

THE POWER OF ART IN POLITICAL EDUCATION: AN ANALYSIS OF NONVIOLENT ACTIONS OF TARING PADI IN DOCUMENTA 15 OVER HUMAN SECURITY ISSUES ACROSS INDONESIA

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Abstract

This research aims to analyze nonviolent actions carried out by art community Taring Padi in art festival Documenta 15 in Germany in 2022 to defend the victims of human rights violations in Indonesia. During the festival, the nonviolent actions took place in a way that the community showcased artworks to expose human security issues suffered by Indonesian people during the New Order period. The human security issues raised by Taring Padi are human rights violations committed by president Soeharto, from torture, genocide, to forced disappearance. As such, this article raises two research questions. First, why did Taring Padi choose nonviolent actions to raise human security issues? Second, what kind of nonviolent actions conducted by the group? To answer those questions, I employ a qualitative research method, with Gene Sharp's theory on nonviolent resistance in place. This research finds that Taring Padi chose non-violent actions because the group sought to give a political education that non-violent resistance is part of a healthy democratic culture. In this democratic country, the group used art to make the public more aware of human security issues in Indonesia, inviting them to side the victims and take part in urging the government to responsible for the human rights violations it committed. Taring Padi did non-violent actions in a way that the group made caricatures, symbols, and slogans as well as raised banners and posters.

Keywords: Art, Human Rights, Human Security, Non-Violent Resistance, Taring Padi

KEKUATAN SENI DALAM PENDIDIKAN POLITIK: ANALISIS AKSI NIRKEKERASAN TARING PADI DI DOCUMENTA 15 ATAS ISU KEAMANAN MANUSIA DI INDONESIA

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis aksi nirkekerasan yang dilakukan oleh komunitas seni Taring Padi dalam festival seni Documenta 15 di Jerman pada 2022 untuk membela korban pelanggaran HAM di Indonesia. Dalam festival ini, Taring Padi melakukan aksi nirkekerasan dengan cara memamerkan karya seninya yang mengangkat isu keamanan manusia yang dialami oleh masyarakat Indonesia di masa Orde Baru. Isu keamanan manusia yang diangkat ialah berbagai pelanggaran HAM yang dilakukan oleh presiden Soeharto pada masa itu, mulai dari penyiksaan, genosida, hingga penghilangan paksa. Oleh karena itu, ada dua pertanyaan penelitian yang diangkat dalam artikel ini. Pertanyaan pertama ialah mengapa Taring Padi menggunakan aksi nirkekerasan untuk mengangkat isu keamanan manusia? Pertanyaan kedua ialah apa dan bagaimana bentuk-bentuk aksi nirkekerasan yang dilakukan oleh Taring Padi? Untuk menjawab pertanyaan tersebut, penulis menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dengan teori perlawanan tanpa kekerasan dari Gene Sharp. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa Taring Padi menggunakan aksi nirkekerasan dengan tujuan untuk memberikan pendidikan

politik bahwa perlawanan tanpa kekerasan adalah bagian dari budaya demokrasi yang sehat. Taring Padi menggunakan seni untuk membuat masyarakat semakin menyadari isu keamanan manusia di Indonesia dan juga sekaligus mengajak mereka untuk berpihak kepada korban dan mengambil bagian dalam mendesak pemerintah Indonesia untuk bertanggung jawab atas pelanggaran HAM yang dilakukannya. Bentuk aksi nirkekerasan yang dilakukan oleh Taring Padi ialah membuat karikatur, simbol, dan slogan dan memasang spanduk dan poster.

Kata kunci: Seni, Hak Asasi Manusia, Keamanan Manusia, Aksi Nirkekerasan, Taring Padi

Introduction

Documenta 15 was a world-renowned art exhibition held in Kassel, Germany in 2022, with Jakarta-based art collective Ruang Rupa serving its artistic director. For Ruang Rupa, Documenta 15 was not just an art exhibition. Ruang Rupa set Documenta 15 as a space to allow artists to talk and discuss injuries rooted in colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchal structures (Amirio, 2019). As such, artworks that they showcased in Documenta 15 contained rich social and political commentaries. They included a large outdoor installation “People’s Justice” from Indonesian art group Taring Padi. People’s Justice criticized the Indonesian government through human-sized cardboard puppets. These puppets drew the attention of many as they raised various contemporary social, political and environmental issues, such as the Wadas unrest and global warming. Taring Padi also used People’s Justice to expose violence, exploitation, and censorship faced by Indonesian people during military dictatorship in the administration of president Soeharto (Werning, 2022).

