle against the colonialists, preparation for Indonesia's independence, the PKI's development, and various attempts to stop the PKI's actions. This chapter also illustrates several events before the 1965 coup and massacre, such as

the increasing influence of the PKI, Sukarno's appointment as president for life, the US's aid to the Indonesian military, the confrontation with Malaysia, the establishment by CIA of the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), and the Conference of Revolutionary Literature and Art by the PKI and other leftist organizations.

The third chapter depicts the 1965–1966 massacres that exterminated people considered leftists in many locations across Indonesia. This chapter begins with the politico-economic circumstances of mid-1965 Indonesia, such as the economic crisis, internal problems of the military, military aid from the US, and the preparation of the 30 September Movement. The 1965 coup started with the generals' kidnapping and killing, followed by the extermination of leftists organized by the military and army-affiliated militias and assisted by Western Bloc countries. This chapter illustrates the mass arrest, torture, imprisonment, forced labor, and exile of political prisoners (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 368–402; Estrellita, 2019: par. 4). The artists draw the torture practices in detailed and realistic drawings, inviting the readers to comprehend the massacre.

The fourth chapter deals with the 50 years after the 1965–1966 massacre, which begins with the establishment of the New Order. Various human rights violations occurred during Suharto's presidency, for example the Malari incident of 1974, Indonesia's invasion of Timor Leste, mysterious shootings targeting thugs and recidivists, mass violence in Aceh, press oppression and silence, and activist kidnapping and murdering (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 457–488). Suharto's regime legacy, such as anticommunist propaganda, the disappearance of militants, the prohibition of books, and control of mass communication, remains alive in Indonesian society after Suharto resigned from the presidency (Estrelita, 2019: par. 5). In 2008, the National

Human Rights Commission investigated the 1965–1966 massacres. The struggle of the 1965 victims and survivors for justice through advocacy and art continues today (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 503–508).

The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners is full of illustrations and uses a typography characteristic of comic strips, which is easy to read (Estrellita, 2019: par. 6). The authors illustrated the incidents in the caricatural-type drawings, which "include many violent images: naked and bloody bodies, torture, rape, or even sadistic executions of 'left' individuals" (Estrellita, 2019: par. 6).

The book was launched in February 2016. However, in May 2016 the local district attorney confiscated the book for spreading communism/Leninism/socialism.[10] Due to the short period of time which elapsed between the book's launch and its confiscation, it is not widely known. However, everyone can still purchase the book through online websites and read several parts of the book on the authors' social media accounts.

In the Indonesian context, comics as social commentary media encounter many obstacles, such as political censorship by authorities, high costs of production, and the flood of American and Japanese translation comics into the market (Berman, 2001: 26–27). *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* also faces the same obstacles as other Indonesian social commentary comics. However, the authors of the illustrated book prefer the comic book format based on the following reasons: 1) comics are interesting for beginners across different generations; 2) comics could be used as a storyboard for making a film, animation, documentary, or musical drama in the future; 3) books are one of the most effective means of documentation to record civilization; and 4) pictures within the comic book could be material for posters, murals, or digital images (interview with Yayak Yatmaka, 30 Nov 2022).

[10] Muhammad Iqbal (Tempo.co). "Kejaksaaan Yogyakarta Sita Buku Sejarah Gerakan Kiri". https://nasional.tempo.co/read/770845/kejaksaaan-yogyakarta-sita-buku-sejarah-gerakan-kiri

The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners can be seen as a new media in the 1965–1966 massacres context since it addresses the issue in certain graphic styles and allusions that simultaneously involve creative and "objective" representations. This illustrated book employs visual metaphors, such as humans with animal features, to represent the massacre perpetrators. This book also uses visual stylistic devices that combine the drawing style of cartooning and highly detailed, realistic, and precise illustrations of torture practices to show their social-political veracity or commitment to social-political truth (Bake and Zöhrer, 2017: 6). The pictures are also in black-and-white or monochrome in order to emphasize the "nonfiction" character of the information (Weber, 2017: 387). Moreover, the illustrated book presents the cross-checked victims' testimonies and the paratextual matter[11] to emphasize historical and sociopolitical veracity. This book provides information with which to learn from the history of 1965–1966 to prevent a similar massacre from happening again (Yatmaka et al., 2016, viii).

[11] The paratextual matter, for example, appears in the preface from experts, the intention of the authors, methodology, and picture captions that mention the interview locations (Veld, 2019, 195). In *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, Gérard Genette argues that the main function of an authorial preface is "to ensure that the text is read properly." This function consists of two actions: "to get the book read" (minimum) and "to get the book read properly" (maximum) (Genette, 1997: 197). Veld (2019) proposes three main functions of pre- and postfaces in graphic novels, which all demonstrate how these paratextual instances are used by the author as tools to reinforce the historical and socio-political veracity of these works. Paratextual elements include the name of the author, titles, epigraphs, blurbs, dedications, and pre-and postfaces. The three functions of paratextual matter – truthfulness, high value, and statement of intent – usually overlap in the pre-and postfaces (Veld, 2019: 195).

CHAPTER III

W.J.T. MITCHELL'S THEORY

This chapter elaborates on Mitchell's theory. This chapter first describes Mitchell's biography and works, whereafter some key concepts of Mitchell's mixed media theory are presented, such as the pictorial turn, metapicture, biopicture, text, and image, as well as the relationship between picture, power, and violence.

3.1. Mitchell's Biography and Works

3.1.1. Biography

William John Thomas Mitchell is a Professor of English Language and Literature and Art History at the University of Chicago. He was born in Anaheim, California, in 1942. He received his bachelor's from Michigan State University (1963), and his master's and PhD from John Hopkins University. He finished his PhD in 1968 with a dissertation titled "Blake's Composite Art: A Study of the Illuminated Poetry" (Kreizman, 1979: 1250). In this work, he argues that William Blake's images and texts are a composite art where the elements are multiplied by one another (Douglas, 2012: 87). In 1968, Mitchell started teaching in the English Department of Ohio State University.

In 1977, he moved to Chicago and taught at the University of Chicago. Between 1977 and 1985, Mitchell, along with his colleagues (such as medievalist Linda Seidel, Byzantinist Rob Nelson, photographer-philosopher Joel Snyder, and modern art historians Becky Chandler, Martha Ward, and Margaret Olin, literary scholar

Elizabeth Helsinger, and medievalist Michael Camille) established an informal workshop, the Laocoön Group. This group focused on "studying the intersections of the visual arts, philosophy, and literature." Its name was inspired not by the ancient sculpture but by G. E. Lessing's book on the relations between literature and the visual arts (Mitchell, 2015: 4–5). In 2003, Mitchell also initiated the Chicago School of Media Theory (CSMT) (Verstegen, 2017: 138).

The main field of Mitchell's research is the relation between visual and verbal representation in culture. He is also well-known for his study on iconology or the study of images across the media.

3.1.2. Works

Mitchell's works span the history and theories of media, visual art, and literature. He deals with art and media history from the eighteenth century to the present. His series about the relationship between text and image comprise of *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (1986)*, Picture Theory* (1994)*, What Do Pictures Want? Essays on the Lives and Loves of Images* (2005), and *Image Science: Iconography, Visual Culture, and Media Aesthetics* (2015).

1. *Iconology* (1986)

Iconology is a book about images and uses many theories and perspectives. According to Mitchell, this book is like "a book about vision written as if by a blind author for a blind reader" (Mitchell, 1986: 1). Mitchell assumes a blind listener "might see patterns" in the discussion on image that "would be invisible to the sighted participant" (Mitchell, 1986: 1). *Iconology* reflects on two fundamental questions: "What is an image?" and "What is the difference between images and words?" (Mitchell, 1986: 1). As suggested by its title, *Iconology* is the study of images

(from *icon* – images, pictures, or likenesses and *logos* – words, ideas, discourse, or "science"). In this book, Mitchell examines images from the perspectives of many thinkers, such as Wittgenstein and his critique of the "picture theory" of meaning, Nelson Goodman's critique of "iconicity," Ernst Gombrich's argument for the naturalness of imagery, Lessing's attempt to produce the general laws that separate poetry from painting, Burke's aesthetics of the sublime and the beautiful, and Marx's use of *camera obscura*, "the fetish as figures for the psychological and material 'idols' of capitalism" (Mitchell, 1986: 2). At the onset of this book, Mitchell seeks to produce a valid theory of images, but it turns into a book about the fear of images. *Iconology* is about the science of icons and also "the political psychology of icons, the study of iconophobia, iconophilia, and the struggle between iconoclasm and idolatry" (Mitchell, 1986: 3).

2. *Picture Theory* (1994)

Picture Theory is a sequel and companion volume of *Iconology (*Mitchell, 1994: 4). However, this book moves in the opposite direction of *Iconology.* In *Iconology,* Mitchell explores images from many perspectives. In contrast, in *Picture Theory,* Mitchell lets the pictures articulate theory for themselves and does not import a theory of picture from somewhere else (Mitchell, 2005: 6). The author wants to "silence the theoretical chatter on image" and "let the pictures talk" about themselves (Wiesenthal et al., 2000: 2).

Picture Theory raises questions about what images are and how images differ from words "with regard to pictures, the concrete, and representational objects in which images appear" (Mitchell, 1994: 4). This book reflects on the relation of word and image in various artworks, from poems, paintings, and photographs to films and television programs. Mitchell says this book is a practical companion to *Iconology*

(Mitchell, 1994: 4–5). In *Picture Theory*, Mitchell assumes that all media are mixed media. Therefore, there are no "purely" visual or verbal arts (Mitchell, 1994: 5). The major aim of this book is not merely to describe the relationship between visual and verbal representation but also their connection to issues of power, value, and human interest (Mitchell, 1994: 5). Mitchell wants "to picture theory" as a practical activity, rather than produce the theory of pictures (Mitchell, 1994: 6).

The author divides this book into five sections. The first section contains three chapters explaining the key concepts of picture theory, such as the pictorial turn and metapicture, as well as Mitchell's methodology for analyzing verbal-visual representation. The second section deals with "the textual pictures" or pictorial dimension in textual objects, such as William Blake's art of writing, ekphrasis, and slavery narrative. The third section discusses "the pictorial texts" or textual dimensions in the pictures, for example the relationship between abstract painting and language, the narrative in Robert Morris's minimalist and conceptual sculptures, and the photographic essay. In the fourth chapter, Mitchell explores the relationship between pictures and power, especially in illusionism, Nelson Goodman's realism, and "the conventional construction of animals as subjects" (Bohrer, 1997: 559). Eventually, in the last section, Mitchell examines pictures concerning violence and the public sphere, for example in the film *Do the Right Thing*, CNN's coverage of Operation Desert Storm, and Oliver Stone's *JFK*.

3. *What Do Pictures Want? Essays on the Lives and Loves of Images* (2005)

Mitchell discusses the nature of the verbal image and textual representation in *Iconology* and *Picture Theory*. In *What Do Pictures Want?* (2005), Mitchell addresses images' vitality and desire (Mitchell, 2015: 55). The author divides this book into three main parts: the first deals with images, the second with objects, and

the third with media. The first part discusses the kind of lives images have, how images live today, as well as the living image in terrorism and image cloning. The second part explores the manifestation of images' vitality. In the third part, the author wants to picture desire rather than ask what pictures want (Mitchell, 2005: 2). Eventually, Mitchell addresses the surplus-value of images to examine the tendency to simultaneously over- and underestimate images. "Images are not everything, but at the same time, they… 'convince' us that they are everything" (Mitchell, 2005: 2). This book is about pictures as complex assemblages of virtual, material, and symbolic elements (Mitchell, 2005: xii).

4. Image Science: Iconography, Visual Culture, and Media Aesthetics (2015)

Image Science (2015) gathers Mitchell's most recent essays on media aesthetics, visual culture, and artistic symbolism. In this book, Mitchell intends to explore images not merely in the realm of art and humanities ("soft science") but also as an empirical investigation ("hard science") (Mitchell, 2015: 24). The result is the science of image as "sweet science" in which images are in between soft and hard science (Mitchell, 2015: 220). The author divides this book into two main parts. The first part focuses on figures, and the second part on grounds. The first part consists of eight essays reflecting on the nature of images, from the boundary between iconology, art history, visual culture, and media studies; the images' potential as scientific objects; to the central question on language, realism, and truth claims. The first part also discusses technology and life forms and Martin Heidegger's notion of world pictures, or "the world as picture." The second part focuses on "the media in which images appear, the sites and spaces where they live, and the frameworks of temporality and spectacle that frame them in a history of the present" (Mitchell, 2015: 12).

Mitchell also published many other works, such as *Blake's Composite Art: A Study of the Illuminated Poetry* (Princeton University Press, 1978), *The Last Dinosaur Book: The Life and Times of a Cultural Icon* (University of Chicago Press, 1998), *Cloning Terror: The War of Images, 9/11 to the Present* (University of Chicago Press, 2011), *Seeing Through Race* (Harvard University Press, 2012), and *Mental Traveler, A Father, a Son, and a Journey through Schizophrenia,* (University of Chicago Press, 2020).

3.2. Pictorial Turn

Some scholars define the pictorial turn as a turn in which philosophy and theory are "coming to terms with the excess of images" (Purgar, 2017: 3), a "turn to the visual," or "the image as a commonplace" (Golden, 2019: 229). A common misunderstanding is that the pictorial turn only happens in modern and contemporary visual culture. The pictorial turn reappeared numerous times in the history of culture, especially at the moments when some new technology of image reproduction arrived on the historical scene. According to Mitchell, one could even identify the pictorial turn in ancient times, when Israelites turned away from the law that Moses brought and erected a golden calf as an idol (Mitchell, 2015: 14).

In 1992, Mitchell proclaimed a "pictorial turn" that opposes the dominance of verbal language (Mitchell, 1992 reprinted in Mitchell, 1994). At almost the same time, Gottfried Boehm, in his essay "Die Wiederkehr der Bilder" (Boehm, 1994), came to an "*ikonische wende*" [iconic turn] that has the ultimate purpose of establishing a "general image science" (*Allgemeine Bildwissenschaft*) (Bachmann-Medick, 2016: 245). Boehm's iconic turn is a part of his "hermeneutics of the image" program that aims to broaden Gadamer's hermeneutics so as to explain how images are able to

make meaning (Martinengo, 2018: 2). In 1995, Ferdinand Fellman wrote his essay "Innere Bilder im Licht des imagic turn" wherein he states that the linguistic turn has been followed by an "imagic turn" which acknowledges images as "the elementary medium of human world and self-understanding," beside language. Fellman's article deals with mental images and the role of images in the theory of mind (Fellman, 1995: 21).

All of these turns (Mitchell's "pictorial" turn, Boehm's "iconic" turn, and Fellman's "imagic" turn) challenge the dominance of language in the logocentric view (Sonja Zeman, 2011: 2).

Mitchell borrows the term "pictorial turn" from Richard Rorty. Rorty sees the history of philosophy as a series of "turns." According to Rorty, "turns" occur when "a new set of problems emerges, and the old ones begin to fade away." Ancient and medieval philosophy was concerned with things, seventeenth to nineteenth century thought dealt with ideas, while the enlightened contemporary philosophy is concerned with words. For Rorty, the final stage of philosophy is "the linguistic turn." However, Mitchell added a turn named the pictorial turn, in which images become the center topic both in academic discourse and the sphere of public culture (Mitchell, 1994: 11). The pictorial turn in contemporary culture has changed how visual culture is produced and consumed (Mitchell, 1994: 109). In contrast to the linguistic turn, the pictorial turn accepts that "images can *speak* and *tell* as much as they can *show* and *represent"* (Paić and Purgar, 2016: 5–6).

