

In the early of Japanese occupation, respectable Indonesian politicians, namely Soekarno, Mohammad Hatta, KH Dewantara and Kyai Mas Mansoer founded POETERA (Poesat Tenaga Rakjat or Center of People Power).<sup>1</sup> The main objectives of POETERA was to bring the power of the people together to join forces with Japan to win the Great East Asian War (*dai toa no senso*). This organisation has a culture division which was led by S. Sudjojono assisted by Affandi. Throughout its career, POETERA held several painting exhibitions.

POETERA was mainly established by Indonesian intellectuals who had its own agenda for Indonesia. Although its establishment was sponsored by the Japanese military service, it was not able to liberate itself from the Japanese propaganda which main goal was to build an imperial prosperity concept for the Great East Asia – *The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (dai-to-a-kyoeiken)*. This was proven by one of POETERA sponsored exhibitions held at Rakoetentji night market on 8 December 1942, with the theme of “*Memenangkan Perang Asia Timur Raya*” (To Gain Victory in Great East Asian War).<sup>2</sup>

A month after its first day of colonisation, the Japanese started gathering some artists and had a meeting. In the meeting, they made several attempts at involving the artists in a campaign to build new Indonesian society under the Japanese regime that can be assumed as a slight propaganda. However, on the other hand, the artists saw this as an opportunity to help develop local fine art scene. Not long after, Japan intended to organise an exhibition with the theme of war victory, however, it was successfully proposed in advance by Indonesian artists after persuading Soekarno. The initiated exhibition “*Memenangkan Perang Asia Timur Raya*” (Gain Victory in Great East Asian War) was finally held through POETERA.

The success of POETERA’s initial exhibition was indicated by the new names that surfaced in to the competition held by the Japanese in order to discover new Indonesian artists and their qualities.<sup>3</sup> Then, Japan had its own agenda with themes to encourage fighting spirit in war against the enemy, society development, Indonesia-Japan collaboration, and the discovery of East-ism in the making of Indonesian paintings. In the meantime, POETERA had held several solo exhibitions of artwork by Affandi, Basuki Abdullah, Kartono Yudokusumo, and Nyoman Ngendon.

By April 1943, Japanese information division (*Sendenbu*) gathered some Indonesian artists again. This time, the main objectives of the meeting were to discuss some strategies to encourage more community-focused movements in order to establish a reliable public information service. The result was the establishment of a cultural center known as *Keimin Bunka Shidosho*.

Both POETERA and *Keimin Bunka Shidosho* organised fine art trainings which played an important role in Indonesian fine art development in terms of quantity and quality. Viewed from the quantity, both organisations had successfully brought up newborn artists. Viewed from the quality, both were the originators in implementing eastern

characteristic as an identity of Indonesian paintings. However, we have to admit that both organisations had different principles at certain levels.

POETERA avoided using propaganda themes, such as planting of cotton, romusha service, the spirit of the soldiers, and money saving movements that were constantly promoted by the Japanese. *Keimin Bunka Shidosho* was focused on the opposite views. However, interestingly, some Japanese artists who were also members of the board of *Keimin Bunka Shidosho* consistently tried to maintain the purity of art to avoid becoming a subordinate of propaganda. Japan consciously tried to balance ‘artistic content’ and ‘entertainment’ with ‘sloganising’. However, in practice, the borders between *propaganda art* and *art for art* were unclear at that time. Both POETERA and *Keimin Bunka Shidosho* had tendencies toward propaganda. POETERA politically served a dual purpose: served as propaganda within the propaganda itself – propaganda for propaganda.

The days of the Japanese colonisation were days of propaganda, intervention, firm control, mental doctrines, with Java Island as the central of the Japanese administrative government. The propaganda operation spread throughout Indonesia in many forms. The Japanese was determined in publicising morality, obedience, politeness, motherliness, diligence, working ethics, and consistency. Referring to Mayor Achida – head of the Japanese propaganda division *Sendenbu* in Indonesia from October 1943 until March 1945, the outline of Japanese propaganda is as follows:<sup>4</sup>

