

IDEOLOGICAL CONTESTATION IN THE FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF INDONESIA: CULTURAL POLICY REVIEW 1962-1998

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Abstract

This article studies the formation of the state's cultural institution, the National Gallery of Indonesia (GNI) in the social, political, and economic dynamic context. The formation of GNI could not be separated from President Soekarno's concept of nation and character building. Since initiated in 1946 and set out in policy TAP MPRS 1962, GNI is established 52 years later. These realities have raised the questions on how the cultural policy was implemented that caused the formation of GNI to take a long time. Studies have previously been done by Jarot, who studied the revitalization of GNI as a cultural heritage but did not study the ideological and cultural policies issues. This study uses Louis Althusser's paradigm critical theory on the Ideological State Apparatus. The method conducted is historical, which consisted of heuristic, verification, interpretation, and historiography. The result of the study shows that the formation of the National Gallery of Indonesia has political dimensions where power relationships and ideological interests became parts of the structure.

Keywords: *The National Gallery of Indonesia, Character Building, Ideological Contestation, Cultural Policy.*

Introduction

The formation of the National Gallery of Indonesia (GNI) encompasses a long history that is inseparable to the Indonesian Nation's journey. Social, political, economic and cultural dynamics greatly influenced various government policies in the GNI formation process. This could be traced through various events and policies taken under the related government through two periods of government order, namely the Old Order (1945-1966) and the New Order (1966-1998). It took quite a long time - more than half a century- to attain a State Cultural Institution called GNI, because GNI was officially established on 30 April 1998, exactly a month before Reformation took place. If calculated since President Soekarno initiated the idea at the beginning of independence, in 1946, then the process of establishing the GNI took 52 years. Factual data have illustrated how

political and ideological control of the nation's historical events became a central part of historical writing.¹

This research will focus on the role of the Government-owned State Cultural Institution, namely the National Gallery of Indonesia because in addition to the National Gallery of Indonesia, there are several State Cultural Institutions such as the National Library, National Museum, and National Archives Center. In addition to GNI, there are also regional level cultural institutions under the direct guidance of relevant provinces, as well as private galleries established by individuals, entrepreneurs or artists/cultural groups. National Gallery of Indonesia (GNI) is selected, with the consideration that GNI is the center of Visual Documentation of Indonesian Contemporary Art. GNI's main duties include Collection, Study, Documentation, Maintenance, and Security Center for the State collection, Exhibitions and Publications, Creativity and Appreciation Programs, Expansion of Community and Cooperation-

¹Southgate, Beverly. (1996:53). *History: What and Why*. London: Routledge.

networks. GNI has a significant role in Contemporary Art development through its various roles and functions. In the midst of the globalization era, the existence of GNI could become the strength of the nation's cultural identity. The research location is Jakarta, which is the barometer in cultural arts development in the country. The year 1962 is selected as the start of study limitation considering that in 1962, the idea of establishing GNI was formally stated in the state document through TAP MPRS. The year 1998 is selected as the end of study limitation because that year the GNI was officially established.

Factually, among other State Cultural Institutions such as the Indonesian National Library, the National Museum, and the National Archives Center, the formation process of GNI was long and complicated. GNI was developed through various cultural policies synchronization of three governments, such as the Old Order, the New Order, and the Reform Era. How the structure works in generating various cultural policies in the formation of GNI provokes questions for the author. Various legal products such as the State Planning Policy, Decree and Instruction Letter about the GNI formation process were certainly not free of value, because there were many strategic, political, and ideological interests. Through various events, we can learn how the policy was taken by involving the roles, figures, and various ideological interests. Ideological contestation played an important role in the formation process of GNI. According to Oxford Dictionary, contention: The action or process of disputing or arguing, while according to the word reference con-test-tation (kon'testā'shən): (1) the act of contesting; (2) controversy; dispute, (2) an assertion contended for.

The previous study includes: "*Kebudayaan dan Kekuasaan di Indonesia: Kebijakan Budaya selama Abad ke-20 Hingga Era Reformasi*" by Tod Jones, 2015 (Culture and Power in Indonesia: Cultural Policy during the 20th Century to Reformation Era" (2015 Tod Jones). In this study, Tod Jones emphasized the development of cultural policy in Indonesia in broad outlines from the Late Colonial Period to the Reformation era. In one of the chapters, it talked about: Cultural Institutions and

Programs associated with the Cultural Policy Sector in the field of Archeology, Museums, and History, particularly during the New Order Government. However, this study did not comprehensively discuss the existence of the State Cultural Institution, not even mentioning the idea of establishing an Indonesian National Gallery.²

Furthermore, research on the State Cultural Institution associated with President Soekarno's idea on "Nation, Character Building", was once carried out by Yuke Ardhiati, which consisted of; Bung Karno the Architect: Artistic study of architectural works, urban spatial layout, interior, chivalry, symbols, fashion clothing and text of speech, 1926-1945. In 2013, Yuke again conducted research on "*Bung Karno dalam Panggung Indonesia*" (Bung Karno on Indonesia's Stage), 2013. This study emphasized the role of Soekarno in the development of the National Monument in relation to the *Mercusuar* (Lighthouse) Project Development policy. The two studies thoroughly discussed the role of Soekarno in the development concept of "Nation, Character Building", but did not touch deeply on the formation of the National Gallery of Indonesia.

