

The Meaning Of Indonesia's-Foreign-Policy-Themed Political Cartoon Artwork During Demokrasi Terpimpin Era

Taufan Hidayatullah^{1*}

¹Universitas Komputer Indonesia,
Jl. Dipatiukur No. 112-116 Bandung 40132, West Java, Indonesia

E-mail: taufan.hidayatullah@email.unikom.ac.id

Abstract. Mass media uses political cartoon as a strategy to convey opinion regarding an issue with humour or satirical approach. This research aims to understand the meaning of caricature artwork published in newspapers during Demokrasi Terpimpin (Orde Lama) that criticize Indonesia's foreign policy. During the era, President Soekarno implemented a confrontative Indonesian foreign policy. To understand the meaning of those foreign-policy-themed political cartoon, an Iconographic theory by Erwin Panofsky using descriptive analysis method is used. The research conducted through several steps which include pre-iconographic description, iconographic analysis, and iconological interpretation. The discussion begins by describing the visual aspects of political cartoons. The next stage explains the visual analysis and ends by interpreting the visual metaphors of political cartoons. From the research, Indonesia's foreign policy during Demokrasi Terpimpin era showed assertive and critical attitude towards (neo) imperialism and colonialism. The benefits of this research is to give a deeper understanding about Indonesia's foreign policy especially during Demokrasi Terpimpin era through political cartoons artwork.

Keywords: meaning, political cartoon, foreign policy, Demokrasi Terpimpin.

1. Introduction

Demokrasi Terpimpin Era took place between 1959-1965 when Indonesia was led by Ir. Soekarno. President Soekarno's conception of democracy actually contains three main things contained in it. First, is the introduction of a new leadership style and government system which is then known as Demokrasi Terpimpin system. Second, to realize the new conception, he proposed the formation of a gotong royong cabinet as mentioned above by including all political parties, including the Indonesian Communist Party. Third, the formation of a National Council consisting of most of the functional groups, what is meant by functional groups are employee groups consisting of representatives of workers, farmers, intellectuals, national entrepreneurs, religious groups, youth, armed forces, women and also regional representatives. The National Council is a reflection of society as a whole [1].

Foreign policy in Demokrasi Terpimpin Era was based on the national interest for the Indonesian people, namely the recognition of political sovereignty and the formation of national identity (nation building). This national interest is translated into a foreign policy, the aim of which is to seek support and recognition of the nation's sovereignty, as well as to show the character of the Indonesian nation to other countries. The implementation of the national interest is to establish relations with countries in Asia-Africa which have just been freed from colonialism. The national interest to show character is to

highlight the character of the Indonesian nation as an independent nation and not willing to be under pressure from other nations. Therefore, during his leadership, Soekarno strongly rejected all forms of oppression by other countries. In accordance with the principles and nature of foreign policy, namely free and active, anti-imperialism, and anti-colonialism. Soekarno rejected all forms of imperialism as well as colonialism. One form of his rejection of imperialism as well as colonialism was his confrontational action against the formation of the Malaysian Federation by the British. The formation of the Unification of Malaysia became the trigger for the dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia. Soekarno thought that the formation of the Federation of Malaysia was a project of British neo-colonialism (Nekolim) which could endanger the Indonesian revolution. (State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 1981: 234) On January 20, 1963, Dr. Subandrio used the term confrontation to formulate Indonesia's foreign policy towards Malaysia. He justified the formulation by saying "Malaysia is openly subject to imperialism and acts with hostility towards Indonesia." President Soekarno also emphasized that "Indonesia will carry out a policy of confrontation against Malaysia. (Leifer, 1989: 116) [2]

The dynamics of Indonesia's foreign policy in Demokrasi Terpimpin era received a response from the mass media. One form of mass media response is shown in the form of political cartoons. The existence of political cartoons as a form of art work has a relationship with social and political situations that develop in society. Political cartoon is a work that expresses the opinion of a cartoonist on a political event that is currently happening. Political cartoons that represent the views of a mass media are also called editorial cartoons [3]. Cartoons are often a humorous commentary on recent events, which allows the spectator to easily elaborate on the image and develop an opinion on the subject (Bal et al., 2009). Political cartoons are often an outlet of opposition or criticism, which are used to propel social issues to the general public's attention [4].

