

CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY AND RESISTANCE
IN LAKSMI PAMUNTJAK'S *THE QUESTION OF RED*

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Abstract

This thesis employs Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court's prominent concepts of crimes against humanity to describe the government and the military's crimes against humanity in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red*. Through the concepts of crimes against humanity, this thesis finds the government and the military's crimes against humanity act to the civilian that is suspected as communist members. Further, the acts become part of the government authority and power. Almost all crimes against humanity acts depicted variously, from murder, extermination, torture, to apartheid. Such in Foucault's studies, crimes against humanity as power drags out of resistance of the communist and almost all suspected civilian. The communist characters do not only appear personally, but also in organization or group of Buru Island prisoners. The resistances toward crimes against humanity are revealed into Hollander and Einwohner's eight type of resistance. The typology of resistance is formed by three dimension of actor, target, and observer. Those dimensions are served in novel *The Question of Red*. Library method is appropriate to because this thesis datum are derived by close reading and analyzing intrinsic and extrinsic elements. Indeed, the references are taken in library and internet to support the analysis process. Further, this thesis is not served in numbering or table.

Keywords: *crimes against humanity, resistance, bourgeoisie, communist*

PENDAHULUAN

Indonesian Communists rebellion in 1965 is one of mystery tragedy. There are many verses of the story. However Laksmi Pamuntjak brave present the story in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red*. This novel tells about feud of communist and the government which beautiful covered in three-angel love of Bhishma, Amba, and Salwa which is adopted from *Mahabharata* epic. The different is the chronology of the story that is influenced by the setting time and culture. The feud is told systematically from before the climax of tragedy to almost all communist and some innocent people sent to Buru Island in order to be isolated. In telling the Indonesian bloody tragedy, the author not only involves the main character, but also there are many minor character such Untarto, Zulfikar, and Zakir to support the story. Those character succeed to reinforce the novel to tell crimes against humanity.

Before the novel translated into *The Question of Red*, the novel had published in Indonesian version by

titled *Amba*. The high historical and culture unsure in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *Amba* lead this novel to be national bestseller in Indonesia. It had published fourth in a year. In 2012, *Amba* was the finalist of the Tempo Magazine's Annual Best Work of Literature list. In the next year, *Amba* listed for the Khatulistiwa Literary Award in 2013. The succeed lead Laksmi Pamuntjak's *Amba* to be translated in the end of 2013 to be *The Question of red* and chosen in Frankfurt Book Fair 2014. In 2014, Indonesia will be Event guess of honor.

The topic about crimes against humanity and resistance are two of dominant appeared topic in the novel. Both of them are causing and effect. Crimes against humanity are giving because of power. Then, resistance is a respond of crimes against humanity. The topic is suitable for the setting of the story. Hence, how crimes against humanity depicted and how is resistance of communist toward crimes against humanity reveal in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question Of Red* becomes two significant problem with the purpose to depict the crimes against humanity and to reveal the resistance toward

crimes against humanity in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question Of Red*.

Indonesia has less international published work in English. By analyzing this novel, the study is expected to contribute to the development of Indonesia culture and literature, especially literary Indonesia to explore in international due to the genre of the novel as historical fiction.

In this study, the idea of crimes against humanity and resistance in *The Question of Red* will be studied textually. Discussion of crimes against humanity and resistance is the basis of discussion that could be taken in post colonialism because this study discusses causing and effect topic. This study will expect to contribute to the students who will work with this novel and for those who would discuss identification process in other texts.

METHOD

The source of data is mainly in novel Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red*, published by Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta, Indonesia in 2013. The datum are in the form of direct and indirect speech of characters and narrator, phrases, dialogues, epilogues and quotations inside Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* that present aspect of crimes against humanity and resistance.

The method of collecting data, which is used in this study, is library method. It does not use the statistical method. It is not served in numbering or table. Data is derived by close reading meticulously to Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* and analyze that deal with the used approach on the novel. The method helps to classify based on the statement of the problem in order to avoid broad discussion and help to find the quotations revealing the crimes against humanity of the government and resistance of the civilian communist, sympathizers, and innocent prisoners. The data got from the analyzed and according to the statement of the problems. Besides, it must be synchronized with interdisciplinary crimes against humanity that is organized by international crimes court and concept of resistance.

