

= Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI =

Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI ([pe?xia?natan ??e ?ti?a ?pul?h ??s ?pe ?ka ?i] ; Indonesian for Treachery of G30S / PKI) is a 1984 Indonesian docudrama written and directed by Arifin C. Noer , produced by G. Dwipayana , and starring Amoroso Katamsi , Umar Kayam , and Syubah Asa . Produced over a period of two years with a budget of Rp . 800 million , the film was sponsored by Suharto 's New Order government . It was based on an official history of the 30 September Movement (Gerakan 30 September , or G30S) coup in 1965 written by Nugroho Notosusanto and Ismail Saleh , which depicted the coup as being orchestrated by the Communist Party of Indonesia (Partai Komunis Indonesia , or PKI) .

The film depicts the period leading up to the coup and several days after it . In a time of economic turmoil , six generals are kidnapped and killed by the PKI and Air Force , purportedly to pre-empt a coup against President Sukarno . General Suharto destroys the coup and , afterwards urges the Indonesian populace to commemorate those killed and fight against all forms of communism . The film shows the G30S leadership as ruthless and planning " every move to the last detail " , taking joy in using excessive violence and torturing the generals , depictions which have been read as portraying " the state 's enemies as outside the realm of the human " .

The first commercially released domestic feature film to deal with the events of 1965 , Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI was a commercial and critical success . It was nominated for seven awards at the 1984 Indonesian Film Festival , winning one , and reached record viewership numbers ? although in many cases audiences were required to see the film . It was used as a propaganda vehicle by the New Order government until its collapse ; televised annually on 30 September and became mandatory viewing for students . Since the fall of Suharto in 1998 , such use of the film has become less common . Although the film 's artistic aspects remain well @-@ received , its misrepresentation of history has been criticised .

= = Background = =

Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI was based on the version of the coup endorsed by Suharto 's New Order government , in which the 30 September Movement (Gerakan 30 September , or G30S) coup was orchestrated by the Communist Party of Indonesia (Partai Komunis Indonesia , or PKI) . In the early 1960s the PKI and other leftist parties had the support of President Sukarno , giving them great political power . By 1965 the PKI claimed millions of members , a growing number influenced by hyperinflation and widespread poverty . The Army , however , was distrustful of the PKI , a feeling which the PKI reciprocated .

On the night of 30 September ? 1 October 1965 , a group of Indonesian National Armed Forces members calling themselves the 30 September Movement captured and killed six Army generals thought to belong to an anti @-@ revolutionary " Generals ' Council " , including Commander of the Army Ahmad Yani ; another target , Abdul Haris Nasution , escaped . The bodies , along with those of others captured by the G30S , were dumped down a well at Lubang Buaya , Jakarta . Later that morning , armed forces occupied Merdeka Square in central Jakarta . From the Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) office there , Lieutenant @-@ Colonel Untung Syamsuri of the Presidential Guard announced that the movement had secured several key locations in the city in an attempt to forestall a coup by the Generals ' Council . They also announced that President Sukarno was under their power . The movement 's core leadership , later joined by the President , stayed at Halim Perdanakusuma Air Force Base .

Major @-@ General Suharto , the interim leader after Yani 's death , became aware of the movement on the morning of 1 October . By evening he had convinced a G30S battalion in Merdeka Square and those occupying the RRI building to surrender , without any bloodshed . Army loyalists under Suharto retook Halim Air Force Base early the following morning . By that time the G30S leadership had escaped , while Sukarno had withdrawn to his palace in Bogor . In the years that followed , the Indonesian Army and general populace undertook a campaign of retribution , killing or capturing registered and suspected PKI members ? including most of the G30S leadership .

= = Plot = =

Indonesia is in turmoil . The populace lives in poverty , while the rich flaunt their wealth . President Sukarno (Umar Kayam) is ill and may die . Meanwhile , his political concept of Nasakom (nationalism , religion , and communism) has promoted an explosive growth in the PKI . The party , which staged a coup in 1948 , has been attacking and killing people throughout the country . The weakened president is also being manipulated by the party . The PKI has manufactured a story , based on the forged Gilchrist Document , that a Generals ' Council is preparing for a coup should Sukarno die . Aidit (Syubah Asa) , Syam , and the Communist Party leadership secretly plan to use this as an excuse for their own coup . The rank and file members of the Party accept the leadership 's explanation and , with the help of " forward @-@ thinking " soldiers and officers (mostly from the Air Force) , work to gather the Party 's forces . They plan to kidnap seven generals (said to be members of the Generals ' Council) , overtake the city , and secure Sukarno . The newly named G30S begins training . The rightist members of the Army are unaware of this upcoming coup , living happily with their families . By the time they realise that something is amiss , it is too late .