Research Methods

This article use method conducted is historical, which consisted of heuristic, verification, interpretation, and historiography. Historical writing, whether it is realized or not, is closely related to historical philosophy as interpretation basis with the aim of giving meaning or significance of an event from past human life dynamics. Similarly, when writing the history of cultural institutions in Indonesia, attempts are made to understand how a cultural institution is formed and developed with its various dynamics and ups and downs. Factors that cause or force conditions in history that play significant roles include human, geography, culture. With these considerations, several theoretical frameworks of socio-political and cultural approaches are needed. In this study context, the author will use Louis-

²Jones, Tod. (2015:187). *Kebudayaan dan Kekuasaan di Indonesia. Kebijakan Budaya Selama Abad ke-20 Hingga Era Reformasi*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.

Althusser's framework about the role of ideological structure and function through the concept of the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA). Althusser views ideology as a system with logic and obedience of its own, representations of images, myths, ideas or concepts, as well as practices internalized as a result of the transformation of the material world. Ideology provides a framework in which human beings undergo relationships with the social reality in which they exist. Ideology forms subjects and in this formation put them in the relationship system needed in order for existing class relationships to survive.³

Results and Discussion

The history of the GNI formation cannot be separated from the building's history, which was built during the colonial period as a residence. In 1900, it became the property of the Gospel Church Council in Batavia (*College van Diakenen der Evangelische gemeente te Batavia*) and in 1912, it was used as a school and dormitory for female students in Batavia. The Church Council sold the land located at Koningsplein Oost Sectie N No. 49 to the Advanced Schools for Girls Foundation in Batavia (*Stichting Hoogere Burger School voor meisjeste Batavia*) for f75,000. Educational activities held in this building developed quickly so that in 1914, it was expanded with the opening of elementary education for female students. In addition, the Foundation also received donations from the Freemasonry Brotherhood Organization. The laying of the first stone for the new building construction was carried out by Elsje Carpentier Alting, the daughter of a foundation board member and granddaughter of the foundation's founder on Wednesday, November 19, 1913. The new building was completed in 1914 and was officially opened on July 6, 1914.⁴

The school and dormitory was then

developed with the opening of Bataviaasch Lyceum which also accepted male students. In 1923, the name of the Advanced School Foundation for Girls in Batavia (*Stichting Hoogere Burger School voor meisje ste Batavia*) was renamed as Carpentier Alting Foundation (*Carpentier Alting Stichting*). The school was also renamed to Carpentier Alting Stichting Scholen (School C.A.S). In line with the political situation when Japan occupied Batavia, changes in function occurred where all schools in Batavia including the C.A.S. School were mobilized for Japanese interests. After being closed during World War II, the Bataviaasch Lyceum and two other elementary schools under the auspices of the Foundation were reopened in March 1946 by W. Ruijs and Z.H. Carpentier Alting. On August 1, 1958, the Carpentier Alting Foundation was renamed to the Raden Saleh Foundation. The school's name was also changed to Pamardi Soenoe School (Mardi Soenoe). The Indonesian Freemason Organization was banned until President Soekarno's government period on February 27, 1961. The ban stopped all activities of the Raden Saleh Foundation.⁵

Rapid changes occurred after that, through the Supreme War Leader Decree on June 12, 1962, signed by President Soekarno in the Republic of Indonesia State Gazette No. 25/1962 prohibiting and dissolving foundations and colonial formed organizations, ranging from the Indonesian Freemasonry Organization (*Loge Agung Indonesia*) to the Raden Saleh Foundation. Since then, the building complex located on Jl. Merdeka Timur 14 Jakarta belonged to the Department of Basic Education and Culture. Following the G30S-PKI incident, students, and youths staged a demonstration to help crush the movement by demanding the dissolution of the Indonesian Communist Party (*Partai komunis Indonesia/PKI*). At that time, the main building was used as a command headquarters by the Indonesian Student Action Unit (*Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia KAMI*) and the Indonesian Youth and Student Action Unit (*Kesatuan Aksi Pemuda dan Pelajar Indonesia/KAPPI*) until the end of the Old Order. When order and security have gradually recovered and KAMI - KAPPI returned to-

³Beilharz, Peter. *Teori Teori Sosial. Observasi Kritis terhadap Para Filosof Terkemuka*. (2002:6). Yogyakarta:Pustaka Pelajar.

⁴Pusat Dokumentasi Arsitektur. (2015:18-20). *Penelitian Gedung Cagar Budaya Gedung Pameran Utama dan Gedung Serbaguna Galeri Nasional Indonesia*. Jakarta:Dirjen Kebudayaan Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI.