For Taring Padi, art is a medium to do nonviolent actions to voice justice and humanity. Taring Padi carries out nonviolent actions in a way that the group produces painting, cardboard puppets, song, and woodcut with bold social and political commentaries and criticisms (Wicaksono, 2019, p. 412). However, it turned out that People’s Justice displayed in Documenta 15 triggered criticisms and backlashes in Kassel. People’s Justice, which sought to criticize Soeharto’s dictatorship, drew Israeli and German governments’ outrage. They slammed the installation, calling it antisemitic because of two figures featured on the mural. The two figures were a soldierlike character depicted as a pig and wearing a helmet bearing the word “Mossad” and a character depicted with the sidelocks associated with Orthodox Jews, fangs and bloodshot eyes, and wearing a black hat with a SS insignia (Braun, 2022). Mossad is Israel’s national intelligence agency. For Israel, the “Mossad” figure painted by Taring Padi reminded the Israeli people of propaganda used Goebbels and his goons during darker times in German history (Braun, 2022). The Israeli and German governments deemed the two figures antisemitic move that Taring Padi carried out in Documenta 15. They demanded the art festival to remove the installation. Documenta 15 followed the demand, taking down the People’s Justice installation (Werning, 2022).

The Israeli and German governments’ protest against Taring Padi’s nonviolent action in People’s Justice motivated the author to raise a research question: “Why did Taring Padi showcase People’s Justice in Documenta 15?”. To answer the question, the author employed Gene Sharp’s theory on nonviolent resistance. With this theory in place, the author argues that Taring Padi displayed People’s Justice as the group’s nonviolent resistance to make the public globally aware of human security issues caused by unsolved human rights violations in Indonesia. For the group, the installation is a medium to politically educate the public that they needed to understand the human security issue across Indonesia and urged the Indonesian government to solve the issue for the sake of the justice of the victims of human rights violations in the country.

Method

The author employs a qualitative method to seek Taring Padi’s objectives behind the installation of People’s Justice in Documenta 15 in Germany. The author chooses the qualitative method to understand the views and beliefs of Taring Padi. In this qualitative method, the author interviewed the cofounders and members of Taring Padi on July 28, 2024, namely Raung Singosari, Ladija Triana Dewi, Dodi Irwandy, and Fitri Dwi Kurniasih. The author also seeks data through literature review, reading various secondary sources, from article journals, books, to news reports. As such the author combined in-depth interview with literature review to collect data. In this qualitative research, the author then used a congruence technique to analyze the collected data.

Result and Discussion

The author argued that Taring Padi displayed People’s Justice because the group believed that the art installation represented its nonviolent action to give political education and raise global awareness about human security issues caused by unsolved human rights violations in Indonesia. Taring Padi installed People’s Justice in Documenta 15 to politically educate the public that they needed to understand the human security issue across Indonesia and urged the Indonesian government to solve the issue for the sake of the justice of the victims of human rights violations in the country. As such, in this section, the author will first explain the concept of nonviolent action by Gene Sharp. Afterwards, the author will use the concept to describe nonviolent resistance carried out by Taring Padi through People’s Justice in Documenta 15.

Nonviolent action by Gene Sharp

Nonviolent action refers to actions conducted in a nonviolent way. The actions revolve around protest, noncooperation, and intervention. Those three methods are carried out without physical violence. Therefore, nonviolent action is a generic term covering methods of protest, noncooperation, and intervention in a nonviolent way (Sharp, 1973, p. 64).