- 1942:** The purpose of the Greater East Asian War  
The Idea of Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere  
“Asia is One”  
3 A Movement:
- 1943:** The Idea of Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere  
Promotion of increased food production  
Paddy delivery  
Recruitment of *romusha*  
Gathering all power of inhabitants and friendship among them  
Strengthening war power  
Defence of Java
- 1944:** Permeation of Military Administration  
Reliance of inhabitants upon Japan  
Great east Asia Conference  
Promoting of increased food production  
Sparing and saving  
Recruitment of *romusha*  
Entertainment for Japanese and inhabitants
- 1945:** Defence of Fatherland  
Prevention from spies  
Entertainment for Japanese and local inhabitants  
Promotion of the fighting spirit of the Japanese

This writing was divided into three parts of history, which was a life-determining factor for the development of Indonesian fine art. Each part will be discussed later in detail to reveal the impacts of the Japanese colonisation on the Indonesian fine art development, specifically through *Keimin Bunka Shidosho*.

## Persagi

Persagi or *Persatoean Ahli-ahli Gambar Indonesia* (The Indonesian Drawing Experts Association) was founded on 28 October 1938 in Jakarta with Agus Djaja as the chairperson and S. Sudjojono as the secretary. The term *ahli-ahli gambar* (drawing experts) in this organisation, of course, refers to *seniman* (artists). As we know, in the early 1930s, the term *seniman* was not commonly used. The only term available was *ahli gambar* (drawing expert), *tukang gambar* (a person who draws), *pelukis* or *painter* (a person who makes paintings), *schilder* and *kunstler*.

The idea of establishing Persagi was first initiated by the involvement of S. Sudjojono, Agus Djaja, Rameli and other names in an exhibition held in mid 1930s at *Bataviasche Kunstkring*, a Dutch building specifically designed for art exhibitions on Heutszbolevard Street No. 1 (now Teuku Umar Street) in Jakarta. In an interview, S. Sudjojono admitted that one of his motives in joining the exhibition was initiated by his principles and confidence to stand out, in order to clear the insults and negative assumptions saying that local artists had no potentials. Later on, there was new awareness among S. Sudjojono and his associates that the drawback in Indonesian painting was because there were no institutions to organise local artists.<sup>5</sup> This caused the birth of Persagi.

One of the manifestations desired by Persagi was to find a new Indonesian character. Underneath it, strong nationalism became the foundation of ideology for Persagi. In addition to that, S. Sudjojono's several thoughts publicised by local media had improved the visions and missions of Persagi for its next moves.

In 1939, with sufficient funding, the first Persagi exhibition was held in a bookstore, after its proposal was blatantly turned down by *Bataviasche Kunstkring*. Unexpectedly, the exhibition in Kolf bookstore received positive responses, especially from *Bataviasche Kunstkring*.

The second Persagi exhibition was held in *Bataviasche Kunstkring* in early March 1941, which was later followed by exhibitions in different cities. The fact that *Kunstkring* accepted Persagi was influenced by factors related to social-politic situations at that time. In Europe, the Dutch was compelled by the Nazi and was threatened by the Japanese military expansion which had already entered East Asia regions. In Indonesia, the Dutch government was pressurized by Indonesian nationalism movements. The Dutch was in a critical position. Therefore, new regulations needed to be formed in order to draw sympathy from the Indonesians to join forces. Then, the Dutch declared *lostverbondenheid*: suffer together and share the same destiny for the Dutch and Indonesian people. To gain sympathy other than in politics, they provided flexibility in culture including the permit of Persagi's first exhibition in their premises, *Bataviasche Kunstkring*. Persagi lasted until it was terminated by the Japanese in 1942. Later, some of the founders were actively involved in *Keimin Bunka Shid*

## Keimin Bunka Shidosho

The existence of *Propaganda Groups*<sup>6</sup> in the body of *16<sup>th</sup> Division Imperial Japanese Army (IJA)*<sup>7</sup> indicated that Japan had already prepared its propaganda programmes in Indonesia. The Japanese military service was aware of the significance of propaganda in “grasping people’s minds” (*minshin ha ‘ku*) and “propagate and tame them” (*senbu kosaku*) which could mobilize the people and change their mentality.<sup>8</sup> To organise the propaganda, the Japanese military service formed an independent department *Sendenbu* in April 1942. *Sendenbu* was a separate organ from the military information division IJA and was more involved in civil matters. Nevertheless, the Japanese military service was not certain that *Sendenbu* can be managed by a civilian. Thus, *Sendenbu* was always managed by a military soldier.