⁵ibid page. 22-23.

their respective campuses and schools, the building was then functioned as the Jaya Sakti Infantry I Brigade Headquarters in the Greater Jakarta V Military Command. In 1982, it was returned to the Ministry of Education and Culture. Based on the Decree of the Secretary-General of the Department of Education and Culture No. 12615/F/1982 dated February 28, 1982, the building was handed over to the Directorate General of Culture to be turned into a National Art House (*Wisma Seni Nasional/WSN*) again, while Brigif I headquarters was moved to Kampung Pekayon, East Jakarta.⁶

The formation of GNI began with the aspiration of President Soekarno as stated in the "Soerat Perintah/Letter of Command" of President Soekarno No Pres/24 expressing the initial idea of forming a "Moesioem Kesenian Nasional" (National Art Museum). The contents of the Letter:

No. Pres/24: Letter of Command "I, President of the Republic of Indonesia, commands all civil service and military officers, to provide proper assistance to Colonel Agoes Djaja, in carrying out his obligation to collect/buy/inquire about paintings and artifacts for the sake of the National Art Museum. Yogyakarta, 13 July 1946, President of Republic Indonesia, Soekarno".⁷

Although the formation of the Indonesian National Gallery was not explicitly written, the word "moesioem" (museum) had included the Fine Art Gallery concept. The contents of the letter clearly stated the words "painting and artifacts" therefore it implied that it was to establish some kind of national-level Fine Art Gallery. Considering that the political situation of the Indonesian people was still not stable at the beginning of Independence, establishing Art Museum that contained

collections of Indonesian painting could not be realized, although Colonel Agoes Djaja had made a budget plan for funding. Nonetheless, Soekarno still ordered several paintings from Indonesian artists, through his implemented policy of collaborating with artists who were members of the Yogyakarta's Young Indonesian Artists (*Seniman Indonesia Muda/SIM*) workshop in collaboration with the State Minister for Youth Affairs (*Sekretariat Menteri Negara Urusan Pemuda/SMNUP*) Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia government agency. SIM artists received subsidies from SMNUP to create documentation paintings. In 1946, President Soekarno himself commissioned Agus Djaja to coordinate artists in Solo and Yogyakarta to create paintings that depict struggles. Soekarno also asked the artists to record the condition of the people at the time. President Soekarno said that the paintings that were subsidized by the SIM would fill the *Museum Perjuangan* (Struggle Museum) in the future and would become a state collection.⁸

Entering the 1950s, Indonesia was faced with unfavorable political situations, where the Indonesian nation was still looking for a form of government. At this time, the role of political parties was very significant in determining the direction of the Republic of Indonesia government. In addition, the Indonesian government also began to actively establish cooperation's with several countries, through many visits and welcoming several heads of state to the country. President Soekarno's visit to countries that already owned facilities of cultural institutions, either museums or art galleries, influenced Soekarno's perspective in developing Indonesia's civilization and identity. One impression was when Sukarno visited Moscow in 1956 and had the opportunity to visit the Trytyakovskaya Museum in 1956. Soekarno really craved for the design of a building called "National Gallery of Art" in Indonesia that resembled the Trytyakovskaya Art Museum. It was also stated that the location of the National Gallery of Art which serves to store the paintings would later be around the National Monument neighborhood and the region-

⁶Bagian Proyek Wisma Seni Nasional Jakarta. (1998:3-4). *Sebelas Tahun Berdirinya Gedung Pameran Seni Rupa Depdikbud: Menuju Pusat Pengembangan Kebudayaan Nasional*. Jakarta: Dirjen Kebudayaan Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

⁷Susanto, Mieke. (2014:122). *Bung Karno: Kolektor & Patron Seni Rupa Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: DictiArtLab Yogyakarta.

⁸Susanto, Mieke. (2014:79). *Bung Karno: Kolektor & Patron Seni Rupa Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: DictiArtLab Yogyakarta.

would then be called the National Monument- (Monas). According to Bung Karno's concept, the cultural buildings on the Medan Merdeka field and the surrounding area would be a series of various complexes, ranging from the National Monument, Istiqlal Mosque, National Theater, National Gallery, and so on.⁹

In 1956, Soekarno delivered a speech in front of Heidelberg am Neckar University which voiced to the international world that "Indonesia is truly very rich and that wealth is abundant."¹⁰ This speech would be the soul and basic description for *DEPERNAS - Dewan Perancang Nasional* (National Planning Council, now Bappenas) when Bung Karno proclaimed and compiled the basic draft of Eight-Year National Development Planning Pattern from 1961-1969 as the core of the Jakarta City Planning Project. The project consisted of the National Museum and National Art Gallery and several backup projects such as the Jakarta National Theater, National Conservatory, National Circus, Natural Reserve, and Wildlife Park, and Village Library.¹¹ Soekarno's belief regarding the importance of art and cultural aspects in national development was again conveyed when attending the anniversary of the Indonesian Student Art Cooperation on April 16, 1959. The President of Indonesia – Soekarno, very clearly and explicitly reminded us to pay attention to the position of culture/art in national development.¹²

Entering the 1960s, the condition of the Indonesian people did not improve; it was marked by greater state expenditure, especially the increased financing of government projects. In addition, government policies that prioritize political interests also created an impact on the growth of the relatively low

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) coupled with very high inflation rates, while investment slumped.¹³ Faced with these conditions, a strategic decision was taken, through the President Decree of July 5, 1959. The contents of the Decree included Constituent Dissolution and stipulated the 1945 Constitution to be in effect again.¹⁴ On the commemoration of Independence Day on August 17, 1959, President Soekarno delivered a speech on the "Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia" or known as *manipol (Manifesto Politik Republik Indonesia)* which later became the basis of the Broad Outlines of State Policy. The manifesto spirit was reiterated in the opening speech at the Youth Congress in Bandung February 1960, with more details consisting the 1945 Constitution, Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy and Indonesian Identity (*USDEK*).¹⁵