ANALYSIS

Depiction of crimes against humanity in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red*

Economic crisis of Second World War force people in social movement, one of the social movement is communism. The ideology support the proletarian to resist the bourgeoisie's power (Djamhari, 2009:16-18).

The power able to represent in many ways. In this thesis, power is depicted as crimes against humanity. The power is part of the government and the military's authority that is depicted to crimes against humanity. Their highest power gives them opportunity to do

everything freely. The power is directed to oppress the civilians. At the result, the power is responded with resistance. Power and resistance stand in a line and related, but they are contradicted and opposed. Both stimulate each other to appear and response. Therefore, in Foucault Studies, Medina cited from *History of Sexuality Vol. 1, An Introduction* "where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (Medina, 2011:9, Foucault, 1990:95).

According to Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court "Crimes against humanity are widespread or systematic attacks on the civilian population, irrespective of whether the people are nationals or non-nationals and irrespective of whether the attacks are committed in time of war or in time of peace. The attacks can for instance constitute murder, extermination, forced displacement, slavery, rape, torture and other inhumane acts. Crimes against humanity are essentially about the violation of common human rights and values." (Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, 2011: 3-4). Crimes against humanity attack to multiple national, ethnical, religion, or organization either by non-state entities or state authorities and their agents (Bantekas. 2003: 384).

Crimes against humanity has one meaning although it is bound of three words. The meaning would be different if those three words are separated. The meaning of crime has wider meaning. However, crimes against humanity focuses on crimes directed to human rights and values. It has been explained in the last sentence of Rome statue International Criminal Court. Crimes against humanity has been accepted as international rules.

In Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red*, crimes against humanity is part of dominant topic that represent form of power. It is revealed by the government and military characters inside.

1. Extermination

In Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red*, killing people and extermination is the main purpose of crimes against humanity. Besides, it is one of form of political power that is held by the government and the military. The government and the military's authority gives them opportunity to create role and influence people. The main targets of crimes against humanity are the communist and the sympathizer. Crimes against humanity acts are carried in both individual and group.

There are two general characters in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red*. First is the perpetrator of crimes against humanity characterization that are played by the government and the military. There is no specific character in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* in presenting character of the government and the military. Those characters have bigger ability to do crimes against humanity to the people who had relation with the communist and the sympathizer. Unfortunately, their offense may kill innocent people in the communist and the sympathizer's circle. In other side, there are powerless people that are played by almost all civilian, especially the communist and the sympathizer. In the communist and the sympathizer characters, there are some names represent the character such Bhisma, Amba, Untarto, Zulfikar, and many more.

In Pamuntjak's on page around 317, the narrator told about one of communist offended. "Then the retort of gunfire shattered the air. The room shook as if it had been bombed." Another quotes from the narrator told, "One man was attacking another. "We're trapped, you fool!" he shouted, 'The place is overrun! By tomorrow we'll be fucking dead!" in Pamuntjak's on page 318. Those quotations are one of the big crimes against humanity act begins in Untarto's funeral day. Untarto is one of CGMI member. He was killed by unknown people tragically. There are some people unpredicted offense to the funeral room with bomb and gunfire. In the funeral room, there are multiple people. There is not only communist, although almost people inside are communist. Bhisma and Amba are example of non-communist people inside. Amba who know nothing must be scared in the situation. The bomb and gunfire are heard everywhere and ready to kill. The killing mass of multiple people act able to be identified as extermination. In addition, the perpetrator of extermination, one of crimes against humanity are power people and the victim are civilian.

In second quotation, the man stated that they are trapped. He feels that the place is prepared collecting them. When they are in one place, it is easier for military to exterminate them. That is the reason why in the last sentence, he is sure that people inside the funeral home.

Crimes against humanity in extermination case are continued in Buru Island. The first time their arrival, Buru Island is a badland. Almost all land is only vacant land. The barrack, their haven is not build intact. The first prisoner group arrival must work hard to build the land to be better such the follow quotation in Pamuntjak's on page 385, "When they arrived there were no barracks, no fields cleared for cultivation and food production."