On the night of 30 September ? 1 October , seven units are sent to kidnap the generals associated with the Council . Nasution manages to escape over a wall , while his attaché Pierre Tendean comes running out , wielding a gun ; Tendean is quickly captured and , when asked where Nasution is , confesses himself to be the general . Yani , who fights back , is killed in his home ; Major General M. T. Haryono meets a similar fate . Chief Military Prosecutor Sutoyo Siswomiharjo , Major General Siswondo Parman , and Lieutenant General Soeprapto are captured . Brigadier General D. I. Pandjaitan goes willingly , but when he prays for too long before entering the truck he is killed . The bodies and prisoners are taken to the G30S / PKI camp in Lubang Buaya , where the survivors are tortured and killed . Their bodies are then thrown into a well . Later that morning , members of the movement take over the RRI office and force the staff there to read a speech by Untung (Bram Adrianto) , which states that the G30S has moved to forestall a coup by the Generals ' Council and announces the formation of a " Revolutionary Council " . Other G30S / PKI men go to the palace to secure the president but find that he has already left . At Halim , the president speaks with the G30S leaders and declares that he will take full control of the Army . Another radio speech is soon read , outlining the composition of the new Revolutionary Council and announcing changes to Army hierarchy . The G30S leaders begin planning their escape from Halim , to be done before midnight .

Suharto (Amoroso Katamsi) , awoken early in the morning , denies Untung 's announcement , stating explicitly that there is no Generals ' Council and making an adjunct record notes on the true nature of G30S . As there is a power vacuum with Yani dead , Suharto takes temporary control of the Army and begins planning a counter @-@ assault with his men ; he is , however , unwilling to force a fight . He instead states that he will give a radio announcement , which is delivered after forces loyal to him retake the RRI office ; it outlines the situation , describes G30S as counter @-@ revolutionary , and states that the Army will deal with the coup . The G30S leaders flee Halim , and Suharto 's troops retake the air base . Some time later , forces under Suharto 's leadership attack a G30S / PKI headquarters . While PKI @-@ affiliated soldiers fight , the Party leadership escapes and separates , planning to continue their struggle underground .

Suharto is soon called to the secondary palace in Bogor to speak with Sukarno . There , the president says that he has received assurances from Air Marshal Omar Dani that the Air Force was not involved . Suharto refutes the statement , noting that the movement 's arms were like those of the Air Force . The meeting eventually results in Suharto being confirmed as leader of the Army , working together with Pranoto Reksosamodra . In their investigation of the events , the Army discovers the camp at Lubang Buaya ? including the generals ' bodies , which are recovered while Suharto delivers a speech describing the coup and the PKI 's role in it . The generals are interred elsewhere and Suharto delivers a hagiographic eulogy in which he condemns the G30S and PKI and urges the Indonesian people to continue the fallen generals ' struggle .

= = Production = =

Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI was directed by Arifin C. Noer , a Citra Award @-@ winning director with a background in theatre . He had previous experience in the genre , having made the war film *Serangan Fajar* (Dawn Attack ; 1981) , which emphasised Suharto 's role in the National Revolution . Noer was assigned to work on the film by the state @-@ owned National Film Production Company (Perum Produksi Film Negara , or PPFN) , which maintained a degree of control over the production . Professors of Indonesian culture Krishna Sen and David T. Hill suggest that Noer 's creative input was minimal . Instead , " for all intents and purposes " the film was the work of its producer , Brigadier @-@ General Gufran Dwipayana , then the head of PPFN and a member of the presidential staff . However , Noer 's wife Jajang C. Noer insists that he had remained independent while making the film .

The screenplay for *Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI* was based on a 1968 book by the military historian Nugroho Notosusanto and the investigator Ismail Saleh entitled *The Coup Attempt of the 30 September Movement in Indonesia* . The book , which was meant to counter foreign theories about the coup , detailed the 30 September Movement as the government viewed it . Only Notosusanto , the higher @-@ ranking of the two authors , was credited for his contribution . In adapting the book Noer read much of the available literature (including court documents) and interviewed numerous eyewitnesses ; Jajang , in a 1998 interview , said that her husband had not only read the official government version , but also the controversial Cornell Paper , which portrayed the coup as entirely an internal Army affair . During filming the crew emphasised realism , " paying great attention to detail " and using the generals ' actual homes .