Significant changes occurred after Soekarno adopted the Guided Democracy system as a result of the Presidential Decree of July 5, 1959, a new momentum of Indonesia's political system as a solution to the political deadlock. In that era, Soekarno gained full authority with the implementation of the Guided Economy system to intensify economic development in the country as a result of inflation that coincided with the political chaos in 1959.¹⁶ The Guided Democracy Governance system gave the President authority to develop development policies, one of which was through the National Planning Council (now *Bappenas*). It successfully compiled the Basic Draft of National Development Planning Pattern (*Rancangan Dasar Pembangunan Nasional Pola Semesta Berentjana*). One of the concrete forms of the policy is the policy in the cultural field through TAP MPRS no. 1962, concerning the Outlines of the National Plan-

⁹Supardi, Nunus. (2015:11-12). *Balai Budaya: Riwatmu Dulu, Kini dan Esok*. Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

¹⁰Depernas. (1961:5-6). *Rencana Pembangunan Nasional Berentjana*. Jakarta: Dewan Perancang Nasional.

¹¹Yuke Ardhiati. (2013:54). Bung Karno dalam "Panggung Indonesia". Jakarta: PT. Wastu Adicita.

¹²Supardi, Nunus. (2015:12). *Balai Budaya: Riwatmu Dulu, Kini dan Esok*. Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

¹³Sejarah Moneter Periode 1959-1966-Bank Indonesia. 7 Juni 2018, <https://www.bi.go.id/cdb67000dabd84a92b03f8fe8d5cd27.SejarahMoneterPeriode1959-1960>.

¹⁴Notosusanto, Nugroho (1981: 143). *30 Tahun Indonesia Merdeka 1950-1964*. Jakarta: PT Intermedia.

¹⁵Notosusanto, Nugroho. (1981: 149). *30 Tahun Indonesia Merdeka 1950-1964*. Jakarta: PT Intermedia

¹⁶Ardhiati, Yuke. (2013: 54). *Bung Karno dalam "Panggung Indonesia"*. Jakarta: PT Wastu Adicita.

for National Development Planning Pattern (*Garis-garis Besar Pola Pembangunan-Nasional Semesta Berencana/GBPPNSB*) First Stage 1961-1969. In the *GBPPNSB* policy, the main priority of national development was the field of "Culture" placing it first in project ranking: "AA" which was then followed by 3 (three) art development facilities, which included: (AA.2) National Museum, (AA.3) National Art Gallery, and (AA.6) Cultural Park. For the National Art Gallery project, in particular, the purpose to establish National Art Gallery included: a. To exhibit national arts, b. To maintain cultural identity, c. Creative work development, d. Promote tourism. It was also added in the description column, that the National Art Gallery would later contain: 4,000 painting in a row, 8,000 paintings in two rows and can be enlarged with 2,000 paintings; with a development plan to start in the first year of Plan I and finished with the end of Plan I.¹⁷

In *GBPPNSB*, cultural plans and programs were also outlined, such as mentioned in point 1 and 5: (1) Projects that can drive mass cultural activities throughout Indonesia; (5) Urgent projects include: ... (f) Cultural parks (museum/national art gallery). For cultural field development placed in Appendix A (ranked first), it reflected that the basic concept of development that would be implemented at the time could not be separated from the concept of national character development (Nation and Character Building) often mentioned by Bung Karno. National development is the development of cultural insight. The plan was to build two cultural facilities, such as the gallery (National Art Gallery) and theater (National Theater) separately. It was also known that the National Art Gallery construction plan was a priority project and had a budget post of Rp.469,000,000¹⁸; while the construction of the National Theater was a reserve project because the budget post had not been provided. However, as it turned out, the reserve project's

building was the first to be designed by architect Ir. F. Silaban.¹⁹

Of the many programs and projects in the cultural field, none of them had begun construction due to the limited budget at the time. In the end, the entire construction program was completely halted as a result of political turmoil after the G30S / PKI incident, which led to changes in national leadership. In line with the political situation in the country that was still not conducive, only a part of the Jakarta City Planning project was realized such as the National Museum, while the National Art Gallery project, including the National Gallery of Indonesia, had not been realized until leadership transition from the Old Order government to New Order government.

The development policy of the New Order government can be seen in the planning unit called the Five-Year Development Plan (*Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun/REPELITA*), which began with Repelita I (1969 - 1974) aimed at meeting basic needs and infrastructure with an emphasis on agriculture. Repelita II (1974 - 1979) aimed to increase development on islands other than Java, Bali, and Madura, including through transmigration. Repelita III (1979 - 1984) emphasized labor intensive industries to increase exports. Repelita IV (1984 - 1989) aimed to create new jobs and industry. Repelita V (1989 - 1994) emphasized the fields of transportation, communication, and education. In the plan of Repelita IV (1984-1987) there was a Cultural Policy: Renovation of the Ministry of Education and Culture Exhibition Building which would be the pioneer of the GNI building. Repelita I placed the Agriculture sector as a top priority in the national development effort, with priority scales: (1) food, (2) clothing, (3) infrastructure improvements, (4) public housing, (5) employment expansion and (6) spiritual well-being.²⁰ The investment of the New Order in Repelita I centered on three main areas (a) Agriculture, including rehabilitation of the irrigation system and funding for fertilizer and pesticides costing Rp. 305 billion, (b) Industry and mining Rp. 380 billion, (c) Communication Rp. 265 billion, social welfare Rp. 172 billion, electrical-

¹⁷Depernas. (1961: 27). *Pembangunan Semesta Nasional Berentajana*. Jakarta: Dewan Perancang Nasional.