The prisoner is just civilian that can do nothing except acceptance. They come to Buru Island to be

punished. Their struggle pushes them to keep live and survive in the worst land. In the quotation above told that there were no barracks, no fields cleared for cultivation and food production in Buru Island. In other words, the prisoners cannot get the human basic needs. The implicitly purpose of the limited facilities is slowly killing mass.

The Buru prisoners in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* only give some limited uniform, meanwhile hygiene clothe is important to save people from disease. Equal with hygiene clothe, people need to consume and produce their food in order to full their sufficiency. Besides, haven is no less important. In Buru Island, the only one haven for them is barrack. Prison in Buru Island must be live in hard condition and situation without those are.

2. Imprisonment with Arbitrary Reason

Many non-communist people get imprisonment. The quotation above is Bhisma's letter. In his letter, Bhisma told about his live after the day in Untarto's funeral. He and some people were caught and jailed. Although almost people in the funeral room is communist, but some of them are not. However, the government and military only look at the evidence based on the situation. They do not accept any reason from the prisoner. The sentence in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* "I had nothing to do but count the cockroaches on the wall" is implicitly describes about confused people. They do unmeaning act just to spend their time in jail.

The crimes against humanity have ability and authority to take every civilian that is suspected as the communist. The government does not need evidence to clarify who they are. According to the government and the military in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* their environment is the clear evidence for identify people. Some people may be known well as sympathizer, such Bhisma. Bhisma's education background is in Karl Marx University in Leipzig, East German. He must know more about Marxism and Communism. He sympathetic to the communist struggle that had been told by Bhisma's friend in German. Whilst, according to Bhisma, Communism in Indonesia is different with the original communism in German. For the reason, Bhisma he never decelerated that he is a communist. Indeed, Bhisma has many communist friends and active in their activity. That is the reason for military suspects Bhisma as communist. Nonetheless, some other people are not.

3. Force Displacement

In Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red*, Buru Island is prepared for Indonesian political prisoner. Almost the communist are force to transfer to Buru

Island. The forcible transfer is government created role for the communist. There are many people enforce to be separated with their family and friends. The label communist changes people to be monster for their family. The communist must leave their relatives and friends because the government and military will punish everyone who has relation with the communist. They may be killed or imprisonment.

After the offense day, Amba run away to go Rien's house. Rien is one of Amba's close friend. In Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* on page 323 told how Amba must leave Rien. "Hugging Rien goodbye, Amba didn't have the heart to say she could never return because she didn't want to bring danger to her friends doorstep."

Rien is one of Amba's close friends who know about Bhisma and her communist friends. Nonetheless, Rien is not communist. She prefers to suggest Amba to make distance with her communist friends, but Amba's love to Bhisma push her to close with the communist and the organization. After the accident in Untarto's funeral, Amba could be identified as one of communist or the communist sympathizer. In other words, Rien must be suspected as the communist. Amba could not stay in Rien's house because the military could come and sent them to jail and finally they will send to Buru Island.

In Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* the government and the military will not care about their status. The civilian must agree to almost all the government decision. If the government suspect that they are communist and must be punished, the civilian must accept it without any exception for Amba and Rien. For the reason, in the quotation above the narrator told that "Amba didn't have the heart to say she could never return". Amba must leave Rien's house without any farewell and she must go in place secretly and there is no one who knows because if there is person where she leaves, the military must find her and she could be killed or force to transfer to Buru Island like other communist.

Besides, Amba must leave her family and fiancé. According to the government and the military in *The Question of Red*, communists are the most danger people that must be exterminate. The government's extermination is in wide scale because they not only exterminate the communist, but also their family, relatives, and close friends.

4. The Physical and Mental Torture

In Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red*, Indonesian Communism Party cold war and Indonesian military was heat up after Indonesian's independent day. Both of them fight for be the best one. Indeed, different ideology and strata supported the war. There were two

parts in Indonesia at that time, right side that was supported by non-communist and left side that was supported by communist. Government is the highest position that has the highest power in the country. The power in form of almost all of government authority in giving punishment that drive to crimes against humanity acts to civilian, especially the communist and the sympathizer.

