

like the Durrell Institute of Conservation and Ecology. These external institutions are related by similar beliefs and have intensively developed communication that is based on a similar language wherein religion could play a significant role in conservation (see Jeanne E. McKay, ed., *Integrating Religion Within Conservation: Islamic Beliefs and Sumatran Forest Management, A Darwin Initiative Case Study* [Canterbury: Durrell Institute of Conservation Ecology, University of Kent, 2013]). Marking the importance of *muamallah* or horizontal relationships manifested in the form of communication, may critically reveal why other Moslem initiatives, such as a “green” *haj* or reduced carbon foot prints, rarely emerged in the context of Indonesian Moslems. Such practices may also enrich Yamin’s conclusion (chapter 11) that cultivating individual consciousness is not enough to transform collective living unconsciousness.

**BONDAN WIDYATMOKO**  
 Guest Scholar, CSEAS, Kyoto University  
 <widyatmoko.bondan@gmail.com>

WIJAYA HERLAMBANG

## **Kekerasan Budaya Pasca 1965**

Bagaimana Orde Baru Melegitimasi Anti-Komunisme melalui Sastra dan Film

### **Violence Culture Post-1965**

How the New Order Legitimized Anti-Communism through Literature and Film

Tanggerang: Marjin Kiri, 2013. 334 pp.

Although there have been a number of notable studies on the cultural conflict of 1964–1965 in Indonesia between the Left artistic group Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat (Institution of People’s Culture, Lekra), and the liberal Manifest Kebudayaan (Cultural manifesto), which supported the idea of “universal humanism” (see Keith Foulcher, “A Survey of Events Surrounding Manikebu: The Struggle for Cultural and Intellectual Freedom in Indonesian Literature,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 125(4, 1969): 429–65; Harry Aveling, “Indonesian Writers and the Left Before 1965,” *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 4[1–2, 1970]: 1–7), Herlambang introduces a fresh discussion to the subject along with critical engagement

of historical sources. The book explores the role of cultural work produced by anti-Communist artists with the support of Western organizations, which was, unfortunately, used to justify the violence of the anti-Communist purges that followed the failed political coup in 1965.

Herlambang analyzes selected short stories published between 1966 and 1967 in *Horison* (the cultural magazine of Manifes Kebudayaan), the docudrama *Pengkhianatan G.30.S/PKI* (Treachery of G.30.S/PKI) directed by Arifin C. Noer in 1984, and a novel with a similar title by Arswendo Atmowiloto. He also examines a collection of documents that describe the communication between the Congress Cultural for Freedom (CCF), a CIA-funded anti-Communist organization, with some of Indonesia's prominent intellectuals (see also the discussion of the role of the CCF in the magazine *Konfrontasi* from 1945 to 1960, in Foulcher's "Bringing the World Back Home: Cultural Traffic in *Konfrontasi*, 1954–1960," in *Heirs to World Culture: Being Indonesian, 1950–1965*, ed. Jennifer Lindsay and Maya H. T. Liem, 31–56 [Leiden: KITLV, 2012]).

The book consists of seven chapters. In the first two chapters, Herlambang provides a theoretical framework that contextualizes "liberalism" as an ideology embedded in the cultural politics in Indonesia. The definition of "liberal" in his study refers to the hegemonic "Western" culture during the Cold War. He also examines the emergence of violence in Indonesian cultural works.

In chapter 3, Herlambang discusses the formation of liberal ideology with its anti-communist sentiment. In the beginning of Cold War period, the US formed and funded a number of anti-communist cultural institutions, extending their networks to Indonesia, which, at the time, had the third largest Communist Party outside the USSR and China. There were a number of notable supporters of this liberal ideology, such as the well-known journalist Mochtar Lubis (b. 1922), who was awarded the Magsaysay Award in 1958, and Goenawan Muhammad (b. 1941), who once had an intense correspondence with the CCF.

In chapter 4, Herlambang focuses the discussion on the cultural works produced during the early years of the New Order regime that legitimized the physical violence that was taking place. He extensively analyzes six short stories in *Horison* between 1966 and 1967.

In chapters 5 and 6, Herlambang examines cultural works in the New Order period. Nugroho Notosusanto, a scholar and former

minister of education, was the main actor that produced the “official history” of the 1965 events. Similar to Katharine McGregor (*History in Uniform: Military Ideology and the Construction of the Indonesian Past* [Singapore: NUS Press, 2007]), Herlambang describes how the construction of Indonesian history was constructed to portray the PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia or Indonesian Communist Party) as traitors to the “nation” and the masterminds of the coup d’état that ruined the country—a situation that necessitated the emergence of Suharto, who saved the “nation” by bringing back law and order. It was under Notosusanto’s supervision that the government produced the 271-minute docudrama *Pengkhianatan G.30.S/PKI* in 1984 (the screenplay of the docudrama was based on a book written by Notosusanto himself). The movie was soon screened across the country, and students were soon compelled to watch it. In 1986,

Arswendo Atmowiloto published a novel with a similar title.

In the next chapter, Herlambang investigates the dawn of an Indonesian cultural activism in the 1990s that was unafraid of questioning the cultural hegemony of the New Order regime and its anti-communist ideology. He focuses on three cultural organizations: Jaringan Kebudayaan Rakyat (Cultural People’s Network, Jaker), Komunitas Sastra Indonesia (Indonesian Literature Community, KSI) and Komunitas Utan Kayu (Utan Kayu Community, KUK). Although these organizations were actively criticizing the New Order government, they had different and opposing ideologies. JAKER and KSI were considered Left artists, while KUK represented Liberal artists. Despite the often heated debates between these groups, Herlambang shows that the major contribution to the overthrow of official history of 1965 comes from novelist Noorca Massardi (b. 1954), who was not affiliated with a cultural organization. His novel *September* (2006) is the only literary work that does not present Suharto as a hero of 1965.

Regardless of Herlambang’s interesting perspective on the history of cultural works in 1965, there is hardly any meaningful discussion on the cultural works produced by the survivors of the 1965 incident (with an exception on Pramoedya Ananta Toer). The publication of some of their works, beginning in the mid-1990s, with the weakening of the New Order regime, come in various forms: short stories, memoirs, testimonies, and movies. They all demonstrate the collective struggle against the New Order’s cultural hegemony over the “nation.” Notwithstanding this absence, the book is an important contribution

for a younger generation of Indonesians, trying to understand the development of modern Indonesian culture.

**YERRY WIRAWAN**  
Sanata Dharma University  
<yerry.wirawan@gmail.com>