¹⁸ibid page. 28.

¹⁹Supardi, Nunus. (2018). Jalan Panjang GNI: Sebuah Dinamika Kebudayaan (1960-1998). *Jurnal Galeri Seni Rupa*. vol. Februari. Jakarta: Galeri Nasional Indonesia.

²⁰Ibid hlmm 197

²¹Robison, Richard. (2012 :110). *Soeharto dan Bangkitnya Kapitalisme Indonesia*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu.

power Rp. 100 billion, other important fields, all costing Rp. 1,420 billion.²¹

Although the cultural aspect was not a policy priority for the New Order government, the cultural aspects still received attention through the establishment of the Jakarta Arts Center, *Taman Ismail Marzuki (PKJ TIM)* in 1968. In the 1970s, fine arts museums were built, such as the Jakarta History Museum / *Fatahilah Museum* (1974), Fine Arts / Painting Museum (1976), Textile Museum (1976), Museum of Memorial Stone Park or *Taman Prasasti Museum* (1977). The presence of the Fine Arts Museum (*Museum Seni Rupa*) in 1976 received positive responses from painters because people could learn and enjoy works of art, especially for people who could not afford to buy paintings.²² Other establishments of cultural facilities include the construction of the Beautiful Indonesia Mini Park (*Taman Mini Indonesia Indah/TMII*) which was built on the initiative of Ibu Tien Soeharto. This idea emerged after President Soeharto made a state visit to Bangkok, in which a similar project called Timland was completed in March 1970. The TMII project had received protests from students, about Mrs. Tien's statement that the project cost nearly 10.5 billion from "non budgetary" funds. At the Governor's Work Meeting on December 1, 1971, and in front of 26 Governors, Mrs. Tien Soeharto stated that the 100-ha TMII project must be continued and financial support must be obtained from the region. She instructed that each entrepreneur in the region should contribute between 40-50 million and the remaining funds would be derived from the central government. This project was managed by Yayasan Harapan Kita, Ali Sadikin Governor as Project Officer and Ali Moertopo as his deputy.²³ The event illustrates that the policy of cultural facility development was carried out with interventions of leaders, in this case Mrs. Tien Soeharto as First Lady.

In line with the TMII project development, the discourse on developing national-level cultural facilities including the National

Gallery of Indonesia began to heat up again. Even in the 1970/1971 fiscal year, preparations for the construction of delayed cultural facilities were discussed. After holding meetings and seminars, it was agreed to build a cultural complex which consisted of two main building components and several supporting buildings. The two components comprised of the National Art Gallery and the National Theater which in the *GBPPNSB* were separated. Both would be put together in one complex with the name *Wisma Seni Nasional/WSN* (National Art House). However, the plan never materialized until 1976 when the Minister of Education and Culture, Sjarif Thajeb, issued Decree No. 024/P/1976, 20 September 1976 concerning the establishment of the National Working Committee for WSN Planning. Based on the formulation of various thoughts, in 1977, the WSN architectural design competition was held. From the competition, winners I, II, and III were announced. Establishing the National Art House had not been easy, due to some obstacles, particularly in terms of the limited budget by the Indonesian nation. Another obstacle had been landing acquisition issues on *Jl Merdeka Timur 14* for WSN area expansion, which also required agreement and complicated negotiations between institutions because an elementary school was still residing within the area. According to architect F. Silaban, to develop WSN, a land of at least 40 ha would be needed, because it must be magnificent as it is a representation of the nation's civilization. One solution offered was to find alternative locations, for example, in the suburbs as a green belt area. However, because the proposal was not agreed upon, F. Silaban resigned from the WSN Development Committee. Efforts to build WSN continued on, and in 1979, a seminar was held regarding WSN and resulted in recommendations to simplify the building plans to adjust with budget capability. Through the Decree of the WSN Project Leader, the Ministry of Education and Culture No. 17/A/WSN/VIII/81 concerning the Appointment of the WSN Project Expert Team, 18 WSN Development Committees were appointed. The Committee members included Prof. Dr. Haryati Soebadio, Drs. Bastomi Ervan, E. Sudiardjo, Tatang S. Raja, Ir. Andjat D. Lamey, Ir. F. Silaban, Drs. Suparmo, Prof. Dr. Astrid Susanto, Dr. Yusuf Enoch MA,

²²Harian Kompas. 13 Agustus 1976. *Menyongsong Lahirnya Museum Seni Rupa: Untuk Apa, untuk Siapa?*

²³Ramadhan KH. (1992:308). *Bang Ali Demi: Jakarta 1966-1977*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.