There are several studies on the relationship between politics and political cartoons. Priyanto Sunarto researched political cartoons created in 1950-1957 in various mass media during the Parliamentary Democracy era. The purpose of this research is to understand the socio-political background of the visual appearance of editorial cartoons in a parliamentary democracy. The approach in this research is to use a visual typology approach to describe concepts and analyze aspects of visual metaphors from editorial cartoons. From the results of the analysis, it can be concluded that there is a strong relationship between editorial cartoons and media bias, with the balance of the political situation at that time so that the expression of metaphors tends to be both open and sharp [5]. Wagiono Sunarto examines the myth of Soekarno and his ideology in political caricatures in newspapers. It is concluded that there was a change in the Soekarno myth as depicted in political caricatures during Demokrasi Terpimpin era and before the collapse of the Old Order. [6] Hadi Oki Cahyadi researches political communication through cartoons. The focus of this paper itself is on the meaning of symbols in political cartoons and the impact of these cartoons on political discourse. This study shows that cartoons are a medium of communication to influence public opinion so that mass media objectivity becomes important as part of internal control [7]

In a cartoon, the delivery of opinions on a problem that can be understood by the public is the main goal. This opinion is generally conveyed by packaging it in an atmosphere of humor, satire and full of satire and cannot be separated from the use of metaphorical visual languages. Exaggerated visual display (hyperbolic) is a strategy to be able to attract attention and elicit responses and appreciation from readers. Visual power becomes the focus in an effort to convey the message so that by minimizing or completely eliminating verbal explanations, the message can still be understood by the reader. To find out the meaning of political cartoons with the theme of Indonesian foreign policy, the iconographic theory presented by Erwin Panofsky was used with descriptive analysis method. This study aims to determine the meaning of caricature works published in the mass media newspapers during the Demokrasi Terpimpin (Orde Baru) era which criticized Indonesia's foreign policy.

2. Method

To find out the meaning contained in political cartoons with the theme of Indonesian foreign policy, iconographic and iconological methods are used. The iconographic method according to Adams (1996) is the iconographics approach to work of art primarily considering the meaning of subject matter [8]. Erwin Panofsky explained that iconography is a study that pays attention to the configuration of images in a work to find out the hidden meaning.

According to Erwin Panofsky (1961), there are three levels of analysis of meaning in iconography and iconology, namely;

1. Pre-iconographical Description

At this stage, observations are made on the primary meaning (primary or natural subject matter). The meanings revealed are factual and expressional meanings. The review process can observe and identify shapes, configurations of lines, colors and other visual elements. Observations were also made on kinesic messages that were present on visual objects which included facial/expression, gestural and postural messages, as well as artifactual messages. According to Duncan as quoted by Jalaludin Rahmat (1994), kinesic and artifactual messages are important components to interpret a communication process. At this stage, what are described are artistic motifs.

2. Iconographical Analysis

At this stage, an analysis of the secondary/conventional meaning is carried out. The meaning revealed is the meaning obtained through the study that an object represents something. Artistic motifs are associated with themes or concepts. The motifs which are then recognized as carriers of secondary meaning are referred to as images.

3. Iconology Interpretation Stage

At this stage, the object interpretation process is carried out to find out the intrinsic meaning or content. An understanding of the intrinsic meaning contained in an object is obtained by revealing basic principles which can then show the basic attitudes of a nation, period of time, social strata, certain religious or philosophical invitations.[9]

3. Results and Discussion

Harian Rakjat is a newspaper that often produces political cartoons with various themes. Harian Rakjat is positioned as a mass media affiliated to the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) [12]. The People's Daily was published from 1951-1965. Political cartoons published in Harian Rakjat appear provocatively and with sharp criticism [6]. International problems related to Indonesia are the themes displayed in political cartoons as shown in Figure 1. The following is a discussion of Figure 1 as the object of research on foreign-themed political cartoons published in Harian Rakjat with an iconographic analysis approach.






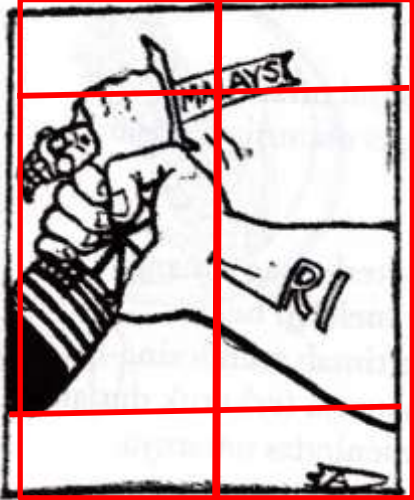
Figure 1. Cartoon themed foreign policy On the Harian Rakjat

a. Pre-Iconography

At the pre-iconography stage, the objects seen in this political cartoon are presented. Table 1 sequentially describes the sections of the political cartoons discussed.