Sharp (1973) explained that nonviolent action is a response to conflicts of how to act in politics effectively and wield power effectively. As such, nonviolent action is not passive. It is a means of combat. Nonviolent action requires tactics and strategy, and demands discipline, courage, and sacrifice (Sharp, 1973, p. 67). Nonviolent action has various objectives. Its actionists may seek primarily to convert their opponent to a positive acceptance of their point of view. However, sometimes they may seek to change the opponent’s attitudes and beliefs as a preliminary to change his policies or institutions (Sharp, 1973, p. 68).

According to Sharp, nonviolent action has three broad classes of methods: nonviolent protest and persuasion; non-cooperation; and nonviolent intervention. In nonviolent protest, symbolic actions are largely used in marches, parades, and vigils, to persuade the opponent, to change opinions, or to express disapproval and dissent. Non-cooperation means that the nonviolent group withdraws or withholds social, economic, or political cooperation. This class, therefore, comprises three subclasses, namely social noncooperation, economic noncooperation, and political noncooperation. Nonviolent intervention refers to direct interventions carried out by nonviolent groups, such as nonviolent obstruction, nonviolent invasion, and parallel government (Sharp, 1973, p. 69).

The class of nonviolent protest and persuasion comprise 54 methods, which include parades, posters, picketing, slogan, caricatures, symbols, mourning, teach-ins, and protest meetings. By doing nonviolent protest, actionists may intend to arouse attention and publicity for an issue in a bid to influence the opponent to make a change. They seek to warn the opponent that more severe action can take place if the change is not made. However, the actionists may intend to communicate with the public, onlookers, or third parties directly or through publicity in order to draw attention and support for the desired change (Sharp, 1973, p. 118).

The noncooperation class comprises 103 methods, which include social disobedience, student strike, social boycott, selective social boycott, and boycott of social affairs. With noncooperation in place, actionists deliberately seek to withdraw the usual forms of their cooperation with the person, activity, institution, or regime engaged in conflict. Noncooperation revolves around deliberate discontinuance, withholding, or defiance of certain existing social, economic, and political relationship (Sharp, 1973, p. 183).

The class of nonviolent intervention comprises 41 methods, which include the fast, sit-in, stand-in, ride-in, wade-in and mill-in. In the class of nonviolent intervention, actionists intervene in the situation by disrupting, destroying, and establishing patterns, policies, relationships, or institutions, which they see objectionable. They may also establish new behavior patterns, policies, relationships, or institutions that they prefer. The methods of nonviolent intervention pose a more direct and immediate challenge than those of protest, persuasion and noncooperation because of the harder disruptive effects of the intervention (Sharp, 1973, p. 358).

Taring Padi's nonviolent action in Documenta 15

Using Gene Sharp's theory, the author argued that Taring Padi's art installation, *People's Justice*, describes the group's nonviolent action in the class of nonviolent protest and persuasion. The installation shows how Taring Padi used posters, caricatures, and symbols to raise unsolved human security issues across Indonesia. In *Documenta 15*, the group exposed the issues through human and animal-like characters on *People's Justice*. To raise the issue of mass killing in 1965, for example, Taring Padi created the character of an oversized, fearsome mythical creature on *People's Justice* to symbolize president Soeharto, the architect of the mass killing in 1965. Militarism implemented by Soeharto was symbolized in the character of soldiers holding guns (**Picture 1**). By featuring those characters on *People's Justice* in *Documenta 15*, Taring Padi sought to draw the attention of the public to authoritarianism and militarism under the administration of Soeharto in the issue of 1965 massacre in Indonesia.



Picture 1. The Depiction of Soeharto on People's Justice

Source: Bosch (2022)

Taring Padi also drew a character bearing the inscription “Mossad” in the form of a pig’s face on a hard hat and a man with a suit, serrated ragged teeth, a cigar in the corner of his mouth and SS runes on a black hat brim (**Picture 2**). People’s Justice features such characters because after Soeharto came to power, Mossad managed to establish Israel's relations with Indonesia. Despite the mass killing, Israel established economic and security relations with the military in Jakarta under a secret operation called “House and Garden”, thanks to Mossad. Mossad contacted the Indonesian military to set up joint-trade projects and organizes bilateral exchanges and visits of officials and military personnel under the strictest secrecy (Werning, 2022). The relationship between Israel and Indonesia in New Order has connection to the political and security issues in Indonesia, including the mass killing in 1965, because the two countries established their relationship in the Cold War era pitting the West against the East. The West, which comprised the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Germany, and Israel, sided with Soeharto in politics, economy, and military (Werning, 2022).