Drs. Uka Tjandrasmita, Drs. M. Amir Sutaarga, Suluh Darmadji, Drs. I Nyoman Tusan, Abas Alibasjah, Ir. Suparto, Ir. Raswoto, Drs. Fadjar- Sidik and Drs. Bambang Soemadio. In 1982, Master Plan, drawings and models of WSN was made by PT Arsiplan Bandung, and coordinated by Ir. Slamet Wirasonjaya. For the umpteenth time, WSN development came to a dead-end, citing budget inadequacy. Ironically, due to the limited budget, this project was included in the list of unimportant projects, thus, in the 1984/1985 fiscal year, the project was abolished from the list of government projects.²⁴

An opportunity came to light when in 1985 Prof. Dr. Fuad Hassan was appointed Minister of Education and Culture, replacing Prof. Dr. Nugroho Notokusanto who passed away. Fuad Hassan immediately showed serious action in evaluating WSN which had been delayed since 1970. The first step taken by Prof. Fuad was to send a letter to the Minister of Development Planning / Chairperson of the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) who hoped that the WSN project would be revived. The proposal was approved by Bappenas, though with a very limited budget. The colonial building on Jl Merdeka Timur 14, began to be renovated and used as a space for the Fine Art Exhibition which became known as the Ministry of Education and Culture's Fine Art Exhibition Building (*Gedung Pameran Seni Rupa/GPSR*). On February 23, 1987, the Ministry of Education and Culture's GPSR was inaugurated by the Minister of Education and Culture Fuad Hassan. Along with the inauguration of the building, the exhibition of famed painter, Affandi, was held at the same time on his 80th birthday. Since the inauguration of the GPSR, the Ministry of Education and Culture received major attention from artists and several art exhibitions from great Indonesian artists were being held there. In the GPSR management, a Daily Manager and the Curator Team was appointed based on the Decree of the Director General of Culture. GPSR played a significant role because various art events that support the

formation of GNI occurred in that period.

Various attempts were made by Fuad Hasan to anticipate land constraints, such as considering the former Kemayoran Airport as the location of WSN. The steps taken included writing a letter of application to the Chairperson of the Kemayoran Complex Management Agency and the land application was approved by letter No. R-707/M.Sesneg/11/1988 dated November 29, 1988. However, other issues occurred, such as funding constraints, therefore, could not be materialized. In addition to exploring the former Kemayoran Airport, Fuad Hasan also planned to build a National Gallery at the Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (TMII) complex in Jakarta. After a conversation with the Chairman of the TMII Foundation, Mrs. Tien Suharto, the TMII agreed and had prepared a land area of 3 ha, but it must be compensated. The WSN Master Plan, planned to be built at TMII, was then designed by PT Tripanoto. Based on the site plan, the WSN location would be located not far from the Golden Conch and the Tugu Api Pancasila Monument. However, once again, this project was stalled because the Ministry of Education and Culture through the WSN Project budget did not have the land acquisition funds required.²⁵

In 1993, there was a change of leadership with the commencement of the Cabinet VI working period (1993-1998), in which Suharto was still trusted to lead the Indonesian nation. The position of Minister of Education and Culture was entrusted to Wardiman Djojonegoro, Director General of Culture was held by Prof. Dr. Edi Sedyawati and Drs. Nunus Supardi served as Secretary of the Directorate General. In this period the discourse on the development of the Indonesian National Gallery was revived due to the major role Edi Sedyawati played as the Director General of Culture. She emphasized the importance of a National Gallery for the Indonesian people. According to Edi Sedyawati, the formation of the National Gallery of Indonesia began in 1993, during a consortium meeting of art sciences where informal conversations took place with fellow-

²⁴Supardi, Nunus. (2018). Jalan Panjang GNI: Sebuah Dinamika Kebudayaan (1960-1998). *Jurnal Galeri Seni Rupa. vol. Februari*. Jakarta: Galeri Nasional Indonesia.

²⁵Supardi, Nunus. Wawancara Pribadi. Kantor BKKI, Gedung E, Kemendikbud. 2 Februari 2017, pkl, 10.10.

members of the consortium. The main discussion was inquiring whether National Gallery of Indonesia was needed considering that several ASEAN countries already owned a National Gallery. The conversation turned out to be taken into serious consideration, which was then discussed with the Minister of Information and Bappenas. At the time, the artist was represented by Jim Supangkat.²⁶

According to AD Pirous, establishing the National Gallery of Indonesia is very important, considering that the great exhibition of Fine Arts always took place in Hong Kong, Manila, Kuala Lumpur, and Singapore, and revolved back to the upper region of Indonesia. This occurred because Indonesia did not yet have a National Gallery.²⁷ Jim Supangkat stated that for countries throughout the world that are quite advanced, including Indonesia, the presence of a national gallery is as important as the presence of the National Museum and National Library.²⁸ In 1995, in line with Edi Sedyawati's efforts in establishing the delayed National Gallery, a political event took place in the country where Indonesia became the host of the International Non-Aligned Movement Conference. The momentum was exploited to remind all parties of the importance of a National Gallery for a nation. The initial idea of a Non-Aligned Movement Art Exhibition on 28 April-30 June 1995 in Jakarta, according to AD Pirous, was delivered by Mrs. Edi Sedyawati at a meeting. Big Art Exhibitions of international standard organized in several countries had indeed been held at the National Gallery, but Indonesia, in reality, did not have the facility. Therefore, several places were proposed to hold the exhibition, whether at Taman Ismail Marzuki or the Jakarta Convention Center (JCC). However, the two places were not possible. TIM was considered unable to accommodate large amounts of artifacts and also from a security point of view was not secured while the JCC rents were too expensive and the building structure was not supportive of holding the exhibition.