Table 1. Description of Pre-Iconographic Stage



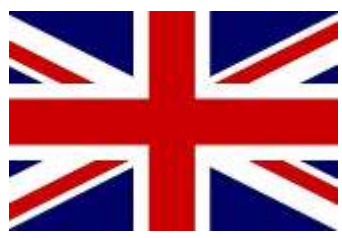
Object	Description
	<p>Shown is an image of the arm that appears to be gripping the wrist of the other, which appears smaller. The grip looks strong. On the wrist, the inscription RI is visible.</p>
	<p>There is a picture of a gripped arm and it looks smaller. The sleeves are seen wearing clothes with transverse stripes and white dots. Beside it is a white field with transverse and diagonal black lines.</p>

	<p>The clasped hands seemed to be holding a knife with the knife blade cut off. On the bar it says MALAYS. On the handle of the knife, there is an object that resembles a human head with round eyes and a gaping mouth. The figure appears to be wearing a kind of hat. There are two moving lines under the knife.</p>
	<p>The image area is a rectangle with a ratio of 1:1.5. The image object is placed in the center of the image area. This cartoon uses solid black lines to form objects.</p>

b. Iconographic Analysis

At this stage, as shown in Table 2, an analysis of the secondary meaning is carried out by examining the objects contained in the cartoon. These visual objects are associated with the theme or concept conveyed.

Table 2. Iconographic Analysis Stage

Iconographic Analysis		
		
<p>In this cartoon, the cartoonist uses verbal language and symbols to convey the identity of the parties involved. RI writing refers to the abbreviation of the Republic of Indonesia. Although the MALAYS writing is not complete to show the country of Malaysia. On one arm there is an object shape that resembles the symbols of the United States of America and the United Kingdom. Thus, the</p>		

cartoonist said that the parties involved in this dispute were several countries, namely Malaysia, the United States and Britain on the one hand, and the Republic of Indonesia.



Cartoonists show intense confrontation through hand gestures. The right hand is shown with the impression of attacking with a weapon. While the hand on the left seems to be holding. The stark difference in hand size is used by cartoonists to show the difference in strength between the two opposing sides. Malaysia is positioned as a tool that functions as a weapon directed at Indonesia. While the hands that move are the United States and Britain.

c. Iconological Interpretation

The third stage of discussion is iconological interpretation. This stage is most essential to understand the intrinsic meaning or content of a work of art. After going through understanding through pre-iconographic descriptions and iconographic analysis, at this stage a mental ability called synthetic intuition is needed to understand symbols [13]. The symbols presented in political cartoons always have a relationship with political events that are currently happening.

This political cartoon published by *Harian Rakjat* conveys a narrative about the conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia (supported by the United States and Britain) through symbolic language. In accordance with the discussion presented by Talani [11], the strength of political cartoons lies in the metaphorical visual style depicted in the political cartoons studied. Metaphorically, this political cartoon conveys that Malaysia and its allies are carrying out attacks against Indonesia. Malaysia is considered a tool of the United States and Britain to disrupt the existence of Indonesia as a sovereign country. The United States and Britain are considered to be the driving force behind neo-liberalism and neo-capitalism, which are seen from Soekarno's political perspective as threatening Indonesian sovereignty. During this period, Sukarno instigated a confrontational foreign policy with the slogan "Ganjang Malaysia". The culmination of this confrontation was that Indonesia declared its departure from the United Nations after Malaysia was designated as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. The political depiction of confrontation as in this political cartoon cannot be separated from the profile of *Harian Rakjat* as a newspaper that has a close relationship with the Indonesian Communist Party as a party that strongly supports Indonesia's confrontation with Malaysia.

4. Conclusion

From the discussion on political cartoons with the theme of the confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia, it can be concluded that political cartoons have the potential to become a propaganda medium for the government's political policies, including foreign policy. This is determined by the perspective and partisanship of the cartoonist or mass media broadcasting the political cartoon.

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