Owing to the large number of roles ? including some 100 bit parts and more than 10 @,@ 000 extras ? casting for *Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI* was difficult . Noer attempted to cast actors who resembled the historical figures depicted ; Rano Karno later recalled that he was rejected for the role of Pierre Tendean as the latter did not have a mole on his face . Ultimately the film starred Bram Adianto as Untung , Amoroso Katamsi as Suharto , Umar Kayam as Sukarno , and Syubah Asa as Aidit ; other actors included Ade Irawan , Sofia W.D. , Dani Marsuni , and Charlie Sahetapy . Kayam , then a lecturer at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta , did not have the time to research Sukarno 's mannerisms from his books and speeches ; instead , he portrayed the president based on testimonials from the staff at the Bogor palace . Katamsi , on the other hand , studied Suharto 's role from books and , by the time filming had commenced , felt as if " was Pak Harto , not an imitation of Pak Harto . " Sanusi , meanwhile , considered his own performance underwhelming .

Production of *Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI* , originally titled *Sejarah Orde Baru* (History of the New Order) , took nearly two years , spending four months in pre @-@ production and a year and half in filming . It cost Rp . 800 million , receiving funding from the government . Cinematography was handled by Hasan Basri , with music by Arifin 's brother Embie C. Noer . Editing was done by Supandi . Parts of the film , particularly the final ten minutes , reused archival footage and newspaper clippings contemporaneous to the events .

= = Themes = =

Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI portrays the PKI and communism as inherently evil , with its followers " beyond redemption " , while the G30S leadership are seen as cunning and ruthless , plotting " every move to the last detail " . The historian Katherine McGregor finds this emphasised in the film 's portrayal of the G30S leadership as gangsters , sitting in secret meetings amidst clouds of cigarette smoke . She considers an opening scene , where the PKI attacks an Islamic school , as likewise meant to show the " evil " nature of communists .

The PKI are portrayed as enjoying violence , with the film heavily featuring " eye @-@ gouging women and decomposed , tortured bodies " . The generals are kidnapped , and in several cases killed , in front of their families ; later the captured generals are tortured while the communists dance around a bonfire . The sociologist Adrian Vickers suggests that the film 's violence was meant to portray " the state 's enemies as outside the realm of the human " , similar to monsters in horror films . Yoseph Yapi Taum of Sanata Dharma University notes that members of the leftist women 's

movement Gerwani are shown as part of a " crazy " Communist Party , dancing in the nude and cutting off the general 's penises . However , Vickers considers these portrayals as ambiguous , suggesting that the New Order government was allowed a monopoly on violence . McGregor suggests that the violence in once @-@ tranquil homes shows the " ' destruction ' of the family " . Sen notes the violence belies a " representation of chaos before order " which is common in New Order films .

= = Release = =

Before its commercial release , Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI was pre @-@ screened for high @-@ ranking military officers who had been involved in stopping the coup , including Suharto and Sarwo Edhie Wibowo . The film was released in 1984 , the first commercially released domestic feature film to deal with the events of 1965 . It was seen by 699 @,@ 282 people in Jakarta by the end of 1984 , a national record which remained unbroken for over a decade . However , not all audiences attended of their own volition . The Indonesian sociologist Ariel Heryanto records students as being " required to pay " to see the film during school hours , a fact not reflected in contemporary records . A novelisation by popular writer Arswendo Atmowiloto likewise helped promote the film .

Dwipayana 's influence ensured that contemporary reviews , especially synopses , repeated the government 's position on the G30S coup . This is not to say all reviews were positive . Marselli of Kompas , for instance , found that Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI was highly detailed , with extensive work and quality acting going to represent events accurately . He felt , however , that the film felt too long and , as viewers knew instantly who the good and bad characters were , it became " nothing but a black @-@ and @-@ white portrait without any complex issues " , which ignored the underlying problems which had sparked the G30S movement .

Suharto , after viewing an early screening , stated that the story was unfinished and suggested that a sequel was necessary . Two sequels by PPFN , Operasi Trisula (Operation Trisula ; 1987) and Djakarta 1966 (Jakarta 1966 ; 1988) , followed . Operasi Trisula , directed by BZ Kadaryono , dealt with the extermination of G30S and PKI members in Blitar , East Java . Djakarta 1966 , meanwhile , was directed by Noer and showed the lead @-@ up to the signing of Supersemar on 11 March 1966 , in which Sukarno gave Suharto authority to take whatever measures he " deemed necessary " ; Kayam and Katamsi reprised their roles for the latter film , which won seven awards at the 1989 Bandung Film Festival .