²⁶Sediawaty, Edi. Wawancara Pribadi. Jalan Lembang, Jakarta. September 2013.

²⁷Pirous, AD. Wawancara Pribadi. Bukit Pakar III no 111 Bandung. 13 Januari 2018.

²⁸Supangkat, Jim. Wawancara Pribadi. FSR IKJ, 31 Januari 2018.

The last alternative was to return to the Ministry of Education and Culture's GPSR Building on Jl. Merdeka Timur 14, which was previously used for art exhibitions. After coordination meetings, various renovations and serious preparations were made, including building expansion, procurement of partitions, lightings, and other supporting facilities. This exhibition had a strategic role because it seeks to find a basis for contemporary art experiences through the North and South framework, starting with the experience of contemporary art development in the non-aligned movement which together represents the concept of "South".²⁹ The Non-Aligned Movement Exhibition was launched by President Soeharto and received a very warm response from the international world because it was considered as the world's first exhibition held by non-aligned countries and a very important historical event.³⁰

AD Pirous felt fortunate to have had the opportunity to accompany President Soeharto while visiting the exhibition, and according to him during his visit of the Exhibition, President Soeharto did not provide any indication that he would support the development of an Indonesia National Gallery. AD Pirous was stunned after accompanying Soeharto, and asked himself, "what about the continuation of the Ministry of Education's GPSR building after the Non-Aligned Movement exhibition?" AD Pirous thought, with all the limitations, the GPSR of the Ministry of Education and Culture could be implored to become Temporary National Gallery of Indonesia. The Indonesian government should reflect Malaysia when developing the National Gallery that began from an old hotel that was considered quite representative by Malaysian artists to be used as a temporary National Gallery building. After developing, the Malaysian Government built a-

²⁹Directorate General for Culture (1995:3). *Catalogue Contemporary Art of The Non-Aligned Countries 1995*. Jakarta: Department of Education and Culture.

³⁰Directorate General for Culture, Department of Education and Culture (1995: 8). *Contemporary Art of The Non-Aligned Countries: Unity in Diversity in International Art*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.

new building that was representative.³¹

In line with the implementation of the international level Non-Aligned Art Exhibition, the National Arts House project was reviewed through a mega project called the National Cultural Development Center (*Pusat Pengembangan Kebudayaan Nasional/PPKN*). The *PPKN* master plan was entrusted to Atelier 6 Jakarta consultant and was planned to be of international standard aimed to present the Indonesian modern culture development journey through its collection of modern Fine Arts since the 19th century. The facilities consisted of: Offices, Performances, Exhibitions, Education and Information, Supporting facilities (Café, Lodging, and Place of Worship).³² The *PPKN* project required an area of 36,349 m², and various efforts were carried out including land acquisition for former flat residents of the Ministry of Education and Culture. However, the land needed was not sufficient; therefore, a realistic action was taken, which was to prioritize the temporary Indonesian National Gallery (GNI) project. The decision was considered realistic, firstly because the condition of the building was possible to be temporarily made into GNI. Secondly, in the 1990s, Indonesian contemporary art development was thriving along with the booming of the Indonesian Art Painting. This was marked by an increase in the number and frequency of exhibitions, the growth of commercial galleries, exhibition sponsors, and exhibition collectors.³³ Throughout the 1990s, 275 exhibitions were held, both solo and in groups in several Indonesian cities. This showed an increased appreciation in the field of Fine Arts.³⁴ A long journey full of twists and turns had finally been surpassed, through various efforts and

struggles. Therefore, with the approval of the Coordinating Minister for Development Supervision and Utilization of the State Apparatus (in letter No. 34/MK.WASSPAN/4/1998 dated April 30, 1998, signed by Sapta Nirwandar), the Minister of Education and Culture Decree No. 099a /0/1998 was launched in Jakarta on May 18, 1998. Then, on 8 May 1999, the Indonesian National Gallery was inaugurated by the Minister of Education and Culture, Prof. Dr. Juwono Sudarsono. The National Gallery Building was designated as National Cultural Heritage Building by the Minister of Culture and Tourism through Ministerial Decree no PM.13/PW.007/MKP/05 dated April 25, 2005.

Looking at the long process of establishing GNI through various policies that were so dynamic from one Government to the next, it is clear how ideological contestation played an important role. Althusser said that the domination by the ruling class was done through subtle methods without coercion or repressive. Althusser called it the concept of the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA), in which the state apparatus carries out the ideological function; the institution in society that transmit dominant ideas and values, such as places of worship, education, trade unions, institutions and media that are indirectly organized by the state. In this case, it can be seen how far the role of ideology is played in the form of power through various legal products such as the National Development Policy, Decree, Instruction Letter, and others. Althusser separated the ISA from government apparatus such as the police and the army, which he called the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA), the state apparatus that carries out the repressive - pressing function. Meanwhile, the nature of RSA's work is to oppress first. The oppression that carried out is then given an ideological meaning (as if valuable and legitimate). In this case, RSA is directly under the control of the ruling class under one command established with official tasks. In addition, RSA is central and systematic, identical to the state system and structure solely standing as a legitimate and explicit power buffer. This validity allows RSA to reach the wider public and be filled with political content (bureaucracy, police, judicial instruments, and the military). The ISA concept approach is-

³²GPSR Kemendikbud (1997:8). *Dokumen Pusat Promosi Kebudayaan Nasional (Nasional Culture Promotion Center)* Atelier 6 Jakarta. Jakarta.