We can trace the concept of the pictorial turn in the semiotics of Charles Sanders Pierce and Nelson Goodman's languages of art. They are pioneers in using the pictorial turn concept among Anglo-American thinkers. In the context of European thinkers, Mitchell gives appreciation to some notions that contains the topic of a

pictorial turn, such as phenomenology; Derrida's grammatology which decenters phonocentrism; the Frankfurt school, especially regarding the investigation of mass culture and visual media; and Foucault's thoughts on the theory of power/knowledge that expose the gap between the discursive and visible (Mitchell, 1994: 12). Furthermore, Mitchell places the philosophical foundation of the pictorial turn on Wittgenstein's philosophy,[12] wherein he says that "A picture held us captive. We could not get outside it, for it lay in our language and language seemed to repeat itself to us inexorably" (Wittgenstein, 1958: 48; Mitchell, 1994: 12).

In the pictorial turn, image is a complex interplay between many different fields, like visuality, artistic expression, media platforms, ideologies, and discipline (Purgar, 2017: 11). In his book *Picture Theory*, Mitchell writes:

> Whatever the pictorial turn is, then, it should be clear that it is not a return to naïve mimesis, copy, or correspondence theories of representation, or a renewed metaphysics of pictorial "presence"; it is rather as a postlinguistic, postsemiotic rediscovery of the picture as a complex interplay between visuality, apparatus, institutions, discourse, bodies, and figurality. (Mitchell, 1994: 16)

Mitchell argues that the status of a picture in the pictorial turn is, to use Thomas Kuhn's concept, between a "paradigm" and an "anomaly," because the picture is an unsolved problem (Mitchell, 1994: 13). We still need more exploration about "what pictures are, what their relation to language is, how they operate on observers and on the world, how their history is to be understood, and what is to be done with or about them" (Mitchell, 1994: 13).

In a position between "paradigm" and "anomaly," people often see pictures as peculiar frictions and discomforting things across disciplines and intellectual inquiry

[12] Wittgenstein never explicitly formulates a philosophy of pictures. However, from his many examinations of pictures and examples of pictures in use, one can get his implicit conception of pictorial languages. For example, in the *Philosophical Investigations,* Wittgenstein does not deny the connection between pictorial objects and the real, as he stipulates that children can talk to picture-men or picture-animals much as they treat their dolls, and when one sees the picture of a galloping horse, one sees the horse is galloping in the picture (Wittgenstein, 1958: 194, 202; Nyiri, 2019: 266).

areas (Mitchell, 1994: 13). Mitchell sees the pictorial turn "as a sort of anxiety and unrest that predicts an imminent change in the cultural universe" (Purgar, 2017: 3). For example, in the second half of the twentieth century, we encountered a paradox about the picture. On the one hand, the abundance of pictures is inescapable in the era of video and cybernetic technology and the age of electronic reproduction. On the other hand, the fear of the image has arisen at the same time. There is anxiety about the "power of images" that will destroy previous cultures (based on literature), even humans as their creators, and manipulators (Mitchell, 1994: 15).

Mitchell offers a new perspective on art history, forcefully rejecting the attempt to "linguistify" art history. Mitchell would like to bring images back to what Pierce calls the firstness of image in the production of meaning and emotion (Purgar, 2017: 4).

Mitchell seems not to want to conclude where exactly the pictorial turn is taking place, the systematic interpretation of this concept, nor its main characteristics. The exact answers to these questions would imbue visual studies with an ideological agenda, moving it away from a study that creates its object according to the object itself. The pictorial turn should be regarded in the whole of Mitchell's project of critical iconology as a sort of "cultural symptomatology." In cultural symptomatology, there is "a shift in people's behavior by looking for both huge technological changes and imperceptible cultural symptoms, no matter which area of culture those happened to be found in" (Purgar, 2017: 11).

Kristóf Nyiri (2019) argues that the pictorial turn has occurred in the real world and most of the humanities. He begins with the anthropological and historical examinations that prove that visual language emerges before verbal language.[13] Nyiri concludes an important essay by showing the emergence of the philosophy of pictures

[13] Nyiri also shows that image's important role in mental processes, the connection between kinaesthesis and visual imagery, is the triumph of visuality in the rise of photography and film.

in modern and contemporary philosophy, as in Wittgenstein and Heidegger (Nyiri, 2019: 251–267).

3.3. Metapicture

Mitchell defines a metapicture as a picture that reflects on the process of pictorial representation itself. Mitchell intends to let the pictures theorize about themselves, and thus begins with the metapicture (Mitchell, 2005: 6). With metapictures, Mitchell allows "images to attain kind of theoretical status" (Wiesenthal et al., 2000: 2). Previously, art history usually treated pictures as objects or targets. Meanwhile, literature seems to "pre-empt the picture" and tries to marginalize the picture. Mitchell wants to treat the picture as a subject capable of self-reflection. In this case, the picture is a self-theorizing symbol. Mitchell calls this picture a metapicture. Metapicture is a realm where pictures can reveal and "know" themselves. Metapicture refers to "pictures that reflect on the process of pictorial representation itself" (Mitchell, 2005: 6). Metapicture means an imperative "to picture theory" rather than "a theory of picture." Mitchell does not want to provide or import a theory of pictures from some other thinkers but to mute all chatter of images and "let the pictures talk about themselves" (Wiesenthal, Bucknell, and Mitchell, 2000: 2; Mitchell, 1994: 82; Mitchell, 2005: 6).

Mitchell uses metapicture as an inevitable and necessary metaphor when discussing the link between images and living things. Mitchell himself does not believe that images *really* live or have desires. For Mitchell, it is possible to have a double consciousness regarding images. On the one hand, he does not believe that images have a life. On the other hand, he can ignore his belief and insist on talking about images *as if* they are living things (Mitchell, 2005: 11).

When Mitchell sees images as living things that can theorize themselves, it does not mean that he falls into animism, fanaticism, or superstition. An image's life characteristic is not an ontological feature but an iconic sign function.[14] What makes an image "live" is a semiotic surplus of resembling something else, and an image is a likeness to something (Francesco Gori, 2017: 54).

According to Mitchell (2015), metapicture can present in:

1) An image that appears on another image, a picture that contains a depiction of something, or a medium that nests inside another medium. For example, a painting about painting, a painting in a movie, the set of a television show in a television show, or the golden calf appearing in oil painting.

2) Pictures that reflect on the nature of pictures (Mitchell, 2005: 10). According to Thierry de Duve, the artwork is "self-analytic," meaning the artwork depicts the artwork's condition, such as its historical position and institutional setting. Mitchell was inspired by metalanguage in linguistics. Metalanguage refers to words about words or words reflecting on their producer. A metapicture is a second picture, a reflexive picture of a picture. For example, Steinberg's drawing, *the Spiral* (1964), which consists of a spiral line, depicts a reflection on the fundamental relation between nature, artist, and artwork. Mitchell calls this artwork "self-reflexive art." Steinberg's drawing portrays the nature of the picture to defy the boundary between inside and outside, between first and second order. Mitchell also presents Magritte's *Les trahison des images* as an example of a picture representing the nature of the words and pictures. The self-reflexivity of this picture depends upon its interjection of

[14] In this distinction, Mitchell follows Nelson Goodman's notion that rejects any kind of metaphysical divide between kinds of symbols, such as between texts and images, pictures and paragraphs. Like Goodman, Mitchell assumes "every symbol takes its meaning in a system of differences" that are the result of use, habit, and convention. The distinction between symbols is drawn only by practical differences in the use of symbols, not by a metaphysical divide (Goodman, 1968: 226; Mitchell, 1986: 69).

language inside the image. Magritte put the text “this is not a pipe” (*Ceci n’est pas une pipe*) under the picture of a pipe. People usually refer to the picture of a pipe as a pipe. However, the picture a pipe is not a pipe but it is a representation of pipe. Magritte’s work makes us realize a mistake we were unaware of making (Mitchell, 1994: 66–67).

3) Metaphors that provide a model for a theory also become another form of metapicture. For instance, Plato’s Allegory of the Cave provides a model of the nature of knowledge. Mitchell calls metaphors that can depict theory “hypericons” or “theoretical pictures.” Another example is the duck-rabbit drawing, which can be a hypericon of various disciplines and regimes of knowledge, from leisure, anthropological studies, and psychology to philosophy (Mitchell, 1994: 48).

4) An analogy that can portray an entire discourse or *episteme*. For example: “body politic” refers to the whole society as a gigantic body, like in Hobbes’s *Leviathan*. Some metaphors derive from this analogy, such as “head of state” and “cellular state” (Mitchell, 2015: 18–19).

According to Mitchell, all features of metapicture are summarized in Velázque’s *Las Meninas*. *Las Meninas* represents the interplay between the beholder, the producer, and the figure/model of the painting. Foucault calls this totalizing gesture in *Las Meninas* a “spiral shell” that “presents us with the entire cycle of representation” (Mitchell, 1994: 62). Following Foucault, Mitchell says that this painting depicts the natural relation between words and images, which is “an infinite relation.”

3.4. Biopicture

One of Mitchell’s key concepts is the biopicture. A biopicture considers pictures and images as living things (Mitchell, 2015: 34). Pictures and images can transform, multiply, become extinct, and even resurrect. They also have species and specimens,

like biological classification. People tend to see the image as “a type or typical representation rather than as a representation of an individual.” For example, smiley face stickers are species, and a particular face is a specimen. We can easily destroy specimens (pictures) but not species (images) (Mitchell, 2015: 33–34).

As an example of biopicture, Dolly the sheep is the clone images that are not merely a mechanical copy but a biological simulacrum of a living organism. Both Dolly and the World Trade Center are examples of living images. Dolly was a living organism in the literal sense and had a likeness to its “parents” (three different sheep of two different breeds). Meanwhile, another example is the name “Twin Towers” that suggests an anthropomorphism, like a clone (Mitchell, 2005: 14–15).

The collision attack of the World Trade Center’s (WTC) Twin Towers in New York in 2001 is an example of image destruction in our era, in Mitchell’s terms “a new and more virulent form of iconoclasm.” From an attacker’s perspective, the towers were a global capitalist icon and even a decadent or evil symbol. The main aim of the 9/11 attacks was to destroy this capitalist icon and show the destruction as a media spectacle (Mitchell, 2005: 13–14).

Both Dolly the sheep and WTC are examples of “offending images.” Some religious conservatives consider cloning (represented by Dolly) as an unnatural life form that should be destroyed. They believe life is a “gift” from God, not created by a human being. Only God can make images because only God possesses the secret of life. (Mitchell, 2005: 15). The possibility of human cloning has reawakened traditional taboos on image-making, especially on the creation of human life (Mitchell, 2015: 20). Artificial life-making, like in cloning, the story of Frankenstein, and cyborgs in science fiction, is a violation of the natural law. Therefore, it becomes a target to offend (Mitchell, 2005: 16). The WTC is also an offensive image, as it becomes a

target of destruction. It is considered “human agents” or “living symbols of evil” by the destructors. The WTC is a living symbol with an “organic” connection with its referent, named “global capitalism” (Mitchell, 2005: 15).

Iconoclasm is not merely the destruction of images but a “creative destruction.” It destroys images and generates another image. Take the golden calf from the Old Testament as an example. The second commandment prohibits the making of graven images and idolatry. When Moses asked Aaron about the golden calf, Aaron answered that he threw the Israelites’ gold jewelry into the fire, and then the calf came out (Mitchell, 2005: 16). The idol is like a self-created automaton. Although God prohibits image-making, the image of the golden calf reappears as an object in a verbal narrative and also in paintings (for instance in Nicolas Poussin’s *The Adoration of the Golden Calf*) (Mitchell, 2005: 31–32).

As living things, images can even resurrect. The old image material is not a fossil, but “the reanimation of extinct life” (Mitchell, 2005: 53). For example, the dinosaurs in Steven Spielberg’s film *Jurassic Park* emerge as uncanny images from the preservation of dinosaurs’ blood and DNA in the bodies of mosquitoes (Mitchell, 2005: 54). Mitchell calls the making of the dinosaurs “biocybernetic reproduction.” Biocybernetic reproduction combines biological engineering and information science to produce an organism. Mitchell has replaced Walter Benjamin’s “mechanical reproduction” because, for Mitchell, nowadays, image reproduction is no longer mechanical but biological. The clone, cyborg, and learning machine, an unpredictable and adaptable machine in biocybernetic reproduction, has replaced the figure of a robot, photograph, and film in mechanical reproduction (Mitchell, 2005: 172).

3.5. Text and Image According to Mitchell

This section deals with some questions about text and image, such as What is text? What is an image? In what sense is text different from images? What is the relationship between text and image?

The linguistic turn emphasize the role of language in constituting reality. In the linguistic turn, we can see almost everything as a "text." A culture can also be a text, an art, religion, consciousness, law, and many others. In this sense, an image can also belong to the text because it has a meaning. Nonetheless, the text has different properties than the image, including spelling, grammar, literal meaning, and other linguistic properties (Bateman, 2014: 13, 17). "Text" also often refers to word-based communication, both written and oral (Anderson, 2014: 6). On the other hand, the properties of an image are color, positioning, and line (Bateman, 2014: 17). However, these image properties remain limited to an image's meaning in its concrete manifestation, which is a picture. Furthermore, Mitchell (1986) portrays images as a family whose members range from concrete to abstract. The "family tree" of images provides five branches that range from graphic, optical, perceptual, and mental to verbal (image 3). Each branch is a central topic in some discipline. For example, graphics that include pictures, statues, and design belongs to fine art, architecture, and art history. Optical imagery, like mirrors and projection, belongs to physics and design. Perceptual images belong to physiologists, neurologists, psychologists, and art historians, because perceptual imagery deals with senses data, "species" imagery, or sensible forms that emanate from objects and imprint themselves on the receptacles of our senses, and appearances that are between ourselves and reality. Mental imagery, like dreams, memories, ideas, and fantasmata, belongs to psychology and

epistemology. Verbal imagery that deals with metaphors and descriptions belongs to the literary critic (Mitchell, 1986: 10).

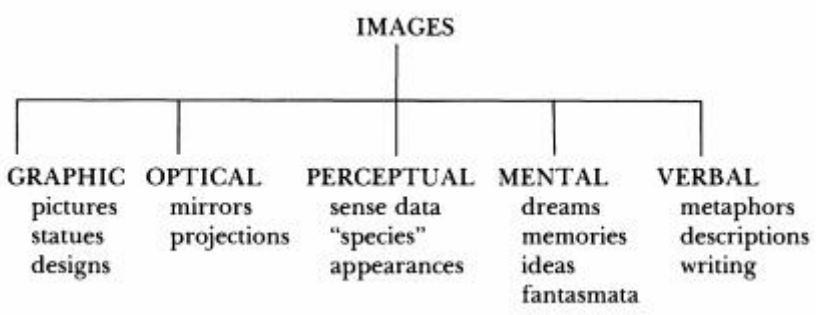

Image 3: The family tree of image.

(Mitchell, 1986: 10)

When images are called "family", it "does not necessarily mean that they have something in common" (Mitchell, 1986: 9). For Mitchell, it might be better to think of images as far family members who have migrated and experienced great mutations in the process of migration. However, it is still possible to construct some sense of image genealogy (Mitchell, 1986: 9).

Mitchell also emphasizes the meaning of images as likeness. For example, in religion, we can find this meaning: "man's creation in the image and likeness of God." The word "image," (the Hebrew *tselem,* the Greek , *eikona*, and the Latin *imago*), means an abstract, general, and spiritual "likeness" (Mitchell, 1986: 31).