Picture 2. The character of “Mossad” on People’s Justice

Source: Braun (2022)

The 1965 mass killing was raised by Taring Padi on People’s Justice because it caused human security issues. The issues highlighted by the group ranged from political insecurity, economic insecurity to personal insecurity during New Order. Such insecurities motivated Taring Padi to expose censorship, exploitation, and violence committed by president Soeharto through People’s Justice. The censorship, exploitation, and violence were symbolized in cardboard puppets displayed in Documenta 15. This installation described the complexity of power play behind the censorship and violence that led to injustice and the erasure of public memory on gross human rights violations across Indonesia during the New Order, such as the 1965 massacre (Taring Padi, interview, July 28, 2024).



Picture 3. People’s Justice on display in Documenta 15 in Germany

Source: Purwaningsih (2022b)

According to Sharp (1973), banners, symbols, and posters are among common forms of nonviolent protest to communicate ideas, viewpoints, and information to a wider audience. These forms have a variety of objectives, from to influence the opponent group to gain sympathy and support from third parties (Sharp, 1973, p. 125). A wider audience is the target of Taring Padi in every artwork the group showcases. To make a wider audience understand the human security issues that it raises, Taring Padi explicitly states its ideas on its banners (Taring Padi, interview, July 28, 2024). In the banner *People’s Justice*, for example, Taring Padi wrote “The Expansion of Multicultural State Hegemony” and “Resistance Culture Movement” (**Picture 3**). By targeting the wider audience, Taring Padi sought to establish a bigger solidarity for the victims of human security issues raised by the group (Heron & Kim, 2023, p. 228). Taring Padi believes that the bigger solidarity will lead to social changes (Lukman, 2019).

For Taring Padi, being critical is a must in order to establish a just and prosperous society. Therefore, the group focuses on using art to provide political education for all, delving into human security issues, such as human rights violation, environmental degradation, and corruption (Fung et al., 2024, p. 500). Taring Padi member Raung Singosari explained that the group’s artworks aimed to give the public political education, making them aware of human rights violations across the country (Taring Padi, interview, July 28, 2024). The 1965 massacre, for example, drew the attention of Taring Padi because it took the lives of more than 500,000 people and caused political and personal insecurity in the country during the New Order regime, with thousands of people killed and kidnapped for their alleged affiliation with now-defunct Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). To illustrate the military dictatorship of Suharto in New Order, Taring Padi made the depiction of military figures on the *People’s Justice* banner. For the group, the depiction of the military figures was important because it observed that the legacy of Suharto’s 32-year dictatorship still remains as of today. The group criticized military violence and capitalist system tainting the country by symbolizing corrupt bureaucrats, military generals, and soldiers with pigs, dogs, and rats on the *People’s Justice* banner (Documenta, 2022). In the Indonesian political context, pigs symbolize greed, dogs mean of violence, and rats corruption (Purwaningsih, 2022a).

Taring Padi, whose populist house style is inspired by German Expressionist graphics, Soviet Socialist Realism, Mexican Muralism, and Taller Experimental de Grafica de la Habana (T. Smith, 2024, p. 11), rejects the notion of art for art’s sake, according to Raung Singosari of Taring Padi. The group saw art as medium to fight for people’s interests. That’s why the group was named Taring Padi, which means the fur on rice grains. When the fur was blown by the wind and it affected the skin, it would cause itches. It meant that the group expected its art pieces to cause an itch in its criticisms (Taring Padi, interview, July 28, 2024). Like *People’s Justice*, Taring Padi’s other artworks also slammed those in power, such as installation *Mengadili Suharto dan Para Jenderal* (Trying Suharto and the Generals), zine *Terompet Rakyat* (People’s Trumpet), and painting *Berdiri di Atas Kekuatan Pangan Sendiri* (Food Self-Reliance) (**Picture 4**). For Taring Padi, its artworks are a means of resistance to the authorities (Muryanto, 2018). In using art as a medium for political expression and education, Taring Padi makes artworks to portray lucid historic and current narratives and fill them with specific, local imagery, and readily recognizable figures to struggle for the sovereignty of the people, identify enemies, celebrate heroes, and point to the eventual victory of the people united (T. Smith, 2024, p. 11).