*Sendenbu* got three sections: administration section, news and press section, and propaganda section. Civilians were only allowed to be the head of propaganda section. Moreover, an extra-department was formed in the body of *Sendenbu* that worked in other areas of propaganda. Below is a table of propaganda organisations established in late 1942: <sup>9</sup>

Name	Date	Function
Jawa Shinbunkai (Java Newspaper Corporation)	December 1942	Publishing newspaper
Domei News Agency		Reporting
Jawa Hoso Kanrikyoku (Java Broadcasting Superintendent Bureau)	October 1942	Domestic broadcasting
Jawa Engeki Kyokai (Java Theatrical Play Association)		
Niho Eigasha – Nichi’ei (Japan Motion Picture Company)	April 1943	Producing movies
Eiga Haikyusha – Eihai (Motion Picture Distributing Company)	April 1943	Distributing movies

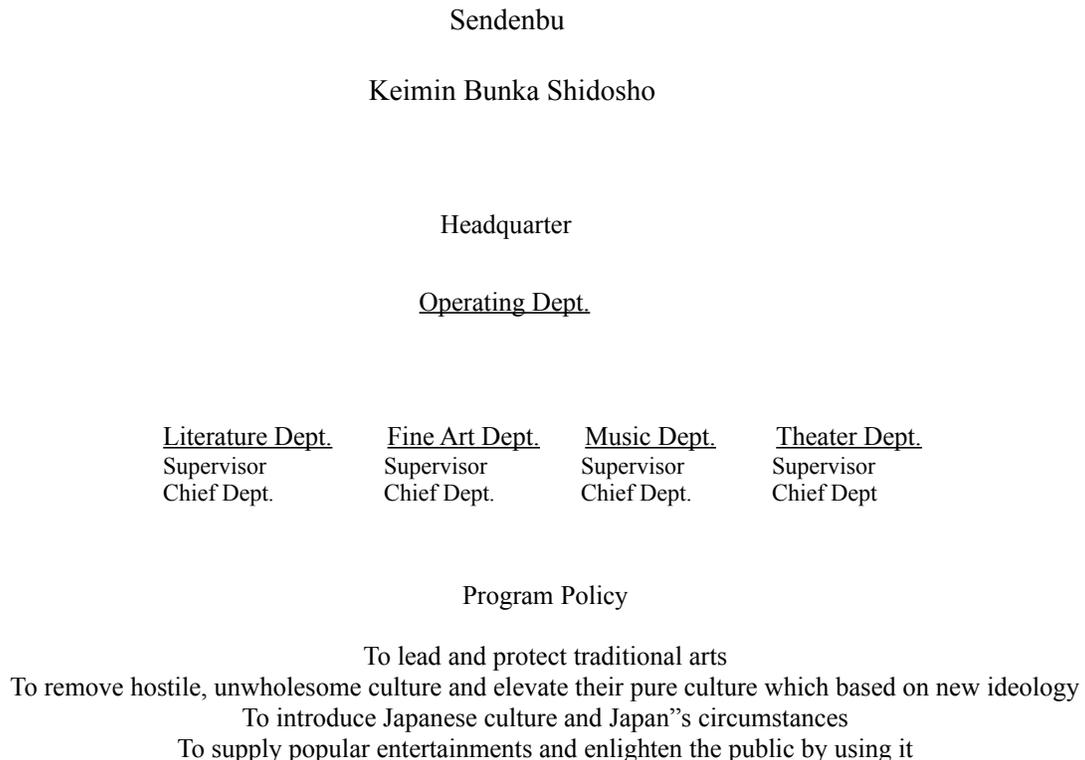
The most effective and comprehensible media of propaganda for the Japanese public was in the forms of movies, art performances, music, and *kamishibai* (it is similar to *gambar to’ong* in Indonesia). They prefer these forms to writings or articles in magazines and newspapers. Written propaganda could only reach a few educated people lived in the cities, whereas the majority of the Japanese people were illiterate and lived in remote

areas. It was reasonable for the Japanese to utilize movies as a mean of propaganda. In Jakarta, Japan took over *Multifilm Batavia* owned by the Dutch. *Djawa Eiga Kosha* was established in 1 October 1942 and started producing propaganda movies.<sup>10</sup> In addition, the Japanese thought that fine art should be considered as a medium of propaganda which was then administered under the same roof of a cultural organisation named *Keimin Bunka Shidosho*.