Mitchell sees text as *imagetext*, writing as a visible representation of speech; he calls text "visible language" (Mitchell, 1994: 109). Writing is a convergence between seeing and speaking, painting, and printing. The early form of writing, like pictograms, can be an example of this convergence. According to Mitchell, "writing is the medium in which the interaction of image and text, pictorial and verbal expression,

adumbrated in the tropes of *ut pictura poesis*." Writing makes language visible (Mitchell, 1994: 113).

According to Mitchell (2015), visual and verbal representation has two differences. The first difference is based on the senses (seeing versus hearing) and the second on signs and meaning (words are arbitrary, conventional symbols, while images are represented by likeness or similitude). The inability to distinguish between these two differences gives rise to a confusion about signs as ways of producing meanings and senses (Mitchell, 2015: 40).

Mitchell also distinguishes images from pictures. A *picture* is material support or a physical medium of images, such as paint, stone, metal, and wood. An *image* is an event rather than an object, which always appears in material support (Mitchell, 2015: 30). We can easily destroy a picture, but not an image, like in iconoclasm based on religious or political reasons. An image (for instance the golden calf idol) can reappear as a subject matter in other verbal narratives or visual media (Mitchell, 2015: 32).

Mitchell's research on text and image assumes "the heterogeneity of representational structures within the field of the visible and readable" (Mitchell, 1994: 88). In his view, the text-image relation "is not a merely technical question, but a site of conflict, a nexus where political, institutional and social antagonisms play themselves out in the materiality of representation" (Mitchell, 1994: 91). The heterogeneity of media is in opposition to the modernist approach. Modernism tends to see image/text as a homogeneous concept, maintains that only positivistic science can make a comparison, "always confirms the dominant sequence" or "canonical master narrative leading" in a certain historical period, and disallows the possibility of alternate histories (Mitchell, 1994: 87)

Mitchell's aim is not to dismiss text or purist views but to redescribe purist and modernist utopian projects in terms of metalanguage in the heterogeneity of media (Mitchell, 1994: 97). He aims "to open up the traditional problems of interartistic comparison to some of the redescriptions made possible by this more self-critical and 'nonscientistic' tradition of semiotic analysis" (Mitchell, 1994: footnote p. 86).

According to Mitchell, text and image are composite art or mixed media because they combine "different codes, discursive conventions, channels, sensory and cognitive modes" (Mitchell, 1994: 94–95). Writing, in its physical, graphic form, is visual. Images, pictures, space, and visuality may also emerge in verbal discourse (Mitchell, 1994: 95–96). In other words, text and image assume each other. Textuality is already "inside the image," and visuality is already inherent in the words (Mitchell, 1994: 98–99).

According to Mitchell, textuality enters painting in various ways:

1) "a picture that represents (among other objects) a text (like an open book in a Dutch painting)"; 2) "a picture that has words and letters, not represented in, but inscribed on its surface" (e.g., a Chinese calligraphic landscape); 3) "a picture in the mode of classical history painting that depicts an episode from the verbal narrative" (e.g., a still from a movie or a play); 4) "a picture in which the words "speak to" or disrupt the image" (e.g., Magritte's inscription "This Is Not a Pipe"); 5) "a picture whose entire composition centers on a linguistic character" – a hieroglyph or ideogram, as in the work of Paul Klee; 6) "a picture that eschews all figuration, reference, narrative, or legibility in favor of pure, unreadable visuality" (Mitchell, 1994: 98).

Mitchell distinguishes between three typographies to represent image and text relationships. Firstly, "image/text" shows the *traumatic gap* between image and text

(Mitchell, 1994: 89). Secondly, "imagetext" is a composite image and text in works and concepts (Mitchell, 1994: 89) such as in graphic narratives, comics, photo texts, poetic experiments with voice and picture, etc. (Mitchell, 2015: 39). Third, "image-text" is the *relations* of visual and verbal expressions. For example, "the relations of vision and language in memory," the nesting of images in verbal representations (metaphors, description, writing), and discourse inside the visual media (Mitchell, 1994: 89; 2015: 39).

In this research, I work within and according to Mitchell's definition of image and text. Image is a likeness that stretches from pictorial representation, a concrete, material object, to mental, verbal, and perceptual imagery. Meanwhile, text is an *imagetext* composite, the visible representation of language and the semiotic "other" of visual representation.

3.6. Pictures, Power, and Violence[15]

In his book *Picture Theory,* Mitchell describes the interaction between words and images and traces their relation to issues of power, value, and human interest (Mitchell, 1994: 5). Following the long tradition of thought about power, which includes Max Weber, Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, and many others, the power of image "is not an attribute of an image but rather a relation or a 'technique' involving different users of images… in visual communication (Stocchetti, 2011: 14). As Mitchell says, "If we want to understand the power of pictures, we need to look at their internal relations of domination and resistance, as well as their external relations with spectators and with the world" (Mitchell, 1994: 324).

[15] This sub-chapter has been presented in Congresso della Società Svizzera di Filosofia (Congress of the Swiss Philosophy Society), "Knowledge - Power - Act" on 5 September 2021 in the paper entitled " 'The Power of Picture' and 'The Picture of Power' According to W.J.T. Mitchell". https://www.philosophie.ch/it/annunci/eventi/2021/sessioni-online

Images have the power both to "kill the real" and "regenerate the possibility of reality" (Stocchetti, 2011: 19). Images' power works through the control of reality, not with coercion but with the control of knowledge (Stocchetti, 2011: 16). Images are relevant in reproducing technological power and knowledge. The discourse of visuality as a form of power/knowledge is necessary for both the reproduction of control and the resistance to it (Stocchetti, 2011: 19). In other words, one can use images to reproduce, control, and challenge reality.

According to Mitchell, two models of pictures' power are *illusionism* and *realism*. Illusionism is "the capacity of pictures to deceive" or have power over a beholder (Mitchell, 1994: 325). Meanwhile, realism is the capacity of pictures "to show the truth about things." Mitchell reveals realism's representation myth: "this is the way things are" and illusionism's: "this is how things look" (Mitchell, 1994: 325).

Mitchell distinguishes illusionism and illusion, although they cannot actually be sharply distinguished from each other. Illusionism is a cultural practice in which humans "*take in* the image with self-conscious awareness that it is only an image" (Mitchell, 1994: 339). An illusion, on the other hand, is a phenomenon that "extends from the animal behavior such as camouflage and mimicry right into *trompe-l'oeil* (deceive the eye) and ultimately,… into the universal structure of ideology or false consciousness" (Mitchell, 1994: 343).

Mitchell points to Pliny's writing in *Naturalis Historia* about a contest between two Greek painters, Zeuxis and Parrhasius, as an example of the difference between human and animal reactions to illusion.[16] Animals are "taken in" and enslaved by the

[16] Zeuxis and Parrhasius staged a contest to determine the greater artist. Zeuxis painted some delicious grapes that appeared real and invited a flock of birds to peck at them. Parrhasius then invited Zeuxis to see his painting. He asked Zeuxis to pull aside a curtain, but the curtain itself turned out to be a painted illusion. Parrhasius won the contest. Zeuxis had deceived the birds, but Parrhasius had deceived Zeuxis.

image, while humans enslave themselves in the image. The image can deceive humans with the self-consciousness that it is only an image (Mitchell, 1994: 339).

In this case, humans are closer to animals. Mitchell was inspired by John Berger's essay "Why Look at Animals?" Humans and animals have a deep relationship that is inscribed in paintings and metaphors. As Berger says, "The first subject matter for painting…was animals. Probably the first paint was animal blood. Prior to that, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the first metaphor was animal" (Berger, 1980 in Mitchell, 1994: 333).

Aesthetic illusion has a tight relationship to social power. Aesthetic illusion shows power over others through the capacity to produce an error in others' eyes. On the one hand, the relation of power and domination in aesthetic illusion can reinforce the sense of freedom. On the other hand, this relationship so often represents "slavery" as freely chosen, since humans consciously *take in* or enslave in the image. Therefore, people should simultaneously continue and repress aesthetic illusions (Mitchell, 1994: 339–340).

According to Mitchell, Pliny can portray aesthetic illusion in its relationship to social, cultural, political, and ideological contexts. Likewise, Ernst Gombrich creates the history of pictorial illusion as the framework in which we can see all other histories. For Gombrich, the illusionistic image has its roots in the "biological, wired-in mechanism of perception," a common characteristic in "all cultures and the higher animals" (Mitchell, 1994: 341). Gombrich sees that the mastery of illusionism is directly targeted to "the overcoming of 'illusion' in the sense of false belief" (Mitchell, 1994: 341). Hence, the illusion is an "error, delusion, or false belief." Illusionism is "playing with illusions, the self-conscious exploitation of illusion" (Mitchell, 1994: 343).

Mitchell also dismantles the ideology behind realism and irrealism, and was inspired by Nelson Goodman, who rejected the idea of representation (Mitchell, 1994: 347–348).

For Goodman, realism is relative, even if it is a version of irrealism. In his work *Languages of Art*, he calls realism "hyperconventional" because it depends on "the system of representation standard for a given culture or person at a given time" (Goodman, 1968 in Mitchell, 1994: 351). For example, realism in Egypt is not similar to Japanese realism. According to Goodman, all representations are conventional because they rely on a system of symbols (Mitchell, 1994: 351). Consequently, many versions of realism are based on their styles, visions, and the construction of the real. A shift can also occur in a version of realism, for example a shift from tradition to a new degree of realism. Goodman associates this realism with "revelation" (Mitchell, 1994: 352).

According to Mitchell, there are two sets of problems with Goodman's account of realism. Firstly, it fails to say anything specific about realism. Criteria of "standard," "familiar," or "habitual" for realism are too wide, and include many nonrealistic forms of representation. Cubism, for example, is today familiar, but does that make cubism realistic? Custom, habit, and standardization are only necessary conditions for realism – not sufficient conditions. Secondly, Goodman's account of realism is ambivalent. Goodman usually considers realism "familiar and traditional" but sometimes also "novel and revelatory" (Mitchell, 1994: 352–353).

In *Picture Theory*, Mitchell examines the relationship between images, violence, and the public sphere. He begins with Chinese students setting up a statue of the Goddess of Democracy directly facing the disfigured portrait of Mao in Tiananmen Square in 1989. According to Mitchell, the spectacle has the power to "undermine the

government's verbal pretensions of legality and public civility" and "puts the phrase into a new orbit of global circulation and connects it, albeit anachronistically and a-topically, with other public spectacles of monumental violence and violence against monuments" (Mitchell, 1994: 373). This means we live in "a society of spectacle and surveillance" or a world in the midst of pictorial turn (Mitchell, 1994: 374).

The erosion of the boundary between public and private spheres, the cross boundaries between real and symbolic violence, and also between the monumental and trivial make public art possible (Mitchell, 1994: 374). Many people associate public art with violence, and it has happened for a long time (Mitchell, 1994: 375). Since antiquity, critics have dismissed the avant-garde art that criticized the bourgeoisie. They renamed opposition movements, such as surrealism, expressionism, and cubism, as mere entertainment and advertising, and high modernism as the ornaments of corporate public spaces (Mitchell, 1994: 376).

Publicness, which is the "exploitation of and by the apparatuses of publicity reproduction, and commercial distribution" are other factors in the association between public art and violence (Mitchell, 1994: 376). Artists find a public image as the realm where art is difficult to "buy" (Mitchell, 1994: 377). Art and violence also appear in self-destructive art, like Tinguely's self-destroying machine sculpture (Mitchell, 1994: 377).

Mitchell distinguishes three basic forms of violence in the images of public art: (1) the image *as an act or object of violence*. The image is "doing violence to beholders or "suffering" violence as the target of vandalism, disfigurement, or demolition" (Mitchell, 1994: 381); 2) the image as *a weapon* of violence, tool for the "attack, coercion, incitement, or more subtle "dislocations" of public spaces" (Mitchell, 1994: 382); and 3) the image as a representation of violence, "whether a realistic imitation

of a violent act, or a monument, trophy, memorial, or another trace of past violence" (Mitchell, 1994: 382). All three forms are, in principle, independent of one another (Mitchell, 1994: 382).

The idea of public art is inseparable from Habermas's liberal model of the public sphere (Mitchell, 1994: 378). The public sphere is separate from economic, private, and political dimensions. In the public sphere, citizens may build a public opinion about the common good free from coercion, violence, or private interests (Mitchell, 1994: 379).

However, the public sphere is often a utopian counterpart to the pictures' power (Mitchell, 1994: 364). Our situation after the Cold War is more likely the telescreen from George Orwell's *1984* (Mitchell, 1994: 365). We live in Guy Debord's "society of the spectacle" and Michel Foucault's "surveillance society" (Mitchell, 2005: 5).

According to Mitchell, we are "undergoing a revolution in the technologies of representation that makes possible the fabrication of realities on an unprecedented scale." The most salient comparison to our situation is the 1930s Europe, when a "New World Order" called fascism used representational technologies to produce, in Walter Benjamin's terms, an "aestheticizing of politics." This comparison is especially relevant in terms of "the massive production of political hallucinations, the whipping up of war hysteria, and the formation of socially acceptable forms of race hatred and the mass destruction of the population" (Mitchell, 1994: 423–424). For example, Operation Desert Storm was an utopian replay of World War II. This operation portrayed Saddam Hussein as Hitler, as the Butcher of Baghdad. "The main function of this caricature was reductive and emotional," to simplify moral issues to straightforward choice. Everyone who engages in rational debate and acts as the

opposition seem like a traitor. This caricature also proliferated war fever and mass hatred against the enemy (Mitchell, 1994: 404).

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS:

MIXED MEDIA TO BUILD A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE 1965–1966 MASSACRE IN INDONESIA FROM THE VICTIM'S POINT OF VIEW IN W.J.T. MITCHELL'S PERSPECTIVE

This chapter analyzes how an illustrated book entitled *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* offers a new interpretation of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia from the victim's point of view in Mitchell's perspective. First, this chapter begins with the pictorial turn and the image's power to represent the massacres. Second, the next sub-chapter uncovers the metapicture of Indonesia's 1965–1966 massacre. Third, this chapter also examines the revival of the victim narrative image in the light of Mitchell's biopicture. The fourth section discusses the text and image relationship in the illustrated book. Next, the fifth sub-chapter explores the power of images to offer a new interpretation of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia. Finally, the sixth sub-chapter describes the obstacles and new opportunities for Indonesian social commentary comics.

4.1. The Pictorial Turn and the Power of Graphic Narrative to Represent a Massacre

Ever since Mitchell coined the term pictorial turn, scholars have been analyzing issues around visual representation and its power over spectators. The pictorial turn marked a significant change in the academic and public culture spheres, in which the image

became a central topic of discourse (Mitchell, 1994: 11–13). It has introduced the reader/spectators to the irresistible notion of image power (Stocchetti, 2011: 11).

The pictorial turn also affected discourse on images' significance in representing a massacre. Image has the two roles of illustrating and passing on the memory of the massacre to the next generations (Zylberman and Sánchez-Biosca, 2018: 1). Chute (2016) points out that visual-verbal works, like comics, are capable of documenting and "addressing history, witnesses, and testimony" (Chute, 2016: 2).[17] For example, Spiegelman's two-volumes of *Maus* (1986–1991) speaks about his father's testimonies of the Holocaust and Joe Sacco's comics' journalism draws people's attention to the wars in Palestine, Bosnia, and Sarajevo. *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* also depicts the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia based on the testimonies of witnesses and survivors.