Picture 4. Taring Padi's Works of Art

Source: Witjaksono et al., p. (2018, p. 48)

Ruang Rupa, the artistic director of Documenta 15, allowed Taring Padi to showcase People Justice in the exhibition because the installation could lead to dialogue over issues that Taring Padi raised and echoed in Kassel. In the past, Kassel was home to a vast forced labor camp during World War II and heavily bombed by the Allies (The Guardian, 2022). Before Germany lost the war to the Allies, any works of art that addressed the violence and murders committed by the Nazis were confiscated and destroyed. The Nazis defamed such artworks, calling them 'degenerate art'. First held in 1955, Documenta seeks a radical dissociation from Nazism and rehabilitates the artists (DW, 2021). Documenta attempts to banish and repress the cultural darkness of Nazism (R. Smith, 2012). Aiming to put Germany back on the cultural map, Documenta not only allows art objects around the world to meet its audience, but also seeks to facilitate a dialogue between Germany and the rest of the world after World War II (Amirio, 2019).

Taring Padi is among Indonesian contemporary artists feeling that art is an important tool to spread educational properties, from critical thinking to awareness of social and political issues at home and abroad (Betsill, 2019, p. 30). They use art to process and respond to the issues across the world, expecting their feelings and opinions to inspire others to critically think about the issues. They hope their work to create questions, provoke critical thinking and inspire action and change (Betsill, 2019, p. 4). Raung Singosari of Taring Padi shared that the group believed that the group's criticisms on social and political issues at home and abroad could be easily understood by the public if it was expressed in the form of art. That's why the works of Taring Padi, from banners, posters, to installation, are thick in its bold social and political commentaries (Taring Padi, interview, July 28, 2024).

The idea behind Taring Padi's works is that the group believes that human security issues are rooted in capitalism, neoliberalism, and feudalism. They lead to oppression posing a

threat to human security. Its works, therefore, not only side with the victims of the human security issues, but also aim to develop solidarity to work together to fight against capitalism, neoliberalism, and feudalism (Heron & Kim, 2023, p. 225). To translate the idea into artworks, Taring Padi researches the issue and meet the victims. For the group, research and interview are important stages in its creative process in order to fully understand the issue (Taring Padi, interview, July 28, 2024). By raising the issue, Taring Padi sought to fight what the group deemed the ‘five evils of culture’. First, art and cultural centers that dedicate art for art’s sake only. Second, the government that present an exotic version of Indonesian culture in search of power and economic growth. Third, art institutions that controls artists and their works, and determines the direction of art development. Fourth, a system that degrades the moral values of artists and validates the exploitation of the people by the individual artists. Fifth, the lack of understanding of the function of art in society (Juliastuti, 2006, p. 6). Taring Padi is a significant example of collective action that challenged accepted standards of public expression in public spaces. The group feels that it has responsibility to express the concern of marginalized and oppressed people in Indonesia through art (Bruhn, 2013, p. 48). Taring Padi combines activism with art, using the works of art to organize local, national, and even international communities to deal with the issues of social, economic, and environmental justice (Grenfell & Wardana, 2021, p. 57).

Conclusion

This research sheds light on how art can turn into a nonviolent action to politically educate people about human security issues. People’s Justice displayed by Taring Padi in Documenta 15 represents nonviolent actions in the class of nonviolent protest and persuasion. Taring Padi showcased People’s Justice in Documenta 15 to politically educate the public that they needed to understand the human security issue across Indonesia and urged the Indonesian government to solve the issue for the sake of the justice of the victims of human rights violations in the country. The author expected this research to motivate other researchers to study art as a tool of giving political education and raising global awareness about human security issues. The author also suggests further research on the effectiveness of art as part of a nonviolent action to give political education and reach political objectives.

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