³³Yuliman, Sanento. Editor Asikin Hasan. (2001:110). *Dua Seni Rupa: Serpihan Tulisan Sanento Yuliman*. Jakarta: Yayasan Kalam.

³⁴Mustika dan Slamet Sukiranto. (1996:33). *Mustika: Peta Pameran Seni Rupa dalam buku Seni Rupa Indonesia Modern: Dalam Kritik dan Esei*. Jakarta: Sanggar Krida.

³¹Pirous, AD. Wawancara Pribadi. Rumah tinggal Bukit Pakar III no 111 Bandung. 13 Januari 2018, pkl 12.00.

always ideological, which will eventually be repressive as well because it is intended to manipulate perceptions. ISA is not only within the scope of authority but can also be a means to control the group beyond the authority. This reality cannot be avoided if there is a clash between groups of interests in ISA. GNI, as part of the state apparatus, implemented ideological functions that cannot be separated from the ruler's interests, both from the reign of the Old Order, the New Order to Reformation era. GNI's formation process did not directly interfere with the repressive actions of the state apparatus such as the military and army of the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA).

In this case, the ideological function is to reproduce the production of social relations. Ideology is a practice that arises within rituals of specific apparatus and social institutions or organizations. Ideology is represented through various policies through the role of the rulers' relations, of which the roles of notable figures and events would be very important. In the Old Order government, the role of President Soekarno was very important, when he initiated the idea to establish GNI. The Cultural Sector became the main priority through the Broad Outlines of the National Universal Development Plan Pattern policy (*Garis-Garis Besar Pola Pembangunan Nasional Semesta Berencana Tahap Pertama/GBPPN SB*) Phase 1961-1969, ranking the project as first with "AA" which was then followed by other fields. The experience of visiting various countries that have art museums influenced the cultural policies of the Old Order. While during the New Order, the development of the GNI did not appear to be a top priority, because several times it was always halted due to budget constraints. Nevertheless, the Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (TMII) development project, which had cost a lot, could be developed in the 1970s. Here we see a fundamental difference between ideological approaches during the Old Order and the New Order. During the New Order era, Soekarno emphasized the importance of national ideology through the "Jakarta City Planning Project", as a means of managing the Nation and Character Building. Soekarno considered a way to ward off the lust

for power through the "national character" and to reorganize the "new world order" by aligning with the international community.³⁵ One form of "national character" can be seen through the presence of various State Cultural Institutions such as the National Gallery of Indonesia. Soekarno's idea in the formation of GNI was futuristic, to view the power of cultural art through the works created by artists in his era for the formation of Indonesian national identity and civilization in the future while the New Order government was more of an emphasis on "preserving" ideology, such as presenting various cultural replicas of the country through miniatures of traditional houses.

Conclusion

The process of establishing GNI for 52 years contains political and strategic contents, in which the role of notable figures in various events shows a very strong ideological contestation. It is here that ideology acts as a social practice through the relation of the subject rulers through subtle methods without pressure, but clearly shows a form of power. The concept of the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA), in which the state apparatus carries out the ideological function through the role of the rulers or related regimes, in socializing dominant ideas and values. Various cultural policy priorities of the Old Order and New Order Governments were representations of the ruler's ideology and dominant values. As a newly independent nation, various cultural development policies cannot be separated with the ruler's experience and appreciation of the cultural arts when visiting various countries that are considered to have historical value and political interests. Visiting experiences or interactions with several countries became the collective memory of Indonesian leaders that flows into the subconscious, to create the same thing in the country.

The role of several notable figures in the process of establishing GNI, include President Soekarno, through his initial idea in establishing Art Gallery/Museum in 1946 and the TAP MPRS Policy in 1962 concerning the "Lighthouse Project (*Projek Mercusuar*)". The role of the Minister of Education and Culture, Fuad Hasan, particularly in realizing the establishment of the National Art House as the-

³⁵Ardhiati, Yuke. (2013:18). *Bung Karno Dalam Panggung Indonesia*. Jakarta: PT Wastu Adicita.

forerunner of the GNI in 1987 was very strategic, especially in reviving the idea of establishing a National Art House. Cultural diplomacy carried out by Fuad Hasan was very optimal, through efforts to seek funding from foreign parties in order to establish the GNI. The role of the Director General of Culture, Edy Sediawati in the formation of the GNI in 1998, was very significant. Visionary policies in proposing to hold the 1995 Non-Aligned State Contemporary Art Exhibition, made many parties aware of the importance of a National Gallery for the Indonesian people. GNI is a representation of a nation's civilization, especially through its collections and several exhibitions held in the GNI. The curator Jim Supangkat also played a major role, especially in compiling academic papers on the GNI and some views in the art field.

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