According to Chute and DeKoven (2006), a graphic narrative is "an autographic form in which the mark of handwriting is an important part of the rich extrasemantic information a reader receives." In conveying the information, a graphic narrative involves "the language of comics that comprises the verbal, the visual, and the way these two representational modes interact on a page" (Chute and DeKoven, 2006: 767). In Mitchell's terminology, a graphic narrative is one of an *imagetext* or composite image and text. In this research, the graphic narratives include many kinds of *imagetext* works, such as graphic novels, comics, illustrated books, and picture books.

As a graphic narrative of the massacres, the illustrated book entitled *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* can be a powerful tool to speak the truth about the massacre. The book can affect the readers and open up critical dialogue

[17] Comic frames make the documentary activity possible through the presentation of evidence in every frame (Chute, 2016: 2).

through its visual metaphors, narrative framework, and the inclusion of self-reflexive commentary from the authors (Veld, 2019: 3, 7). The graphic narratives about massacres also have the power to pit readers against those who oppress others (Evans, 2021: 258), trigger a response (Spiegelman, 2011: 166; Chute, 2016: 179–181), and even make the readers act responsibly (Evans, 2021: 254). The graphic narrative is a "medium for recounting societal or collective memory," which can facilitate the transmission of experience and traumatic history (Evans, 2021: 248).

Another form of graphic narrative's power is to represent violence forcefully. Their "architectonic" nature can invite readers to immerse themselves in witnesses' information transformed into the space of a page. It can turn "a narrative into geography" of a page that does not only aim to create mimetics or verisimilitude associated with films (Chute, 2016: 179–181). Films tend to create verisimilitude and reproduce reality through moving photographic images. The result is films having a hard time reproducing the Holocaust. Movie makers struggle to rebuild the Holocaust camps, while comics create a mental zone (Spiegelman, 2011: 166).

In response to the question of whether there is a danger in reproducing violence in an accessible style, like a graphic narrative, and whether it would add to the trauma and pain suffered, Evans (2021) emphasizes that confronting the intolerable should be challenging and upsetting, even if it causes intellectual and emotional exhaustion or upsets us ethically. Still, it prompts us to act responsibly (Evans, 2021: 254).

Another benefit of depicting a massacre through graphic narrative is its ability to present in montage format, which does not require a linear manner of reading (Evans, 2021: 256). Graphic narratives allow readers to skim over an entire page in a nonlinear manner to understand traumatic events. This capacity is different compared to films that offer sequenced images in a linear structure (Oh, 2016: 65). According to

Spiegelman, unlike theater or cinema that straps the audience to a chair, the "dramatic in a comic can be stopped with the blink of an eye" (Spiegelman, 2011: 166).

Graphic narratives allow the juxtaposition of past and present to speak about moments (Spiegelman, 2011: 164). The juxtaposition can be a pedagogical means of transmitting and disseminating experiential traumatic events (Evans, 2021: 246–247).

Graphic narratives also allow the depiction of violence in less explicit brutalities. It is still open to discussion whether or not a graphic adaptation has the same effect as an original photograph in depicting the raw realities of suffering. However, depictions brutal violence are difficult to bear, especially for emotionally and deeply traumatized people. Even simple drawings can produce more empathy in younger persons because it is easier to project themselves into the scenes (Evans, 2021: 254).

Graphic narratives have basic formal elements that can forcefully portray complicated historical realities, like a massacre. The graphic narrative can exist in simultaneity, multiple perspectives, shifting temporalities, and paradoxical spaces (Chute, 2016: 257).[18]

The next section will analyze the concept of metapicture as present in *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners,* which is animal visual metaphors and visual excess.

4.2. Metapicture of the Massacres

4.2.1. Metapicture of the Perpetrators in Animal Visual Metaphors

In the graphic narrative of mass violence, authors and illustrators often use animals as visual metaphors to reflect on "what it means to be human – or to be dehumanized –

[18] For example, Spiegelman's *Maus* adopts the abstraction of an animal metaphor and cartoon languages, such as splash panels, sound effects, paratextual notes, and arrows, while verbally and visually delivering witness to both public and private traumas of the Holocaust (Chute, 2016: 257).

during the mass violence" (Veld, 2019: 41). Animal imagery has many functions in genocide graphic novels, from suggesting the human condition[19] (Berger, 2009: 4, 19; Mayersen, 2018: 168), depicting human bestiality[20] (Chaney, 2011: 129), providing emotional cues[21] (Mayersen, 2018: 170), to addressing critical commentary about people's situation[22] (Berger, 2009: 19; Veld, 2019: 43).

The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners also employs animal metaphors as metapictures of oppressors and perpetrators. Across four chapters, this illustrated book represents the oppressors (like Dutch and Japanese colonialists) and perpetrators (like Suharto and army military personnel) as animal-like figures with features such as pointy ears, fangs, cruel eyes, and tails. Their faces resemble wolves, wild boars, or wild dogs with human bodies.

The 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia had long roots prior to these two years. The US helped the Indonesian army since the early 1960s. Through army training, the US

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[19] The resemblances as well as differences in characteristics between humans and animals has resulted in animal imagery often being used to portray and comment on human experience (Berger, 2009: 4, 19). As Mayersen writes, the animal images are not incidental, but they provide an insight into human experience (Mayersen, 2018: 168). Why can animals provide direct access to the human experience? Berger answers this question by emphasizing the metaphoric relation between human and animal. "Essential relation between man and animal was metaphoric" (Berger, 2009: 7). In many traditions around the world, animals are usually used to explain mysteries. For example, Greeks believe that the sign of each of the twelve hours of a day is an animal; and some Hindus believe the earth is carried by the back of an elephant and the elephant on a tortoise (Berger, 2009: 8–9). Animals often provide a depiction of several qualities, such as gentleness, cross-temperedness, and wisdom. However, in post-industrial society, people consider animals only as a machine, raw materials, and manufactured commodities (Berger, 2009: 11–13).

[20] The feral depiction of animals in graphic narratives, such as wild animals, menacing dogs, or beasts, signals both memento mori and memento bestie of human existence (Chaney, 2011: 131).

[21] Animal imagery in graphic novels about genocide also often provides emotional clues to the reader. For example, they provoke "emotional disruption, a period of emotional intensity, or a return to a calmer emotional state". Through animal imagery, graphic novelists make the reader experience an emotional journey (Mayersen, 2018: 170). Particular animals represent a certain state of emotion, for example an image of a friendly dog suggests comfort and safety, while vermin elicit disgust. Domestic and farm animals can also imply a calmer emotional state (Mayersen, 2018: 170). Some other animal representations that have negative connotations within cultural discourse have to work against their stereotypical connotations (Veld, 2019: 43.), for example mice and pig characters in *Maus*. American popular culture portrays mice as funny animals like mice in *Tom and Jerry* cartoons or Disney's *Mickey Mouse* (Veld, 2019: 44). However, Spiegelman uses mice to represent Jews who were struggling against the Nazi's dehumanization. The use of the pig as a representation of Poles in *Maus* is also controversial. A pig usually symbolizes a greedy, dumb, lazy, or sluggish person. Spiegelman argues his choice of pigs for Poles is to find an animal outside the cat/mouse/dog food chain. He realizes the dual connotation of pig either as cute piggy or swine (Veld, 2019: 45).

[22] Animal figures are also capable of creating a commentary that "actively and critically questions a given set of values and ideas" (Veld, 2019: 43).

passed on the strategy of repressing the rebellion to the Indonesian army. The US also provided aid to build waterways, roads, and bridges and to drain swamps. This aid aimed to maintain relations with some elements in Indonesia interested in and capable of fighting communism. In Image 4, both the US and Indonesian army are depicted as hybrid animals with cruel eyes, fangs, and pointy ears wearing uniforms. The US wears Uncle Sam's hat, whereas the Indonesian army wears an army beret. They shake hands, indicating cooperation and friendship (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 237). The CIA is depicted similarly to the other US characters in the next two pages (p.238–239). The local army commander used the CIA's financial support to pay local thugs to incite anti-Chinese riots (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 239). In this depiction (Image 5), animal imagery functions to describe their vicious motives. As in Chaney (2011), animal imagery in comics often summons humans in bestial form (Chaney, 2011: 129). The feral animal depictions in this illustrated book indicate humans' evil and wild side.

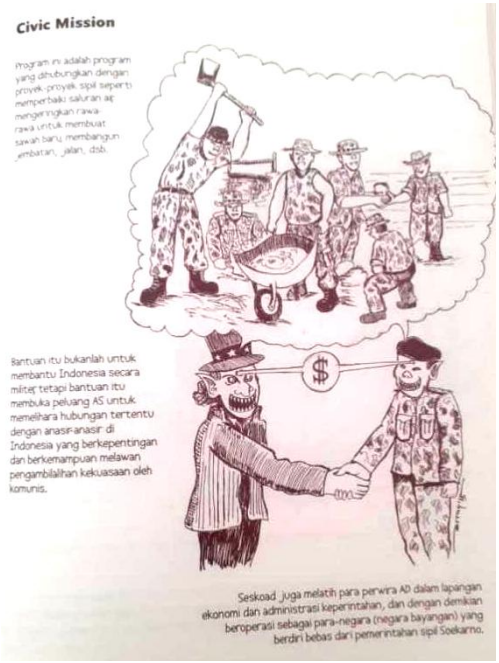

Image 4: Civic Mission is the US's aid to the Indonesian army.

The artist depicts the US as a hybrid animal wearing Uncle Sam's hat.

(Yatmaka et al., 2016: 237)

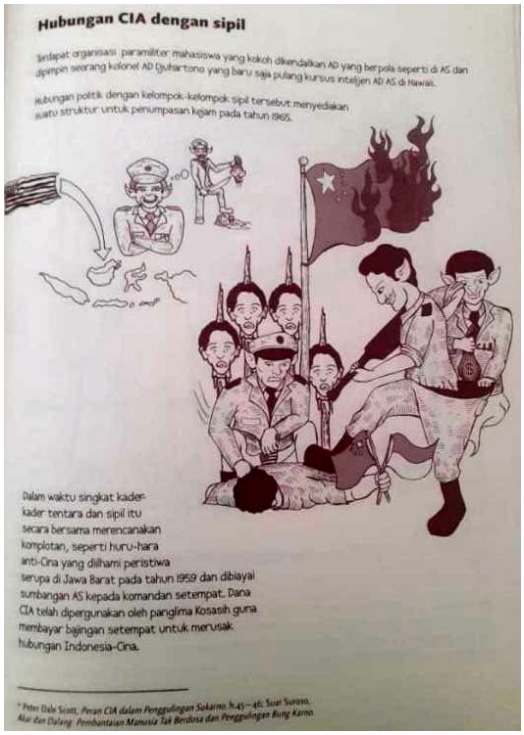

Image 5: The CIA cooperates with army soldiers and paramilitary organizations in anti-China operations in 1959 in West Java, Indonesia. (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 239)

By 1965, Indonesia's economic situation was getting worse. Many people, including soldiers, lived in poverty. Meanwhile, corruption continued to be rampant, especially among officials, including military officials. Suharto and his crony, Bob Hasan, took advantage of the Aero Commander transaction. At the end of July 1965, the US sent 200 Aero Commander aircraft to the Army for Civic Action. The US also provided aid for the army's communication system improvement. With this new communication system, on 1 October, 1965, Suharto was able to carry out lightning exterminations against Sukarno loyalists and the leftists. In Image 6, the artist depicts Suharto as a hybrid animal. He is smiling and showing his sharp jagged teeth, pointy ears, and arrow-tipped tail (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 281). This animal imagery suggests

his greediness, wilderness, and vicious motives. According to Berger, the animal depictions in graphic narratives are often greedier, wilder, and more dreadfully rapacious than in real life (Berger, 2009: 19). For Berger, the sameness and otherness between humans and animals are not for reminding people of their origins or making moral metaphors, but are used to "people" situations (Berger, 2009: 19).

Image 6: Suharto and Bob Hasan, his crony.

(Yatmaka et al., 2016: 281)

A few days before the 30 September Movement, Latief had informed Suharto about the Movement's plan to capture seven army generals. He nonetheless chose to remain silent and sleep at home. In Image 7, the artist depicts Suharto as a person with animal ears and a big nose, to point out his negligence (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 309).

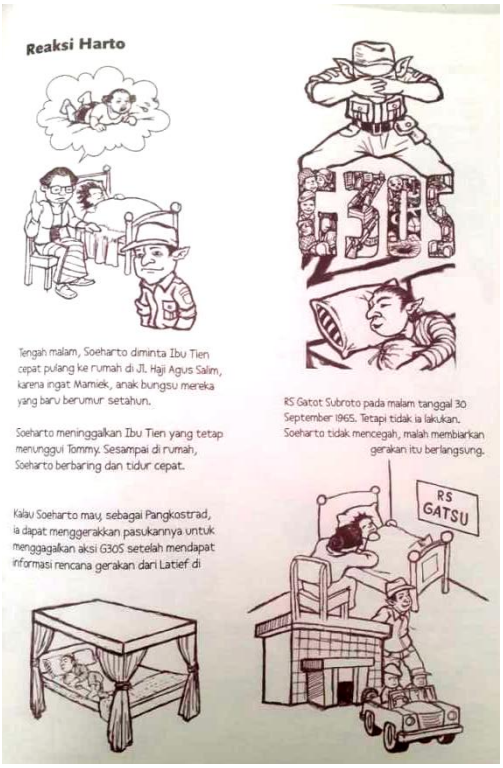

Image 7: Suharto knows about the 30 September Movement's plan but remains silent and sleeps. (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 309)

The artist also draws the army soldiers who kidnapped seven generals with special features, such as sharp teeth and animal ears, as can be seen in Image 8 (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 311, 314). Three generals (Yani, Panjaitan, and Haryono) were shot because they resisted, while three other generals (Suprapto, Parman, and Sutoyo) were captured alive. The army eventually shot these three generals and threw their bodies into Lubang Buaya. Another general, Nasution, escaped. The army then kidnapped Nasution's assistant, Lieutenant Tendean (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 311).

On 1 October, 1965, Suharto led an army meeting. He stated that the masterminds behind the massacre were the PKI and AURI (*Angkatan Udara Republik Indonesia*/ Republic of Indonesia Air Force). The place where the generals died was close to the AURI base, the former training site of Pemuda Rakyat. The artist portrays Suharto in

army uniform, with sharp teeth and fangs, and pointy ears, which indicates the bestial side of Suharto (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 324)

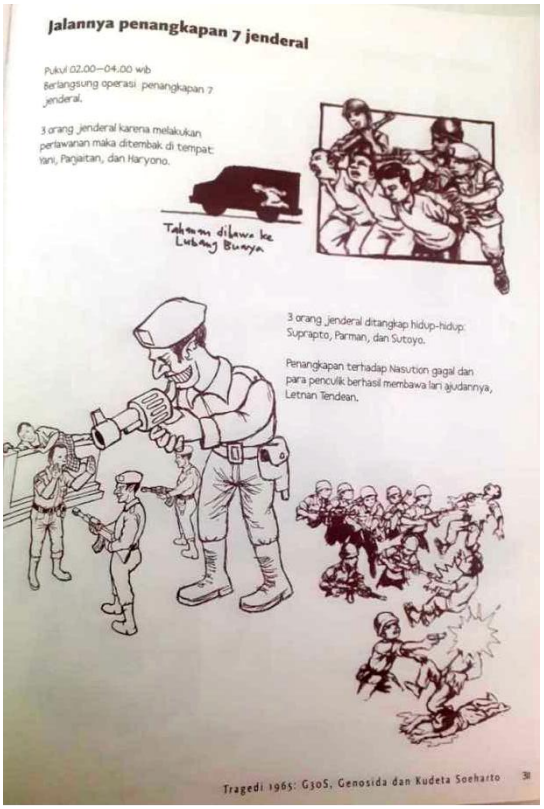

Image 8: The arrest of seven generals.