*Keimin Bunka Shidoso* (KBS) was founded in 1 April 1943 with the head office (headquarter) on Noordwijk Street No. 39, Jakarta (now H. Djuanda Street) under the supervision of Ohya Sauchi. KBS had several divisions in Bandung, Malang, Semarang, and Surabaya. Although KBS was well known as a Cultural Center, the meaning of each word was slightly different: *keimin* = enlightenment for all people; *bunka* = culture; *shidosho* = a center; a head quarter office; a place for trainings.

Referring to the meaning of each word, KBS was founded in order to enlighten and educate people in art and culture. One of the main objectives of this organisation was originated from an assumption that for more than 300 years of the Dutch colonisation – despite of the fact that Indonesia was never given a chance— the Dutch government did not succeed in developing Indonesian art and culture. The long term goal of KBS was also a part of the objectives of the development of the Great East Asia. From its structural position, KBS was a supporting organisation administered by *Sendenbu*. After forming some propaganda organisations, *Sendenbu* was no longer focused strictly on propaganda activities, but had specific duties in planning and producing propaganda materials.<sup>11</sup>

The organisational structure of KBS is as follows:



To control the association of arts and culture, encourage to cultured person  
 To keep in close contact, cooperate with cultural organization of dai-to-a-kyoeiken

Each department had a supervisor, a chief, and members. Most supervisors were the Japanese and the Indonesians were mostly the chiefs of departments. Here is the organisational structure of each department including the names of the officials:<sup>12</sup>

Literature Dept.	Fine Art Dept.	Music Dept.	Theater Dept.
<b>Supervisor</b> Rintaro Takeda Momosuke Yoshida	<b>Supervisor</b> Takashi Kono Saseo Ono Sei Yamamoto	<b>Supervisor</b> Nobuo Iida	<b>Supervisor</b> Kiyoo Yasuda Bunjin Kurata Etaro Hinatsu
<b>Chief</b> Armin Pane	Agus Djaya Otto Djaya Basuki Resobowo Subanto Kartono Yudokusumo Popo Iskandar Kusnadi	Utoyo	<b>Chief</b> Winarno
	<b>Chief</b> Agus Djaya	<b>Member</b> Cornel Simanjuntak Kusbini	

Each of KBS department had specific duties. Among the duties and functions in the art department were to exhibit paintings and photography work. Their research focus was aimed at East art and pre-modern art. It had two studios focused on the development of fine art and design. Moreover, this department had a lecture once a month; published newspapers and magazines; and was also functioned as a broadcasting media. Furthermore, there were regulations that each artist had to register himself / herself when joining any competitions included in their periodic exhibition held twice a year. This department also invited anyone who was under 20 years old to join them to get trainings at Studio 2; the first studio was for Indonesian artists. At that time, 45 people were trained at Studio 2.

Since established in 1943, KBS exhibited several number of Japanese and Indonesian artist. Here is the numbers of the exhibition: <sup>13</sup>

Dates	Exhibition
29 April-9 May 1943	The first exhibition of Keimin Bunka Shidosho with the theme <i>Kehidupan Djawa Baroe</i> (The Life of New Java). Female painter Emiria Sunnasa won a prize.
27 May-2 June 1943	The tour exhibition of <i>Seni Rupa Djawa Baroe</i> (Fine Art of New Java) started from Surabaya then to Malang and Solo.
7-13 July 1943	The exhibition of Sin Sui Ito.
22 July-13 August 1943	The exhibition of <i>Rupa Djawa Baroe</i> (Fine Art of New Java) in Bandung.
20 November 1943	The exhibition of Meijisetsu at Keimin Bunka Shidosho. Painter Subanto, GA.Soekirno, Agus Djaya, Barli and Otto Djaya won some prizes.
April 1944	The tour exhibition in big cities started in Jakarta.
20-27 July 1944	The exhibition of Ishikawa Shigehiko in Jakarta with the theme of <i>Hari Peringatan Laut</i> (Commemoration Day of the Sea).
3-12 November 1944	The fourth exhibition of <i>Seni Rupa Djawa Baroe</i> . Among the painters are S. Toetoer, Soebanto Soerjo Soerbandrio and Soehargo Gembira.
December 1944	The exhibition of Otto Djaya with the theme of <i>Semangat Keprajuritan</i> (Patriotism) in Jakarta.
8 February 1944	The exhibition of Surono and Basuki Resobowo with the theme of <i>Pekerja</i> (Worker).
17 April 1944	The exhibition of Tadasi Yamamoto, Yosisoka Ken and Saseo Ono in Jakarta.
29 April-10 May 1945	The exhibition of painters R. Sumartono, Karyono, R. Goenadi and Obon with the theme of: <i>Keyakinan Remaja</i> (The Belief of Teenagers), <i>Kebaktian Romusha</i> (Romusha Service), and <i>Pemandangan Kampung</i> (Village Panorama)