Buru Island becomes the worst place for the Buru Island prisoners. There is no transferring information in the place. The other civilian cannot access any information about the prisoner. There is no one who knows the prisoners daily. The situation is used by the military to show their power and authority by crimes against humanity act. The highest frequent of crimes against humanity is torture. The military regard the prisoners as animal.

In Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* on page 406 is written "That's what we called ourselves when they made us transport people, important people, on our backs, like horses." The high position of government's ability asks to the prisoners to do everything even though forcedly and hurt. The prisoners feel that they must work so hard in endless time like horses. Horse is one of animal which is known as important animal. They help people because they able to be transportation animal and they can bring luggage. In Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* the prisoner must work to build the badland Buru Island to be better. They must built barrack and land to producing food.

Unfortunately, the torture acts of military create assumption in the prisoner's mind that they are like an animal by verbal abuse. The verbal abuse can be causing mental severe of person. It is a part of over punishment and become a torture act in crimes against humanity. They are pushed to be pessimist and look down at them self. In the final, they believe that they are bad and it must be better if they are dead.

Crimes against humanity, especially for torture and persecution acts have begun before in Buru Island. In Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* told that Untarto, one of communist character gets crimes against humanity. Their action addressed to individual. They will not be punished although their action is crimes against humanity due to their authority. At that time, killing people is common activity.

In Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* is written "He told Amba that a comrade confirmed that Untarto was indeed dead. His body was found in an abandoned building near Fort Vredenburg. His skull was cracked open."

The individual offensive ever addressed to Untarto. The quotation above shows how tragically the

accident. Before he was killed, Untarto must be got persecution. His cracked skull shows that there is a persecution act. It was common happen it the time because the cold war between two sides. Untarto is one of member of communist. He is active in growing up the communism in Indonesia. Untarto and his communist friends have bad relation with government and military because they are in opposition.

The Untarto murdering accident is mysterious. There is no one knows who the murder. Nevertheless, almost all communist are enemy for non-communist. Non-communist is not only government and military, but also the civilian from other party. They are like an enemy in one country. Everyone could be kill their brother from other party.

5. Discrimination

Discrimination is one of crimes against humanity act. The act is marked by different treat to a community. The different treat could be in socialization, public facilities, politic, rule, etc. in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* is clear depicted of discrimination of non-communist people to the communist, from government to the Buru Island prisoners.

The prisoner's decision to stay in Buru Island is profitable for the government. Home becomes a hell for ex-prisoner. Their family judge that they are dead or they will not accept them again. It becomes a mental severe for them that able to involve as torture. Everyone must feel that the ex-prisoner is dangerous and must be avoid. They will ignore who they are, no matter family or friend. People opinion that is created succeed by the government bring in long time. The government had created two side, between communist and non-communist. Their mind is driven up that communist is unaccepted people that must be deleted because they are inhuman. They prefer to dead that live in around people. The situation is used by the government. In 1977 is told that the Buru Island prisoners are got their freedom. Almost all prisoners are repatriated to their village.

"In late '77, after the Suharto administration first announced plans to put an end to the prison camp, *corvée*—the term they used for unpaid labor—was phased out, despite each unit still being required to deliver a mandatory amount of logs daily." (Pamuntjak, 2013: 58)

The quotation above is news of the Buru Island prisoners' freedom. Their frightened lead them to choose living in Buru Island forever. Buru Island is the only one which accept the communist prisoners. However, they are Buru Island ex-prisoners, they must get legal residence permit from the government. The government must be

agreed of the decision. He let the ex-prisoners to live in Buru by reserve that they must be labor.

The ex-prisoners will not be common labor. In the quotation tells that they will be "unpaid labor." Their situation leads them to stay in Buru although they become unpaid labor. it is a government's discrimination act. The government's ability have controlled the communist live. Due to their status as ex-prisoners, they get different treat. Actually, although they are ex-prisoner, they should be paid because they are work for something. Payment is their right as a worker.

Resistance of toward crimes against humanity in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question Of Red*.