(Yatmaka et al., 2016: 311)

The artist also depicts Suharto and other army soldiers in army uniforms without pants in their animal-like appearance in order to indicate their shamelessness and ferocity, as can be seen in image 9–11 (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 338–339). In image 9, the artist depicts a group of soldiers with pig-like faces and fangs surrounding a male and female political prisoners forced to be naked. The artist depicts these soldiers wearing only their uniforms and underpants (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 372). The animal imagery in this picture suggests their lack of rationality. As in Veld (2019), the animal

depiction symbolizes a sense of instinctive, feral behavior and a lack of rational capacity (Veld, 2019: 41).

Image 9: Sexual violence in Yogyakarta.

(Detailed picture from Yatmaka et al., 2016: 372)

Image 10: The artist depicts Suharto, wearing an army uniform without pants, conquering Monas, Jakarta city's symbol.
(Detailed picture from Yatmaka et al., 2016: 338)

Image 11: The artist portrays the army soldiers as animal hybrids without pants.
(Detailed picture from Yatmaka et al., 2016: 339)

The artist also depicts other perpetrators of sexual violence as hybrid animals, as can be seen in image 12 and 13. The perpetrators are half-man and half-animal, wearing army uniforms, often without pants, with animal-like faces, fangs, pointy ears, and long tongues sticking out. The depiction of hybrid animals aims to suggest the perpetrators' cruelty and bestiality (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 381, 374).

Image 12: Sexual violence case in Yogyakarta Special Region, Central Java, and East Java.

The artist portrays the sexual violence perpetrators as hybrid animals. The words in the balloon read, "Where is the hammer and sickle [communist symbol] tattoo?"

(Detailed picture from Yatmaka et al., 2016: 374 and author's social media account)

Image 13: The sexual violence case in Nglegok, Blitar district.
(Detailed picture from Yatmaka et al., 2016: 381 and author's social media account)

Katalin Orbán (2007) argues that using anthropomorphic, hybrid creatures and an antirealism strategy as visual masking or metaphor can invite readers to rethink the massacre. These hybrid characters focus viewers' attention on the body as a material embodiment and a historically specific idea – the massacre tragedy. It can confront the readers with "what they see and what they don't" (Orbán, 2007: 63). In other words, through the hybrid animal depictions, the readers involve both their observation and imagination to grasp the graphic novel's meaning.

4.2.2. Metapicture of Mass Violence

This subchapter deals with a strategy to depict mass violence in a graphic narrative and argues that the graphic narrative allows the readers to open up a discourse of the massacre and to think about justice for the survivors. In depicting mass violence and survivors' trauma, the artists usually involve visual repetition (Chute, 2016: 179; Oh, 2016: 63) or, in Veld's term, "visual excess" (Veld, 2019: 12). According to Chute

(2016), in the representation of massacre, an artist repeats and disarticulates the bodies of victims to address literal footnotes about the violence in the level of representation (Chute, 2016: 179). Furthermore, as stated by Oh (2016), the repetition pattern in the graphic narrative about a massacre also has the function of marking the traumatic moment in the narrative (Oh, 2016: 66). The repetition form has the effect of "protracting time," and a "sense of prolonged captivity and trauma" (Oh, 2016: 63). Veld (2019) argues that "visual excess," such as "visual and verbal immediacy over restraint, showing victims, perpetrators, and the effects of genocidal violence," (Veld, 2019: 12) can create "a meaningful interaction with the genocide narrative" (Veld, 2019: 19).

A massacre is a form of action that is most often collective and aims at destroying those who are not fighters but rather civilians or defenseless people (Semelin, 2003: 96). Many massacres around the world, from Armenia, Ukraine, Bosnia, Rwanda, Cambodia, and Vietnam, to El Salvador, usually involve social violence that targeted groups thought to have gained unfair advantages in the past and later viewed as viral or cancerous. This perception justifies the mass killing of nonviolent citizens. Social violence usually includes rape, torture, and mutilation that precede the killing of harmless civilians (Dutton et al., 2004: 437).

The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners uses a visual excess strategy to depict the 1965–1966 massacre. The artists employ repetition, showing victims and perpetrators, redrawing documentary photography, and overcrowding panels in the realistic form as the metapicture of mass violence to indicate the massacre's ferocity and the survivors' trauma. A realistic and detailed depiction of mass violence and sexual violence aims to prevent similar atrocities from happening again.

The authors consistently illustrate mass violence through realistic representations across four chapters. In Chapter III, the artists describe the chronology of the kidnapping of the generals, such as shot the generals and threw them into a dry well (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 314). All of these scenes were depicted in a realistic style, as can be seen in Image 14.

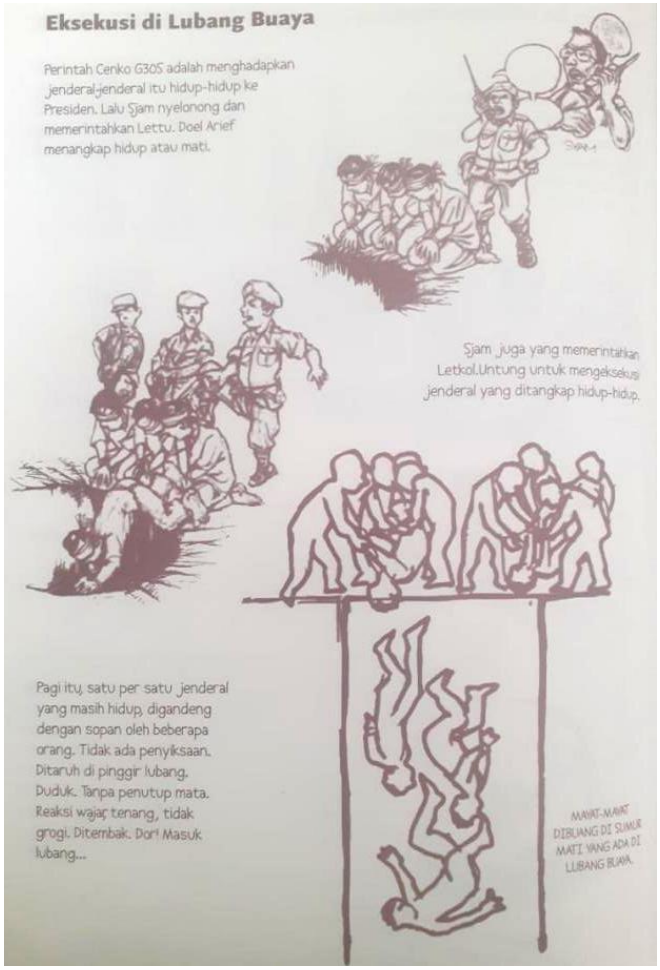

Image 14: Generals' execution at Lubang Buaya.

(Yatmaka et al., 2016: 314)

The army spread anticommunist propaganda (see Image 15). Its newspaper said that the PKI had tortured the generals. In the illustrated book, the artists visualize accusations against the PKI. Later, Benedict Anderson, a scholar of Southeast Asia,

found regarding the PKI, all of which have been proven by New Order to be unfounded. (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 346).

Image 15: Anticommunist propaganda was spread by the army.
(Yatmaka et al., 2016: 346 and author's social media account)

On 8 October, 1965, the government banned the PKI and its mass organizations. People who were suspected of being connected to the PKI were arrested and massacred by the army and the army-affiliated militias. In Image 16, the artist depicts the victims in repetition to emphasize the mass violence. At the bottom of the page, a

poster with a call to slaughter leftists is repeated, representing Suharto's propaganda (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 357).

Image 16: The suppression of communists. Suharto banned the Indonesia Communist Party and ordered the extermination of its members.

(Yatmaka et al., 2016: 357 and author's social media account)

The repetitive pattern also appears on a full page depicting an army soldier holding heads and dollar bags, standing on the victims' bodies (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 367), indicating the perpetrators' greediness (see Image 17). The artist also uses repetition and overcrowded panels to depict the hundreds of thousands who the government imprisoned without trial. In Image 18, the artist repeats images of tortured bodies,

overcrowded prisons, and strewn corpses several times to represent and emphasize mass violence (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 390). Furthermore, the artists depict details of murders and the cutting of body parts in realistic and detailed illustrations, providing a clear image of the perpetrators' cruelty (see Image 18) (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 385).

Image 17: Suharto's conspiracy and neocolonialism.
(Yatmaka et al., 2016: 367 and author's social media account)

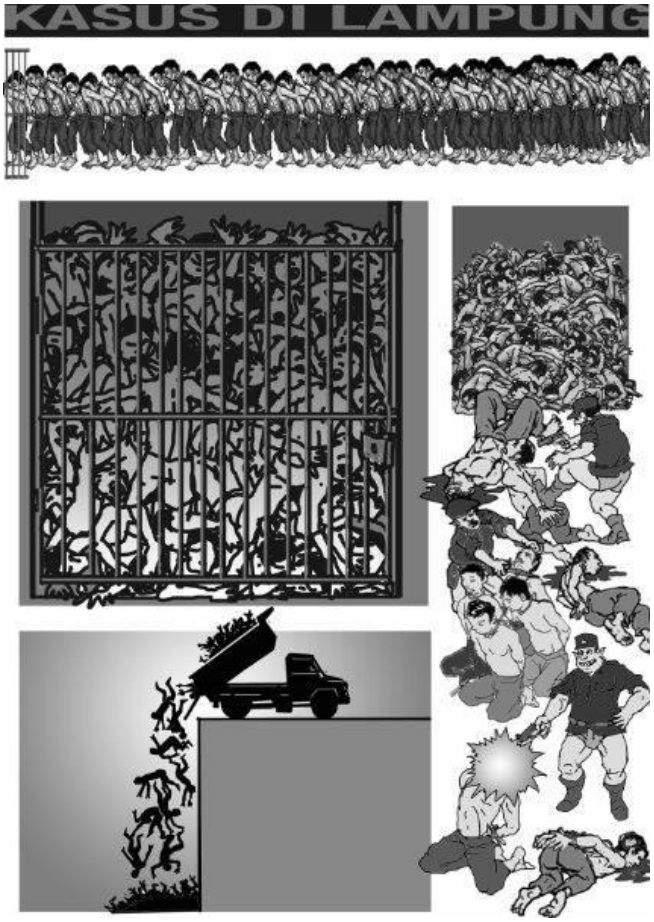

Image 18: A case in Lampung, southern Sumatra. The artist shows the victims' bodies and suffering.

(Yatmaka et al., 2016: 390 and author's social media account)

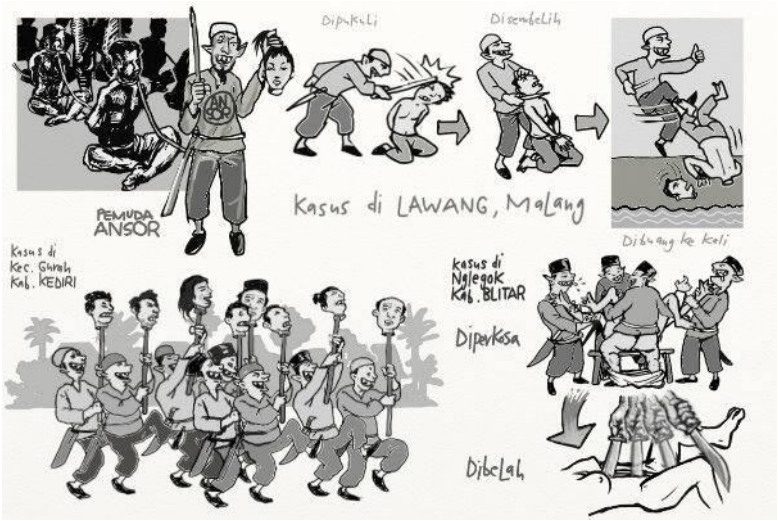

Image 19: Torture in Lawang, Malang, East Java.

(Yatmaka et al., 2016: 385 and author's social media account)

The authors dedicate 32 pages to portraying the torture, interrogation, rape, and mass killing that happened in many places in Indonesia (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 369–401). In Bantul, Yogyakarta Special Region, political prisoners underwent torture, both physically and mentally. In Image 20, a woman political prisoner is laying down naked with her hands tied. Half a coconut shell covers her navel, with an insect inside. Another political prisoner is placed under a table with one of the table legs resting on his head, while others jump on the table (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 369). The author provides realistic representations of the very cruel and sadistic torture methods (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 370). Interrogators pulled out victims' nails and stomped on victims' body parts with the legs of the chair. They also hit victims with a hard object, such as a chair, wooden stick, spiny stingray tail, plastic pipe, and whip, as can be seen in image 22 (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 371).

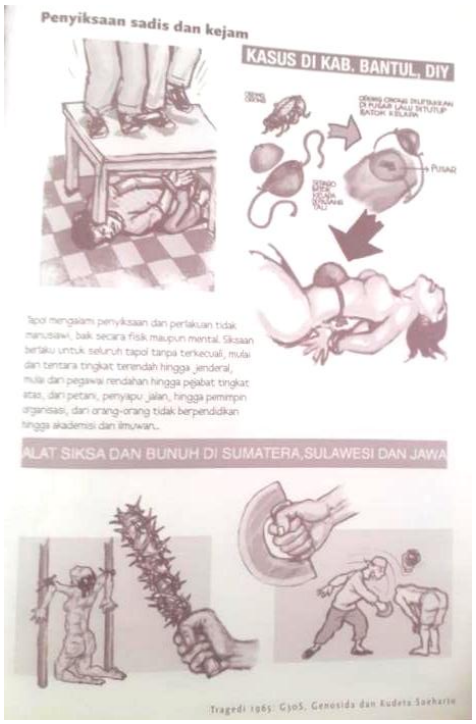

Image 20: Torture practices in Bantul district, Yogyakarta Special Region, Sumatra, Sulawesi; also Java. (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 369)

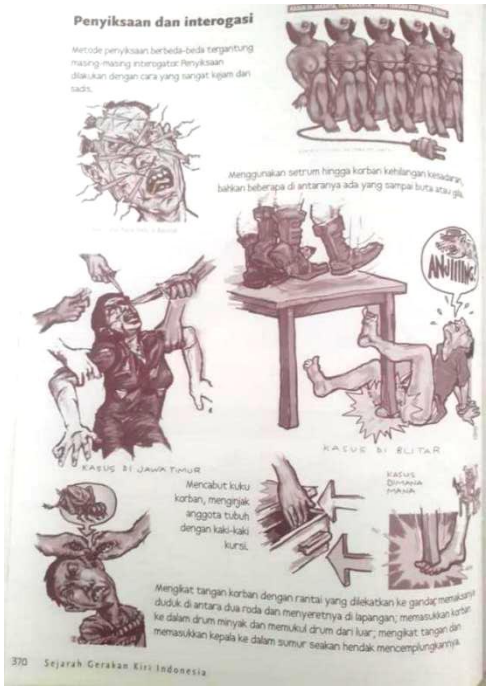

Image 21: The torture and interrogation process in East Java.