## Post Indonesian Independence

Keimin Bunka Shidosho had probably dismissed itself by the end of the war. On 6 August and 9 August 1945, Hiroshima and Nagasaki was bombed by America. Six days after that, on 15 August 1945, Japan surrendered to the enemy. Indonesian youth saw this as a valuable opportunity. As we all know, two days after the incident, on 17 August 1945, Soekarno and Hatta declared Indonesian's Independence. At the end of the year 1944, Japan actually promised to assure the independence of Indonesia, when Prime Minister Koiso announced this matter on 7 September 1944 in Tokyo.<sup>14</sup> This was followed up by the establishment of an Indonesian independence committee initiated by Japan.

From 1945 until December 1949, Indonesia was involved in several wars and negotiations with the Dutch who wanted to rule Indonesia again. Nonetheless, many artists were actively involved in many art movements during this time which was known as revolutionary era.

Thus, what was the most significant impact of the Japanese military government to the development of Indonesian fine art, specifically through *Keimin Bunka Shidosho*?

Some Indonesian writers and critics argued about this matter. Some of them agreed that Japan had a major role in the advancement of fine art in Indonesia, proven by the increase in numbers of artists at that time. M. Balfas, an art critic, said that Indonesian artists had many chances to exhibit their artwork which made the connection between art and community possible. Moreover, Japan gave prizes in cash, art materials, and painting tools through many competitions they organised.<sup>15</sup> However, some critics denied the role of Japan in fine art development as they governed Indonesia for a short period – only three and a half years. During this short period (Trisno Sumardjo described it as an *intermezzo* phase), the achievements were not optimal, in terms of reaching the desired aesthetic quality and it did not affect spiritual aspects of the people. During the Japanese era, Indonesian art did not have a firm ideology or principles.<sup>16</sup> The focus of their criticism was that there were propaganda motives behind the trainings for Indonesian artists provided by the Japanese. Despite the denial, they admitted that there were some positive impacts during the Japanese colonisation.

The main roles of Japan in general are as follows:

### The Roles and Impacts of the Japanese

Theme - Aesthetic	Opportunity	Material
Identity; eastern motifs Realism, Impressionism, etc	Regular exhibition Work at the studio Artists become well-known within the community Young artists appear	Painting tools Money

We can see that the eastern themes created during the Japan era were implemented and became the goals of Persagi in 1938. After POETERA was terminated on 1 March 1944<sup>17</sup>, Basuki Abdullah, Affandi, and S. Sudjojono became members of Keimin Bunka Shidosho as lecturers. S. Sudjojono, spokesperson of Persagi, would later play an important role in shaping the characters of young Indonesian artists. S. Sudjojono's motto was brought to Keimin Bunka Sidhosho which was to find the Indonesian motifs of unity, not different from the Persagi era.

The most significant impact of the Japanese colonisation to Indonesian artists was that the noticeable growth of awareness of structured organisations, awareness of the function of propaganda in art, and awareness of the existence (status) of art and artists within the community. It can be concluded that we inherited the awareness of organisation from Japanese militaristic culture policy which was pioneered by the Dutch beforehand.

During the Dutch era, which seemed to have a cultural policy for their own interest, Indonesians realised the importance of organisations. In culture, this was proven by the establishment of Persagi initiated by Indonesian artists. However, it is still argued whether organisational structure in Persagi was run by implementing strategies and arranged programmes which were neatly planned or not. Keimin Bunka Shidosho was clearly a military product that undeniably gave characters to the different practice experienced by Indonesian artists. This matter may be thoroughly discussed later.