= = Propaganda use = =

Beginning in 1984 the New Order government used Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI as a propaganda vehicle , showing it annually on 30 September . The film was broadcast by the state @-@ owned network TVRI , and later on private television stations after they were established . It was also shown at schools and government institutions ; students would be taken to open fields to view the film in a group . Because of this use , Sen and Hill suggest that Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI is the most @-@ broadcast and most @-@ watched Indonesian film of all time . A 2000 survey by the Indonesian magazine Tempo found 97 per cent of the 1 @,@ 101 students surveyed had seen the film ; 87 per cent of them had seen it more than once .

During the remainder of the 1980s and early 1990s the historical accuracy of Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI was little disputed , and the film became representative of canonical history ; its version of the 1965 events was the only one allowed in open discourse . By the mid @-@ 1990s , however , anonymous internet communities and small publications had begun questioning the movie 's contents ; one online message , sent anonymously through a mailing list , asked " If only a small section of the PKI leadership and military agents knew about [the coup , as in the film] , how is it that over a million people were killed and thousands of people who knew nothing had to be imprisoned , exiled , and lost their civil rights ? " Heryanto suggests that this resulted from an unintended polyphony in the film , while Sen and Hill opine that Noer may have been aware of the government 's intent for propaganda and thus made the film 's political message " obviously

contradictory " .

In September 1998 , four months after the fall of Suharto , the Information Minister Yunus Yosfiah declared that the film would no longer be compulsory viewing material , reasoning that it was an attempt to manipulate history and create a cult with Suharto in the centre . Tempo reported in 2012 that Saleh Basarah of the Air Force had influenced this decree . The magazine stated that Basarah had called the Education Minister Juwono Sudarsono and asked him to not screen Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI , as it was damaging to the Air Force . Two other films , Janur Kuning (Yellow Coconut Leaves ; 1979) and Serangan Fajar , were likewise affected by the decree ; Janur Kuning portrayed Suharto as the hero behind the 1 March 1949 General Assault while Serangan Fajar showed him as a major hero of the revolution . At the time it was suggested that TVRI was attempting to distance itself from the former president . This occurred in a period of desanctifying symbols related to the events , and by the early 2000s non @-@ government versions of the G30S coup were easily available in Indonesia .

= = Legacy = =

Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI has proven Noer 's most controversial film , although until his death in 1995 the director remained publicly ambivalent . The film 's visuals have generally received positive reviews , but its use for propaganda and historical accuracy have been widely condemned . The Indonesian director Hanung Bramantyo praised the film 's style , stating that close @-@ up shots of men smoking were " brilliant " and that , at times , he felt " it 's not a film . But real ! " The director Monty Tiwa likewise praised the film 's shots , citing a scene where Pandjaitan 's daughter cries hysterically as her father is shot as " full of drama and using a shot [he had] never seen before in an Indonesian film " . Sen and Hill , however , find " none of the aesthetic hallmarks " of the director 's other works .

Hilmar Farid , an Indonesian historian , called the film propaganda mixed with " some [of the New Order 's] fantasies " . The reporter Hendro Subroto , who recorded the retrieval of the generals ' bodies from Lubang Buaya , criticised the film 's accuracy in 2001 ; he stated that the bodies did not show any evidence of torture . The former Lekra writer Putu Oka Sukanta , meanwhile , described the film as underplaying the suffering of PKI members and other leftists in the events following the G30S coup , thus becoming " a lie to the people " . The historian John Roosa contrasts the portrayal of the G30S leadership with a document by Brigadier General M.A. Supardjo , which portrays the coup ? led by " flummoxed , indecisive , and disorganized " men ? as largely defeating itself .

In a 2012 interview , Katamsi admitted the film was in part overacted and that it had been a potent way to spread and indoctrinate viewers in the New Order 's ideology . The Tempo survey suggested that it was effective propaganda , leading viewers to " reject all that smelled of the PKI and communism " . Although it is no longer broadcast on 30 September , the film remains available . A video CD edition was released by Virgo in 2001 and the G30S / PKI museum at Lubang Buaya offers regular screenings in an on @-@ site cinema . Both a 35 mm and VHS copy are stored at Sinematek Indonesia in Jakarta .

= = Awards = =

Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI received seven nominations at the 1984 Indonesian Film Festival (Festival Film Indonesia , or FFI) , winning one Citra Award for Best Screenplay . It was beaten in four categories , for Best Director , Best Cinematography , Best Leading Actor , and Best Musical Direction , by Sjumandjaja 's Budak Nafsu (Slave to Passion) , while Slamet Rahardjo 's Ponirah Terpidana (Ponirah Convicted) took Best Artistic Direction . At the 1985 FFI Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI received an Antemas Award as the best @-@ selling film of the preceding calendar year . The film scholar Thomas Barker suggests that the film 's awards were , in part , a conjunction of state and FFI interests : both were focused on promoting a united national culture .

= = Explanatory notes = =