(Yatmaka et al., 2016: 370)

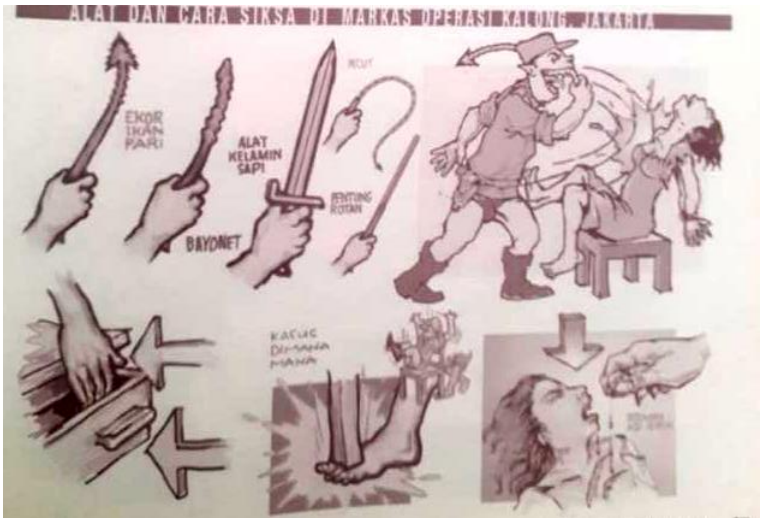

Image 22: Tools and methods of torture in Jakarta.

(Yatmaka et al., 2016: 371)

The torturers also committed sexual violence using several methods. They forced couples, husband and wife, to have sexual intercourse (image 9). Husbands were tortured while the torturers stripped their wives in front of their husbands (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 372). They also sometimes inserted iron pipes into female victims' genital organs and electrocuted their nipples and genitals (see Image 23). The perpetrators of sexual violence were easily provoked by military propaganda that Gerwani members had castrated and killed the army generals.

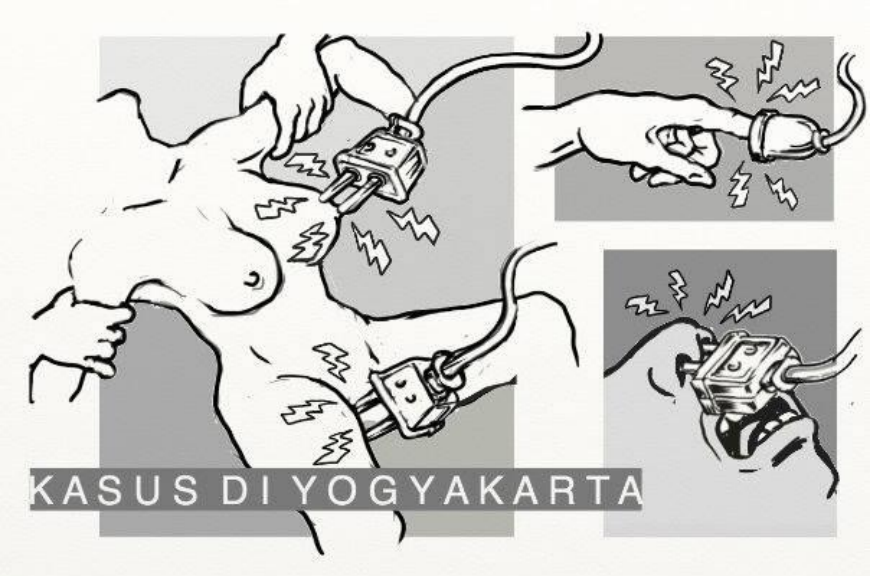

Image 23: The electrocution case in Yogyakarta.

(Detailed picture from Yatmaka et al., 2016: 373 and author's social media account)

The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners consistently represents mass violence in realistic forms and repetition. The artists portray violence in direct representation and show its sadistic characteristics. In the preface, the author asserts that the significance of showing the massacre in pictures is to make people realize that the New Order regime's oppression is real. The New Order regime slaughtered their

citizens in a time of peace, not war. The author also emphasizes that the real violence was even more sadistic than the pictures (Yatmaka et al., 2016: viii).

4.3. Biopicture of the 1965–1966 Massacre in Indonesia

Mitchell's biopicture refers to images as living things (Mitchell, 2016: 34). Images can transform or reappear in other media. Mitchell uses the golden calf story from Old Testament as an example of a biopicture. Although the golden calf had already been smashed and burned by the Israelites, the image of the golden calf later reappeared in other media, such as in verbal narratives and paintings (Mitchell, 2005: 31–32). Likewise, the representation of mass violence is often hidden, concealed, and considered taboo by people or authorities, yet it can always reappear in other media.

After World War II, the representation of genocide, like the Holocaust, was still taboo. The initial debate on the appropriate or inappropriate representation of genocide focused on the "unrepresentability" of the Holocaust (Veld, 2019: 1–2). Many people believed that telling the story of the Holocaust was impossible and immoral (Reinmer, 2012: 1). Theodor Adorno (1946) famously wrote that "to write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric." However, several decades later, Adorno realized that "A perennial suffering has just as much right to find expression as a victim of torture has to scream. For this reason, it may have been wrong to write that after Auschwitz poetry could no longer be written." Elie Wiesel, a survivor who wrote novels, plays, and essays on the Holocaust, said "The paradox is we cannot tell the story [of Holocaust], and yet it must be told" (Reinmer, 2012: 1).

Like the Holocaust, people encounter obstacles, such as "unrepresentability" and immorality, when attempting to represent Indonesia's 1965–1966 massacre. The most

obvious obstacle was the government's ban on text and images about the massacre, except for the official version. The first film accessible to the public about the events preceding the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia was *The Betrayal/Treachery of the Communists' 30 September Movement/PKI*. This propaganda film made by the government shows "the official version of the violent events leading to the military's ascent to power" (Heryanto, 2006: 7). It displays a failed *coup d'etat* by the PKI and the army's victorious countermovement (Heryanto, 2006: 7). During Suharto's presidency, it was obligatory to show this film annually on national television and at all schools in Indonesia.

Ariel Heryanto (2006) said that this film constitutes a master narrative of the official history and political discourse. Heryanto borrows the term master narrative from James Clifford. "A master-narrative functions as a canon, on the basis of which a potentially endless exegetical discourse can be generated" (Heryanto, 2006: 8). The film contains two main messages. First, the event that happened on 30 September, 1965, was a failed *coup d'etat* masterminded by the PKI. It legitimated leftist eradication in Indonesia. Second, the Suharto-led military counterattack was a spontaneous, heroic, and interest-free initiative. It saved the country from communism, chaos, terror, and social disintegration (Heryanto, 2006: 9). This film functions as a simulacra that provided an illusion of total dominance of New Order's rule (Heryanto, 2006: 13; Jurriëns, 2008: 149).

As has been described in Chapter II, the master narrative of official history also created a myth of Gerwani's singing, dancing, and castrating of the army generals (Wieringa and Katjasungkana, 2019: 125). Soon after the burial of the generals, an army group led by Suharto circulated a story via the army-controlled press and radio

that a wild sexual orgy had taken place the night before the killing of the generals (Wieringa and Katjasungkana, 2019: 102). This propaganda in the film, on the national radio, and in local newspapers aimed to make people hate the communists (Wieringa and Katjasungkana, 2019: 129–130). However, the victim narrative affirms that the Gerwani members are victims of the 1965–1966 massacre, and that they experienced sexual violence, became prisoners and exiles without trial, and even died. These victim narratives then circulate in many artistic expressions, from literature, graphics, and videos, to music.

Following Mitchell's biopicture concept, the representation of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia, although under government pressure, appears in other narratives and media. In reaction to the dominance of Orde Baru's narrative, many artists and survivors created their narratives in mixed media. As described in Chapter II, alternative narrative history or a victim narrative of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia began to emerge, especially after the collapse of the New Order regime (1998). Some films offer a new perspective on the 1965–1966 massacre (see Chapter II). The 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia also reappeared in other media, including drawings and illustrated books.

4.4. Text and Image Relationship in the Illustrated Book/Graphic Narrative

The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners belongs to the "expanding" or "enhancing" picture book category, in which the visual narrative supports the verbal narrative. A visual narrative can serve a verbal narrative in several ways, such as by expanding, explaining, interpreting, or decorating (Bateman, 2014: 75).

In this book, each picture depicts and provides details of the textual narrative, including sexual violence in Karangasem, Jawa Timur (East Java), to convey a setting and mood (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 383).

Image 24: The massacre of Gerwani members in Karangasem, East Java.

The words in the balloon read: “Are you Gerwani?” “If I am Gerwani, what do you want?”

(Yatmaka et al., 2016: 383 and author’s social media account)

The visual narrative also can define and develop characters. In this case, the visual narrative adds characterization of perpetrators in the text by showing the characters’ actions and reactions to one another or giving characters certain features, such as a devil’s horn, fangs, or a tail (Fang, 1996: 132).

Another function of a visual narrative is to extend or develop the plot. A visual narrative provides an advanced and detailed narrative because of the brevity of the textual narrative (Fang, 1996: 133). This can be seen by readers, in Image 26, when the massacre in East Java is portrayed through a crowd of people watching victims being pulled by a cow. The visual narrative also explains how the perpetrators cut women's breasts off and displayed them at guard posts (see Image 27) (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 382).

Image 25: The mass violence in East Java and Yogyakarta Special Region.

(author's social media account)

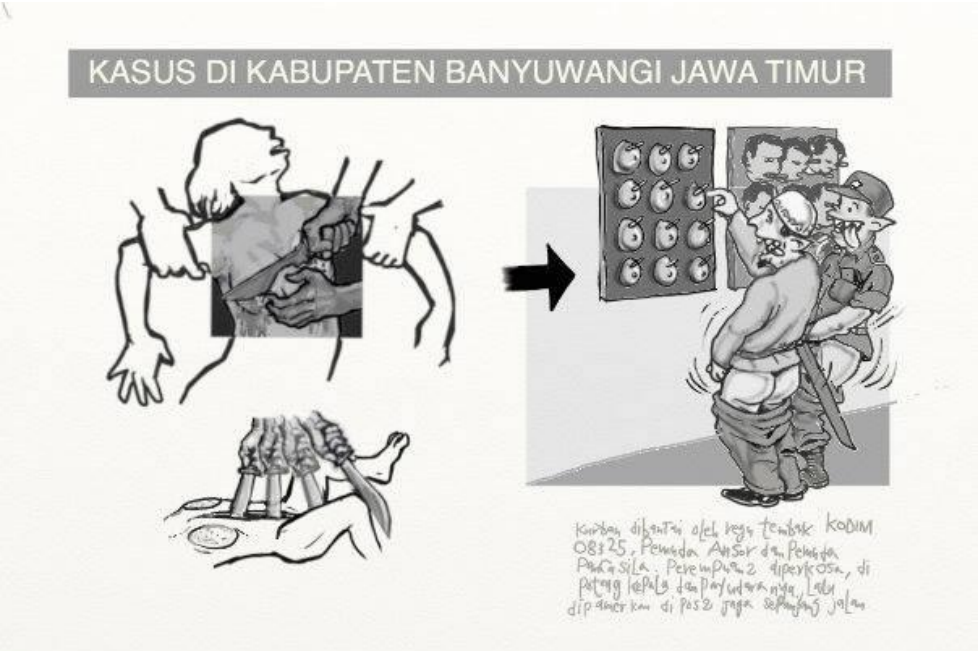

Image 26: Mass and sexual violence cases in Banyuwangi, East Java.

(Yatmaka et al., 2016: 382 and author's social media account)

A visual narrative can also reinforce a text. According to Fang, in certain instances illustrations aim to reinforce rather than extend the text. Nonfiction picture books often use this functionality, with the illustrations and diagrams providing a visual restatement of the words (Fang, 1996: 136). For example, in *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners,* the depiction of thousands of people who were thrown into *luweng* (big and deep holes) is wider than the portion of the text, as in Image 28. This layout can emphasize and reinforce the mass violence and the victims' trauma (Yatmaka, 2016: 380).

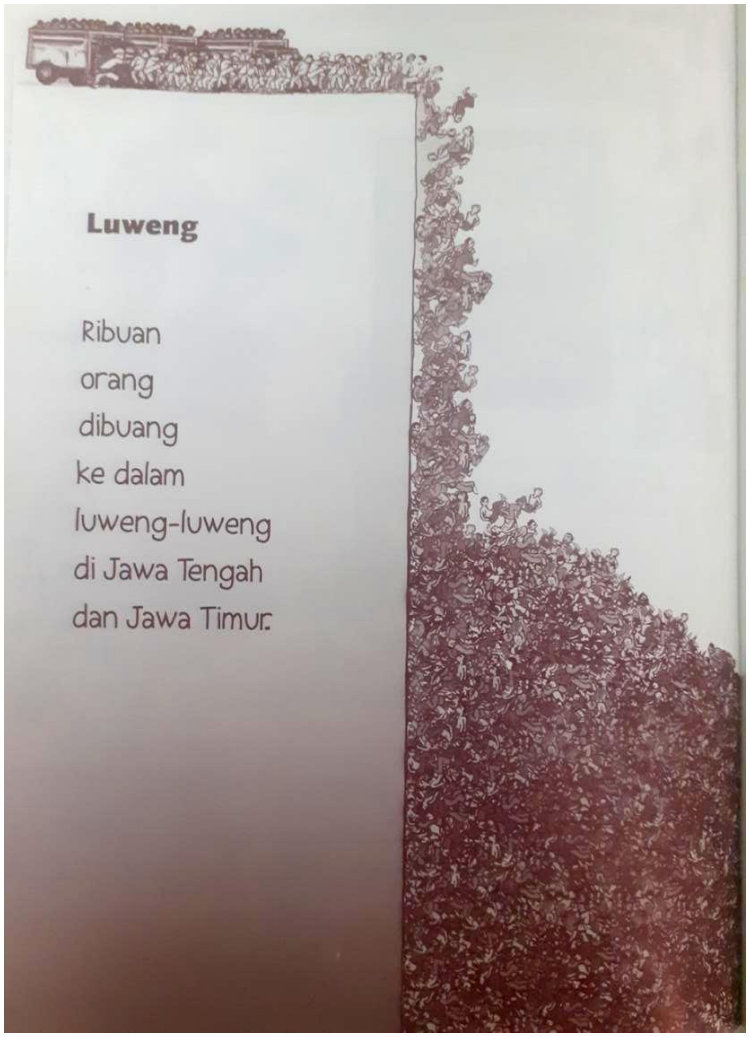

Image 27: Thousands of people were thrown into *luweng* (deep, vertical holes) in Central Java and East Java.

(Yatmaka et al., 2016: 380 and author's social media account)

In *Picture Theory* (1994), Mitchell differentiates two kinds of image and text relationships, called "textual picture" and "pictorial text." The textual picture is a visual dimension nested in the text, while a pictorial text is a textual dimension in the picture. Textual pictures appear, for example, in writing as visible language, ekphrasis, and slavery narratives.

Like ekphrasis, in *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners,* the authors gives "voice to survivor's experience." Ekphrasis is also called "description before the mind's eye" (Mitchell, 1994: 153), and defies the boundaries between textuality and visuality. The textuality standpoint usually sees visual representation as "other" because of the cultural domination of the "self" as the active, speaking, and seeing subject, while the "other" is as a passive, seen, and silent object (Mitchell, 1994: 157). The artists of *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* transform the textuality of victims' testimonies into a visual narrative. The illustrated book is also an encounter of text and its semiotic "others," the visual arts (Mitchell, 1994: 158). The illustrated book challenges the common understanding that victims and survivors are passive and silent; instead, they are active and speak up about their experiences through graphics.

The second kind of image and text relationship, pictorial text, refers to the textual dimension of a picture. The readers can find the pictorial text in many mixed media, such as the narrative of abstract art, minimalist and conceptual sculpture in postmodern art, and the photographic essay.