From post Indonesian independence until the 1950s, many artist organisations were founded. One of them was *Seniman Indonesia Muda* or *SIM* (Young Indonesian Artists, 1947) which was structurally supervised by Ministry of Information. An artist involved in SIM would receive remuneration by the government in order to make propaganda. Prior to this, several months after the declaration of independence, exactly on 20 October 1945, *Pusat Tenaga Pelukis Indonesia* or *PTPI* (The Indonesian Painter Workforce Center) was formed with one purpose: propaganda.<sup>18</sup> PTPI's organisational structure was actually another version of Keimin Bunka Shidosho.<sup>19</sup>

In Bandung, in the same year, *Front Pelukis* (The Painter Front)<sup>20</sup> was also formed to make documentation of the war. So was *Pelukis Rakyat* (Painter of the People), formed in 1948, and other artist organisations. One of the most recognised art-culture organisations during the 1950s was Lekra, an organ of *Partai Komunis Indonesia* or *PKI* (The Indonesian Communist Party), or *Lembaga Kebudayaan Nasional* or *LKN* (The National Culture Institution) from *Partai Nasional Indonesia* (The Indonesian National Party). There was also a group of *Manifes Kebudayaan* or *Manikebu* (The Cultural Manifesto) which was rumored to have a close relation with Indonesian Army.

The fine art development in Indonesia was closely related to propaganda. First, the propaganda done by Persagi with the initiative of S. Sudjojono, the propaganda in the Japan colonisation era done by POETERA, and Keimin Bunka Shisodho; followed by the propaganda in the revolutionary era until the Incident of September 1965 happened. The focus of all the propaganda in each era was the same, which was to develop an identity

for Indonesian fine art. The varied propaganda, including art, happened during the Japanese colonisation era can be viewed positively as it encouraged social and aesthetic awareness at the same time. Also, it influenced *a way of seeing* and new ways of thinking related to our surroundings<sup>21</sup>, in spite of other social facts: the suffering, the poverty, the violence, the pressure, the depression, and the starvation, which happened during the Japanese era.

## 1Notes

. Many versions of the establishment of POETERA were found. Some sources said it was formed in 1942, and another source said it was legitimately formed on 1 March 1943. Refer to *Djawa Baroe* magazine, no. 5, 1 March 1943. However, on *Djawa Baroe*, no.1, 1 January 1943, written on 8 December 1942, it was stated that it was the celebration of the first anniversary of Great East Asian war and also marked the POETERA's first exhibition.

2. Imam Boechori Zainuddin, *Latar Belakang Sejarah Pembinaan dan Perkembangan Seni Lukis Indonesia Modern (1935-1950)*, (ITB: Bachelor's Degree Final Assignment, 1966), page 36.

3. An 18-year-old painter, Kartono Yudokusumo, won this competition.

4. Aiko Kurasawa, *Propaganda Media on Java Under The Japanese 1942-1945*, Journal Indonesia Vol.44, (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program Publication Cornell University, 1987), page 92.

5. Imam Boechori Zainuddin, *Ibid.*, page 24.

6. Japan first entered Java on 1 March 1942. *Propaganda Groups (Sendenhan)* or *Culture Corps* had 11 soldiers, hundreds of armed forces, and 87 intellectuals— *bunka jin* or *culture men* who had to undergo military service (*conscripted intellectuals*). Other sources named this group 'Tatakau Bunka-butai' (*Fighting Culture Corps*), see Mitsuo Nakamura, *General Imamura And The Early Period of Japanese Occupation*, Journal Indonesia Vol.10, (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program Publication Cornell University, October 1970), page 2. This group was led by Colonel Machida Keiji, with members such as: Ohya Soichi (critic-intellectual), Tomizawa Uio (painter), Iida Nobuo (music composer), Ohki Atsuo (poet), Yokoyama Ryuichi (cartoonist), Kouno Takashi (artist-designer), Abe Tomoiji (writer), Matsui Suisesi (film narrator), Kitaharu Takeo (cartoonist), Ono Saseo (cartoonist), Hinatsu Eitaro (movie director), and Kurata Fumindo (movie director). Some names from this group were members of board of Keimin Bunka Shidosho with Ohya Soichi as the person in charge. Some of them returned to Japan. *Thank you very much to Matsuura Jin who has introduced me to the history and existence of this group.*

7. At that time, Indonesia was divided into three regions. Java was supervised by *16<sup>th</sup> Army IJA*; Sumatra was supervised by *the 25<sup>th</sup> Army*; and Celebes (Sulawesi), Borneo (Kalimantan), *West New Guinea* (Papua Barat) were under the supervision of Japanese Navy.