Like photographic essays and other picture book artefacts, *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* involves textual narrative and visual narrative. The author locates the textual narrative in the preface and within the illustrations. The preface presents several experts' writings to explain the historical background and their views of the 1965–1966 massacre. The preface, together with other textual narratives in the illustrated book, aim to assert the historical-social veracity of this work. The textual narrative also affirms that the events described in the works are true, accurate, and realistic. The pictorial text also appears when the

readers “frame” the image of the illustrated book within the discourse of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia. The image can trigger discussions of the victim narrative of the massacre.

4.5. The Power of Images: The “Images Against Images” Strategy to Offer a New Interpretation of the 1965–1966 Massacre in Indonesia

The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners challenges the master-narrative propaganda using images that articulate the victims’ narrative. In this case, the book employs images as what Stocchetti (2011) calls visual politics that uses “images against images” or “visual technology against visual technology” (Stocchetti, 2011: 20). Visual politics is the competition to control the use of images in society (Stocchetti, 2011: 33). As has been described in Chapter III, visuality is relevant to the reproduction of technological power and knowledge. Someone can use images both to reproduce and challenge power/knowledge. Through images, the book counters knowledge created by the New Order regime.

Images can produce an error in the viewers’ eyes through their aesthetic illusions and can show the truth through their realism (Mitchell, 1994: 326). In Benjamin’s terms, images can produce an “aestheticizing of politics” and a “politicizing of aesthetics” in which images become a weapon to challenge violence.

In the context of the 1965–1966 massacres, the New Order regime constructed several images to legitimize their power and violence against those allegedly involved in communist parties. They promoted the image of the PKI as a bloodthirsty party and the sexual perversion of Gerwani members. As has been shown in Chapter II, the state

produces the master narrative propaganda in various media, from mass media and monuments to film.

The state used soft power, including propaganda and other cultural products, to support physical and direct violence in the 1965–1966 massacres. Soft power is the ability to affect others through attraction and persuasion (Nye, 2013: 5; Cheyre, 2013: 4). As Herlambang (2011) argues, even cultural elements can be the key factor and driving force behind the practice of violence (Herlambang, 2011: 3). In other words, without soft power, direct violence might never happen. Without the army's anticommunist propaganda, the massacre might not have happened (Wieringa and Katjasungkana, 2019: 14).

The next sub-chapters aim to portray the master narrative's and the victim narrative's image strategies. These sub-chapters also compare the master narrative and the victim narrative offered in the illustrated book *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners.*

4.5.1. The Master Narrative's Image Strategy

In this sub-chapter, the researcher selected the film *The Betrayal/Treachery of the Communists' 30 September Movement/PKI* as the representation of the master narrative because this film is one of the main propaganda instruments of the master narrative (Heryanto, 2014: 78). For students and civil servants, it was obligatory to watch this movie annually in the evening of 30 September (Adam, 2018: par. 21). Over the past ten years, several film screenings of this movie were organized to commemorate the 30 September tragedy. It remains debatable whether watching this film will again become compulsory for students.

Propaganda in the film *The Betrayal/Treachery of the Communists' 30 September Movement/PKI* appears in two contrasting subjects, which are 1) violence that is conducted by PKI members or sympathizers and 2) the power of the New Order or Suharto as a hero who overcomes the PKI's coup and threats (Sarmiki, 2015: 62).

Five scenes portray the PKI's violence: 1) the invasion of the Indonesian Islamic Student (Pelajar Islam Indonesia) training center; 2) the news about the violence perpetrated by the PKI; 3) the attack on Brigadier General D.N. Pandjaitan; 4) torture in Lubang Buaya; and 5) the seizure of the RRI (Radio of Republic Indonesia) (Sarmiki, 2015: 62).

These five scenes depict the PKI as a cruel and brutal party that wants to seize political power. These scenes aim to make the viewers conclude that the main cause of the 1965–1966 tragedy was the PKI's greed.

Propaganda also emerges in the scenes that affirm Suharto's power to stop the PKI's alleged coup. Three scenes portray Suharto's heroism in crushing the communist movement: 1) Suharto announced that there was no general council movement; 2) Suharto ordered the retaking of RRI, which had been seized by the PKI; 3) Suharto was thank for finding the bodies of the victims. All of these scenes emphasize Suharto's and his team's heroic acts that saved Indonesia from the communist threat (Sarmiki, 2015: 79).

Another important master narrative strategy in this film is the preservation of memories through torture scenes. From the very beginning, this film depicts the Pancasila Sakti Monument whereon the reliefs of the torture of the seven Revolutionary Heroes are carved. The relief creator engraved "PKI members pointing their riffles and thrashing their sickles at the victims" onto the monument (Beta et al., 2011: 3). The first and deepest impression from this film is its violence, such as the

kidnapping of army generals from their homes, the killing of Nasution's daughter, and the torture of generals at Lubang Buaya. The scenes also amplify the violence through verbal torture. For example, one communist says, "I am a sculptor. I will now sculpt your face, General" or "enjoy the rust of this sickle" before aiming for the General's eyes (Beta et al., 2011: 3).

This film builds a mental connection between the audience and the tortured generals. It clearly distinguishes between "us" and "the other," "hero" and "enemy," and "torturer" and "tortured." The generals are portrayed as heroes with some characteristics such as "masculine, very loyal to the state, fatherly, protective and religious." On the other hand, the PKI is the enemy, and is presented as an "inhuman, uncivilized, and merciless torturer". The audience tends to identify themselves as part of a group (us), a hero, and against the enemy (the other) (Beta et al., 2011: 3).

When seeing the torture of the generals, the audience identifies themselves as the generals. Therefore, the audience feels the generals' pain. The audience's self-identification as generals is supported by the view that the military is a hero in thwarting the communist movement. The military is a symbol of the nation's pride and honor. Therefore, the torturing of the generals is the torturing of the nation's honor itself (Beta et al., 2011: 3). In this film, torture scenes have an important role to preserve the idealized memory of the 30 September treason, about the military as a hero and the communist party as an enemy who betrayed the nation.

4.5.2. The Victim Narrative's Image Strategy

This sub-chapter presents a comparison of the master narrative and the victim narrative in the illustrated book *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for*

Beginners. It also aims to demonstrate what images are used by the victim narrative to challenge the master narrative.

The table below presents the comparison of master narrative's and the victim narrative's images of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia.

Table 1: A comparison of the master narrative and the victim narrative

No.	Elements	The Master Narrative	The Victim Narrative	Pages
1.	The mastermind of the massacre	- The Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) - The Indonesian Women's Movement (Gerwani) - The Air Force (AU)	Suharto	283, 285, 297, 300, 308–309, 316–317, 324, 332–333, 340, 343, 344–345, 378
			The army	275–276, 286–287, 305, 311–314, 351, 360
			The US	232–233, 236–239, 267, 278–280, 282, 364–365
			The UK	288
			Communist Bureau and Sjam	291, 293, 310, 314
2	The killing of seven generals	- Progressive and leftist army soldiers kidnapped and shot	- The army squad under the command of Lieutenant Colonel	304, 305, 311

		seven generals - Some of the generals were tortured and killed by members of Gerwani - Gerwani members threw the generals' corpses into Lubang Buaya (a dry well, literally meaning: Crocodile Hole)	Untung kidnapped the generals	
			- Without other team members knowing, Sjam joined with Lieutenant Colonel Untung - Sjam decided to capture the generals dead or alive	310
			- The generals who were still alive were brought by the army to Lubang Buaya and shot to death - There was no sexual violence nor any other involvement of Gerwani members	313–314 347
			- Suharto knew the plan to kidnap the generals in advance, but did not take any steps to prevent it - Suharto coordinated troops to secure in order to the 30 September Movement run smoothly. - Suharto accused the progressive and leftist army leaders, the air force, and the PKI of being the masterminds of the 30 September Movement	297, 308–309 302 324, 345
3.	Sukarno's	Sukarno voluntarily	Suharto illegitimately	331–334,

	transfer of power to Suharto	transferred power to Suharto for the sake of national stability	takes over presidency	404–407, 408–410
4.	Things that trigger the massacre	- "Spontaneous" uprising by people - "Explosion of communal clashes"	The army's internal problems	351
			The army's training and weapons aid civilians to exterminate PKI members	360
			Suharto's and the New Order's propaganda	324, 344–346, 361, 378
5.	The consequence of the massacre	A national stability without interference from communists	Suharto seized the presidency and built the New Order regime	408, 422, 459
			Hundreds of thousands were arrested without trial and killed by the army and army-affiliated militias	366–402, 423, 427–443
			Millions of people, including victims' families, were discriminated against by authorities and society	444
			Natural resources were exploited by foreign transnational companies	458

Firstly, the master narrative justifies the violence against the 1965–1966 massacre's victims by creating an image that the masterminds of the 1965–1966 massacres were the PKI and other leftist organizations, like Gerwani and the air force. In contrast, *The*

History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners offers a new interpretation of the massacre mastermind as: 1) Suharto for his military intervention (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 283, 285, 300, 324, 343), his negligence (p. 297, 308–309), propaganda against the PKI members (p. 324, 344–345, 378), and the seized power of army commandos (p. 316–317, 332–333, 340); 2) the army for the internal problems that triggered the coup (p. 275–276, 286–287, 351), kidnapping and shooting of the generals (p. 305, 311–314), training and weapons support for civilians to exterminate leftists (p. 360); 3) the US for financial aid (p. 232, 237, 238–239, 278–280, 282), military training and intervention (p. 233, 236, 365), cultural intervention (p. 267), and providing a list of people to be exterminated (p. 364); 4) the UK for its support to overthrow Sukarno from the presidency as documented in the Gilchrist Document (p. 288); as well as 5) the Communist Bureau and Sjam for their intent to overthrow Sukarno (p. 291, 293) and military intervention (p. 310, 314).

The master narrative states that leftist army soldiers kidnapped and shot seven generals and that Gerwani members supported this operation by torturing the generals. Gerwani members then threw the generals' corpses into a dry well called Lubang Buaya (see Chapter II). Contrary to the master narrative, the victim narrative in the illustrated book argues that an army squad under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Untung kidnapped the generals (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 304–305, 311). Sjam Kamaruzaman, the head of the PKIs central special bureau and the army's internal intelligence, had known of the UK–US joint plan to overthrow Sukarno. Sjam persuaded Aidit, the PKI leader, to seize power and encouraged the army to carry out a military intervention to overthrow Sukarno (p. 291, 293). Sjam joined Lieutenant Colonel Untung in the small military unit (squad) without the other members knowing. When one of the lieutenants asked what do if the generals (who were about to be

captured by the military squad) resisted, Sjam replied that the team should capture the generals dead or alive (p. 310). Following Sjam's instruction, the generals who were still alive should be brought to Lubang Buaya and shot to death by the military team (p. 313–314). There was no sexual violence nor any other involvement of Gerwani members, which was proven by the generals' *visum et repertum* that only found gunshot wounds and blunt wounds caused by dull objects (p. 347) (see Chapter II).

Meanwhile, Suharto carried out the plan underlying the tragedy. Suharto knew of the plan for the kidnapping of the generals some days prior, based on Latief's and Untung's reports (p. 297). However, Suharto did not take any steps to prevent it, although he had the power to do it as the military commander (*Pangkostrad*) (p. 308–309). Suharto also coordinated troops to secure in order to the 30 September Movement smoothly run (p. 302). After the investigation team found the generals' bodies, Suharto spread propaganda that accused the progressive and leftist army leaders, the air force, and the PKI as the masterminds of the 30 September Movement (p. 324, 345, 378).

Thirdly, according to the master narrative, Sukarno voluntarily transferred power to Suharto for national stability. On the contrary, the victim narrative states that Suharto illigitimately takes over presidency (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 316). Suharto prohibited army members from leaving military headquarters under the pretext of preventing further army members from becoming victims (p. 331–334). Suharto also refused to obey Sukarno's instruction to stop the fighting between the two military groups (p. 3 40–342). In 1966, Suharto, through his military envoys, forced Sukarno to sign a warrant on 11 March (*Surat Perintah 11 Maret/ Supersemar/ Order of March 11, 1966)*, which ordered Suharto to take steps to enforce security and coordinate with other army commanders (p. 404–407). Suharto intentionally misinterpreted the 11

March warrant as Sukarno's resignation from the presidency and transfer of power to him, news of which circulated throughout the capital (p. 408). After seizing power, Suharto banned the PKI (p. 409).

Fourthly, the master narrative convinces Indonesians that the 1965–1966 massacre was triggered by a "spontaneous" uprising or the "explosion of communal clashes" (Melvin, 2018: 51). However, the victim narrative finds that the army has a significant role in the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia. The massacres were started by the army's internal problems (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 351), between the "progressive or leftist" army leaders and the "right-wing" generals. Furthermore, the army also trained and handed out weapons to civilians, such as Islamic student organizations and mass organizations to exterminate the PKI members (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 360). The tragedy was exacerbated by Suharto's and the New Order's propaganda that the masterminds of the 30 September Movement were leftist army leaders, PKI members, and the air force. The New Order's propaganda stated that the PKI was a bloodthirsty party, a group of atheist, hypersexual people, and contrary to the national foundation, called *Pancasila* and the constitution (p. 378).

Fifthly, the master narrative claims the extermination of the leftists in 1965–1966 created national stability without interference from communists. In contrast, the victim narrative asserts that the massacres led to Suharto seizing power to build the New Order regime (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 408, 422, 459). During Suharto's presidency, Indonesian natural resources were exploited by foreign transnational companies (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 458). Hundreds of thousands were arrested without trial and killed by the army and army-affiliated militias (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 366–402, 423, 427–443). Millions of people, including victims' families, were discriminated against by authorities and society because of the negative stigma of ex-

political prisoners. The state also marked the identity card of ex-political prisoners with "ET" (*Eks-Tapol* [Ex-Political Prisoners]) to surveil their activities. The state prohibits former political prisoners from working in education, politics, journalism, law, civil service, and the military (Yatmaka et al., 2016: 444).

4.6. Criticism of The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners

Graphic narratives dealing with genocide, including *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners,* are often criticized by scholars for being excessive and at the same time simplifying complex situations. On the one hand, graphic narratives are excessive because of their "surplus of visuals and melodramatic narrative techniques" (Veld, 2019: 2). The emotional manipulation technique is a questionable mode when dealing with precarious topics like massacre and death (Veld, 2019: 1), because this technique invites inauthentic emotional responses to real life and death matters. On the other hand, the graphic narrative simplifies complex moral and political situations through reductive images (Veld, 2019: 2). The graphic narrative aims to depict the massacre in more understandable images. However, the graphic narrative often falls into a simplification of a massacre's complex circumstances, such as between good and bad, hero and enemy, and oppressor and oppressed.

The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners also encounters difficulties regarding the objectivity and authenticity of massacre representations. Since Rorty's *Philosophy and The Mirror of Nature* (1979), the idea that the "mind is a great mirror" and "knowledge is an accurate representation" of reality has been rejected (Rorty, 1981: 12). Neither language nor images can be an accurate representation of reality. This graphic narrative can also not be a comprehensive representation of the massacre's historical facts. Furthermore, this graphic narrative is exposed to the authenticity problem, since it comprises neither autobiographical

comics nor journalism comics. The illustrators of this book have distance from the victims because they themselves are not the victims nor have family members who are directly related to the 1965–1966 massacre. Therefore, to deal with objectivity and authenticity problems, the artists of this book has undertaken a great effort to collect as much of the victims' oral stories and the leading research of the massacre as possible. The graphic narrative has employed corroboration and cross-check testimonies and historical facts to establish its authenticity and objectivity.

In *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners,* images carry out their critical functions to depict the massacre. However, the critical functions of images are questionable because images often *confuse* us (Huberman and Miller, 2017: 257). Image has been known for its potential to "expose us to the risk of confusing everything — being and appearance, truth and illusion" (Huberman and Miller, 2017: 257). In this regard, how could images distinguish "the real from the unreal," "the true from the false" (Huberman and Miller, 2017: 253–254), and "fact from opinion"?

On the one hand, images are "unsuited to the generality of the concept, since they are always *singular*: local, incomplete,… insubstantial" (Huberman and Miller, 2017: 260). Images always depict a particular subject or event. Therefore, images are always fragments of reality. On the other hand, images are always *open*, "never entirely sealed off, never completed" (Huberman and Miller, 2017: 260). Images are always open to multiple interpretations. Someone can use images to criticize the world, but doing so is to take as many risks and precautions with them as with words (Huberman and Miller, 2017: 261).

4.7. The Obstacles and a New Opportunity for Indonesian Social Commentary Comics

In Indonesia, comics as a social commentary media encounter many obstacles. One of them is censorship by the authorities. *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* also faces the same obstacle as other Indonesian social commentary comics. Only some months after its launch, this illustrated book was confiscated by authorities.

Indonesian comics had their "golden age" from the 1960s to the 1970s. Comics were people's art which everybody read (Berman, 2001: 20). However, since the 1980s, American and Japanese translation comics have replaced the dominance of original Indonesian comics. The social-political censorship also restricts subjects dealt with in the comics. In the Indonesian context, social commentary comics are usually published in limited space in mass media (not in a book that is available in a bookstore) because of the censorship by the government. The government fears that the social commentary will be “a threat to national stability.” They also maintain that the alternative perspective will confuse people and “must be avoided.” The government's limitation on free speech means that popular comic books “have no political commentary and reflect nothing of relevance to [the] Indonesia context” (Berman, 2001: 26). Besides national popular comics, there are some underground comics. However, many underground comics somehow also convey only a few social commentaries, because the authors are aware of the oppression by the authorities (Berman, 2001: 27). Even after the reformation, only some comics represent social commentary in the Indonesian context. For example, the *Benny-Mice* comic strip in the *Kompas* newspaper contains social criticism of Jakarta’s urban society (Manurung, 2010: 1).

Indonesian comics had their revival in the 2000s when they again grew to popularity on digital platforms where both Indonesian and translation comics can be read online. The activity includes comic buying and selling, discussion, and gallery creation (Mataram, 2019: 481). The digital comic platform is one of the trends that are emerging in Indonesian younger generations (between 11–25 years old) (Mataram, 2019: 482), and are available on mobile applications, websites, and e-galleries (Mataram, 2019: 481). Readers usually use mobile phones (98.1%) to access various digital media due to their higher mobility than personal computers or laptops (Mataram, 2019: 482).

The emergence of the internet in Indonesia in the 1990s brought "new spaces" for freedom of speech. During the New Order period, the government dominated and controlled the radio, television, cinema, newspapers, and other publications. However, when the internet emerged, the Ministry of Information could not entirely control online media because of "the amorphous nature of the internet as well as confusion over which ministry should have final authority" to supervise information circulated on the internet (Leong, 2019/2020: 739). Indonesia's virtual realm developed into "an environment relatively free of government regulations or interference" (Leong, 2019/2020: 739).

The internet provides new political spaces that allow users to post and openly discuss a topic that was taboo during the New Order regime, like the 1965–1966 massacre. The online space allows users to avoid government censors and create virtual communities (Leong, 2019/2020: 739).

The younger generation of Indonesians attempted to bring the 1965–1966 issues to the virtual realm. For example, *Ingat 65* [Remember 65] (*medium.com/ingat-65*), founded in 2016, is a site that intends to be a "movement" where everyone can submit a

personal story about the 1965 tragedy that will inspire other authors to share their stories. The site looks for one new author every week and has at least four new articles every month (Leong, 2019/2020: 742). Another website that deals with the 1965–1966 issue is *1965setiaphari.org* [1965everyday], which is a project that collects personal stories about Indonesia in 1965, and distributes them via social media. On this website, users can contribute not only in the short article format, but also in short stories, poems, pictures, photos, videos, opinions, or anything that reminds them of the events of 1965 in Indonesia (https://1965setiaphari.org/tentang.html). The *1965setiaphari* project also supports another project related to the 1965–1966 massacre, called FIS (Faith in Speculation). Rangga Purbaya and Sirin Farid Stevy are the initiators of fis.1965.or.id. This website aims to intervene in the master narrative of the 1965–1966 massacre by combining memory and imagination "to trigger a national and personal reconciliation process" (https://fis.1965.or.id/). The website displays a virtual map that shows locations, times, and stories of incidents related to the 1965 tragedy, such as arrests, torture, intimidation, or displacement. Users can click on small dots that represent an incident or make use of categories and filters to find specific data. Another interesting website is *genosida1965wordpress.wordpress.com,* which was organized and curated by a visual artist and activist, Andreas Iswinarto. This website is an archive of various materials on the 1965–1966 events, consisting of articles, theses and dissertations, news, stories, film, video, and visual artworks. This website also serves as an art gallery or an online exhibition. Some of Yayak Yatmaka's visual works for *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* are also available on this website.[23]

[23] See https://genosida1965wordpress.wordpress.com/about/

Considering the trend of digital comic platforms among the younger Indonesian generations and the new political space that is relatively safe, *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* can use virtual space as its display medium. This virtual space presents a new opportunity to construct a collective memory of the 1965 events and avoid the authorities' censorship constraints (Leong, 2019/2020). The site also invites everyone to contribute their ideas, stories, and works to construct the victim narrative of the 1965–1966 massacre.

In conclusion, here follows a summary of some points of argument presented in this chapter:

- First, this chapter argues that the illustrated book entitled *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* is a powerful tool to offer a new interpretation of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia in Mitchell's perspective.
- This chapter emphasizes how graphic narratives can become useful and important tools to represent the massacre. The pictorial turn that Mitchell coined also supports the discourse of graphic narrative's power to depict mass violence. Graphic narratives have the power to affect readers, open up critical dialog (Veld, 2019), move readers to the side of life and against those who oppress others (Evans, 2021), trigger a response (Spiegelman, 2011; Chute, 2016), and even make the reader act responsibly (Evans, 2021). Graphic narratives do not require a linear reading, as do films, and allow the depiction of violence in less explicit brutalities (Evans, 2021).
- Second, to open up discussion and rethink the massacre, graphic narratives often employ animal visual metaphors such as the metapicture of perpetrators. The

authors use animal imagery to portray and comment on the human experience (Berger, 2009). The animal imagery also suggests a lack of human rational capacity (Veld, 2019).

- *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* also employs animal metaphors to depict the oppressors and perpetrators. The illustrated book represents them as animal-like figures with certain features, such as pointy ears, fangs, cruel eyes, and tails. Their faces resemble wolves, wild boars, or wild dogs. In this illustrated book, the animal imagery suggests their bestiality, lack of rationality, greediness, cruelty, and vicious motives.
- The graphic narrative also allows the readers to rethink the massacres by depicting mass violence and survivors' trauma through repetition and visual excess (Chute, 2016; Oh, 2016). In the graphic narrative, the repetition of mass violent actions aims to defamiliarize and dehabitualize the picture. Authors use this visual excess strategy to unsettle the viewers (Veld, 2019). The authors of *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* also consistently describe mass violence through repetition and visual excess.
- In graphic narratives, the representation of sexual violence is still open to discussion regarding whether it should be presented in an explicit image or implicit expression to avoid the risk of titillating or fascinating the readers (Veld, 2019: 151). Some graphic narratives use a different strategy that works simultaneously between the presence and absence of sexual violence (Veld, 2019: 151).
- Third, like the Holocaust, in representing the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia, people encounter obstacles such as "unrepresentability" and immorality. The most obvious obstacle was the government's ban on any representation of the

1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia, except the official version. However, following Mitchell's biopicture and reactions to the dominance of the official narrative, many artists and survivors created their narratives in literature, film, theater, puppets, music, dance, drawing, and illustrated books.

- Fourth, *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* shows the text and image relationship in which the visual narrative supports the verbal narrative. In this illustrated book, the visual narrative has functions for establishing a setting, defining and developing characters, extending or developing the plot, and reinforcing the text.
- *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* also contains what Mitchell calls "textual picture" and "pictorial text." As a textual picture, the illustrated book is an ekphrasis that gives "voice to survivor's experience." This illustrated book also shows the other kind of image and text relationship: pictorial text. The pictorial text appears in the illustrated book, such as in each picture's preface and caption. These textual narratives aim to affirm the events' truthfulness in the graphic narratives. The pictorial text also appears when someone "locates" the picture of the illustrated book within the discourse of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia.
- Fifth, *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* uses the "image against image" strategy. Previously, the master narrative used image strategies in which it contrasted the depiction of Suharto as a hero who saved the nation from the communist threat and the depiction of the PKI as a bloodthirsty party. The master narrative also employs torture scenes to preserve memories of the 30 September treason. *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* counters the master narrative's images through the victim narrative's

images. Five images that are countered by the victim narrative are the mastermind of the massacre, the killing of seven generals, Sukarno's transfer of power to Suharto, that which triggered the massacre, and the consequence of the massacres.

- Last but not least, Indonesian social commentary comics, including *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners*, faced authorities' strict censorship both during the New Order regime and the following period. As a new opportunity, the internet can provide a new and relatively safe space for disseminating Indonesian critical comics.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This chapter will conclude the study by summarizing the key research findings concerning the research aims. This chapter will also discuss this study's contributions and limitations while providing suggestions and opportunities for future research. This research begins with the historical investigation of Indonesia's 1965–1966 massacre. Thereafter, the key concepts of Mitchell's theory, such as the pictorial turn, metapicture, and biopicture are examined. In Chapter IV, the researcher applies Mitchell's concepts to analyze how a mixed media work entitled *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* builds a new interpretation of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia.

5.1. Summary and Conclusion

This study investigates how mixed media can build a new interpretation of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia from the victim's point of view in Mitchell's perspective. The results indicate that a mixed media work entitled *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* is a powerful tool to build the victims' narrative of the massacre, particularly through its pictorial power to represent the massacre, its metapicture of perpetrators and mass violence, and its biopicture of the massacre.

This study has yielded several results. First, this research has shown that the victim narrative of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia aims to counter the master narrative, which remains dominant until today. Chapter II elaborates on the 30 September Movement, the coup, and its aftermath. There are at least five theories regarding the

identity of the Movement's mastermind: the PKI, the Indonesian military, the UK-US intervention, Suharto, and the Mao-Sukarno-Adit conspiracy. Even today, the 1965 coup's mastermind remains controversial. The mastermind could also be a convergence of multiple actors, not a single actor. The master narrative claims that the mastermind was the PKI and that they therefore deserved to be exterminated. The Indonesian state used this claim to legitimate their violence against those supposedly involved in leftist organizations. The victim narrative counters the master narrative's argument. The military and army-affiliated militias were the perpetrators, while the victims were those who were supposedly members of the PKI and affiliated organizations. They were not only major political figures but also common people from different backgrounds and professions. The victims and survivors have created many artworks that present the victim narrative of Indonesia's 1965–1966 massacre. One of these artistic expressions is *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners.*

Second, this study has systematized several of Mitchell's key concepts in Chapter III. The first concept is the pictorial turn, which marked a shift of focus from language to image and visuality, in philosophy, public culture, and academic discourse. In the pictorial turn, the image is a complex interplay between aesthetics, politics, media, technology, power, ideologies, and many others. The second concept is the metapicture, a picture that can reflect on its nature, its representation process, and the humans' world as the picture creator. One can find a metapicture, for example, in an image that appears in an image. The third concept is biopicture. Biopicture emphasizes images' living characters. Like living things, images can multiply and transform from one media to another. The fourth concept is the relationship between text and image. The text contains a pictorial dimension, and the image inherently

contains a textual dimension. Both text and image are composite art or mixed media that combine "different codes, discursive conventions, channels, sensory and cognitive modes" (Mitchell, 1994: 94–95). The last concept is the relationship between picture, power, and violence. Images play important roles in the reproduction of technological power and knowledge. Images can reproduce control but can also challenge it. However, for now, images' power seems to create a "spectacle and surveillance society." These key concepts are required to analyze how mixed media challenges Indonesia's master narrative of the 1965–1966 massacre.

Third, Chapter IV explores the pictorial turn in the massacre representations that highlights the power of images to affect readers, open up discussion on the massacre, and even trigger the reader to act responsibly.

Fourth, the mixed media work can be a powerful instrument to represent the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia, especially through its metapicture of perpetrators in animal metaphors and metapicture of mass violence in visual excess. The animal visual metaphors suggest a lack of rationality, bestiality, and human condition during the massacre. The visual excess or repetition in mass violence depiction aims to unsettle the viewer and cause them to rethink the massacre. The artists chose direct and realistic representations of mass and sexual violence to avoid similar massacres happening again in the future.

Fifth, this study also indicates that the 1965–1966 massacre images in Indonesia always transform into other media, despite the Indonesian state's banning of the victim narrative. This transformation suits biopicture theory, which underlines images' ability to multiply and transform.

Sixth, another study result is that *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* belongs to the "expanded" or "enhanced" picture book, in which the visual

narrative supports the verbal narrative. In this book, the visual narrative has many functions related to the text, such as providing an overview of the setting, developing characters, depicting details of the textual narrative, supporting textual coherence, and reinforcing the text's information.

As a textual picture or pictorial dimension in text, *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners* is an ekphrasis that gives "voice to survivor's experience." The artists listen to the victims' stories and manifest them in mixed media art. As pictorial text or textual dimension in the picture, this picture book artifact locates the textual narrative both in the preface and in the captions to reinforce this work's historical and sociopolitical veracity.

Seventh, the graphic narrative employs the "image against image" strategy in which the victim narrative's images oppose the master narrative's images that use torture scenes to preserve memories of the communists' treason. The victim narrative offers new interpretations, especially regarding the mastermind of the massacre, the killing of seven generals, Sukarno's transfer of power to Suharto, that which triggered the massacre, and the consequence of the massacre.

Eighth, virtual space can present a new opportunity for Indonesian social commentary comics, including *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners*. The internet allows users to openly discuss and construct the collective memory of the 1965–1966 massacre, without the government's intervention.

5.2. Contribution and Limitations

This study has contributed to the research on the 1965–1966 massacre, which has thus far mainly examined physical and direct violence. This study speaks about a cultural strategy to challenge the master narrative of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia that

highlights the role of mixed media, especially a graphic narrative, to build a new interpretation of the massacre from the victims' point of view. This study can also inspire artists and survivors to defy the master narrative of the 1965–1966 massacre through mixed media art.

Being limited to the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia, this study does not allow a comparison with other massacres or genocides. This study is also limited to an illustrated book entitled *The History of the Indonesian Left Movement for Beginners*. It does not aim to generalize the results to all mixed media works.

This study's perspective, i.e., Mitchell's theory, also has limitations. The acknowledgment of images' agency and power often hides the human's responsibility as the actor behind the images (Stoccheti, 2011: 26). Moreover, many people often misunderstand the pictorial turn as "everything is an image." In this misapprehension, the denunciation of images means a demonstration of nihilism that deprives everything (Rancière, 2009: 124).

5.3. Suggestions

The question raised by this study is how mixed media can offer a new interpretation of the 1965–1966 massacre in Indonesia from the victims' point of view in Mitchell's perspective. A further study might explore other mixed media works, such as graphic narratives, films, and performance art, that speak about Indonesia's 1965–1966 massacre. Further research could also assess a representation of other massacres in a graphic narrative using Mitchell's theory and the effect of mixed media relating to the 1965–1966 massacre on readers.

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