8. Aiko Kurasawa, *Ibid.*, page 59.

9. Aiko Kurasawa, *Ibid.*, page 60.

10 . For in depth analysis, read Aiko Kurasawa, *Ibid.*, page 66-68, and Okada Hidenori, *Probin a Void in Documentary Film History: The Rise and Fall of Nippon Eigasha Jakarta Studio* at <http://www.yidff.jp/>

11. Aiko Kurasawa, *Ibid.*, page 61.

12. This structure was taken from *Jawa Nenkan* – an almanac owned by the Japanese military government published in early 1944 and reprinted in 1973. From other sources, the organisational structure of Keimin Bunka Shidosho, especially the fine art department, different names were found. This was confusing and unclear. For example, it was stated that Agus Djaya was the head of Keimin Bunka Shidosho. See Hilda Soemantri (ed.), *Indonesian Heritage: Visual Art*, (Singapore: Archipelago Press, 1998), page 52. On the other hand, Imam Boechori wrote that R.M Subanto Suryasubandrio was the leader from Indonesian side and Setioso as the head was assisted by Emiria Sunassa, Sukirno, Moch. Saleh, S. Tuter, Surono, Abdul Salam and Sastradiwiryra. See Imam Boechori Zainuddin, *Ibid.*, page 44. Those names were considered as the members of fine art preservrance formed by Keimin Bunka Shidosho on 26 December 1943. Moreover, there were some differences in formation of the departments. Other sources wrote 'departemen seni pertunjukan' (department of performing art) which consists of theatre, dancing and movie. See Aiko Kurasawa, *Ibid.*,

page 61.

13. Traced from *Djawa Baroe* magazine, 1 January 1943 edition until the last edition on 1 August 1945. Bear in mind that there were some newspapers at that time, such as *Asia Raya* (Jakarta), *Tjahaja* (Bandung), *Sinar Matahari* (Jogjakarta), *Soeara Asia* (Surabaya), etc. They certainly provided complete data of the exhibitions. See Imam Boechori Zainuddin, *Ibid.*, page 46-47.

14. *Djawa Baroe* magazine, No.18, 15 September 1944.

15. M. Balfas, *Seni Lukis Indonesia Baru*, Majalah Kebudayaan Indonesia No.4 TH.II, April 1951.

16. Trisno Sumardjo, *Kedudukan Seni Rupa Kita* in Zaini (ed), *Almanak Seni 1957* (Jakarta: Badan Musyawarah Kebudayaan nasional, 1956), page 127. Also see Chairil Anwar's threats in Aoh.K. Hadimadja, *Beberapa Paham Angkatan 45*, (Jakarta: Tinta mas, 1952), page 34.

17. POETERA was replaced by *Jawa Hokokai* or *Himpunan Kebaktian Rakyat* (People Service Organisation) led by the Japanese military service with Soekarno as advisor.

18. It was said that PTPI would fight with paints, pencils, and paper along with bullets and diplomatic words to get rid of the remaining of colonisation in Indonesia. See *Perjuangan PTPI*, Revolusi Pemuda, 25 December 1945. PTPI was said to make many propaganda posters with the help from Ministry of Information and Tentara Keamanan Rakyat (TKR).

19. See Sanento Yuliman, *Beberapa Masalah Dalam Kritik Seni Lukis di Indonesia*, (Bandung: Bachelor's Degree Final Assignment, Fine Art Department- ITB, 1968), Chapter *Kerakyatan*.

20. Some of them were Hendra Gunawan, Affandi, and Sudjana Kerton.

21. Further reading on this 'positive propaganda' see Lucy Lippard, *Some Propaganda for Propaganda* in *Get the Message? A Decade of Art for Social Change*, (New York: E.P Dutton, 1984), page 114.