Response the crimes against humanity, Hollander cited in Jasper's quotation in 1997 that "Resistance is an act to show social movements or common known as "protest" (Hollander, 2004: 536). In *Conceptualizing Resistance*, Hollander and Einwohner simplify the typology of resistance into eight. The concept was built up by disagreement of the target, the actor, and the observer. **Overt resistance** is the most clear explain the resistance by refusal act in individual or organize. Almost all scholars agree that the act is intended and recognized as resistance by both the target and the actor, for example torture, sexual against, and rebellion. The second resistance is **Convert Resistance** that only recognized as resistance by the observer but the target unrecognized that the act as resistance and there is not seriously punishment in convert resistance. Woman gossip is intentional yet goes unnoticed by their targets, although they are recognized as resistance by other,

The third type of resistance is **Unwitting Resistance**. People are not intended the act as resistance, but the target and the observer recognized the act as resistance. Gay couple is not intended as resistance by the actor yet. In other hand, it is recognized as threatening by targets and other observers. Other resistances are similar with unwitting resistance, those **Target-defined resistance** and **Externally-defined resistance**. The act of both concepts is not intended as resistance, but in target-defined resistance, the target is the only act recognized as resistance, than the observer is not. Abusing people is not intended as resistance by comedian or the audience as observer because according to them, abusing is a joke, but the act recognized as resistance by target of joking. In contrast, the observer of externally-defined resistance is the only act recognized as resistance, that the target is unrecognized. The case such two close friend who abuse as joke. Both the target and actor unrecognized the act as resistance, but the third people or observer recognized the act as resistance.

If an act is intended as resistance and the target is recognized, but the observer is unrecognized and missed it, the act is involve as **Missed resistance** and if the act is intended as resistance but neither the target or the observer is recognize it as resistance, the act is involve as **Attempted resistance**. The last concept of resistance is **Not Resistance** that the act is not intended and is not recognized as resistance by all participants (Hollander, 2004:543-547).

Hollander and Einwohner summarized that the targets of resistance are variant. They can be individuals, groups, organizations, or institutions and social structures. Besides, the resistance scale is variable. It may be individual or collective, widespread or locally confined. These acts should be done structurally, at least have more power because the purpose of resist act is progressive or at least pro-social and resisting domination (Hollander, 2004:536).

In Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red*, resistance is balance response of crimes against humanity as a form of power. It is revealed by the civilian characters inside.

1. Overt Resistance

Buru Island is isolated land. No one may know any information about the prisoner's fate, and so are the prisoners easily. The Buru Island prisoners are not allowed to get any information because the military's blocking. Whereas the prisoners need to get information, especially information about their independent day. Their willing motivated them to do resist and broke the role.

One of resistance ways is getting information secretly. It is told in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* on page 455. "As soon as we've built a radio, all set up and ready to go, we have to hurry to dismantle the damn thing before the guards confiscate it."

The quotation above is Bhisma's letter to Amba. In his letter, Bhisma tells his condition to Amba. In Buru Island, people must have skills to survive. Bhisma has skill to make impermanent radio. He makes the radio and supports the other prisoners to get information. He calls the radio as "the damn thing," it means that he hates to the difficult condition. Its sound is useless when he must dismantle the Radio that had been assembled in order to hide it from the military guard. They must be tortured or killed if the military guard knows about their resist act. In contrast, the prisoner must keep save as long as the save radio. Radio is the only one information source. It is not only easy to assembled, but also it is easy to dismantle. Their act belongs to overt resistance because the prisoners as the actor intend their act to resist the role and the military guard as the target of resistance recognize the act as resistance.

In Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* on page 323 tells, "He said Isa and some others CGMI members had been arrested in the night and the others had gone into hiding." It is part when Amba was looking for Bhisma after Untarto's funeral day offense. She goes to *Bumi Tarung* that is known as on of save place for the communists. Amba hopes that she will meet Bhisma over there.

At the quotation above, tells about the current condition of *Bumi Tarung* after Untarto's funeral day offense. The communist cannot go everywhere since the tragedy. The word "arrested" and the word "hiding" is explicit word that they are marginalized. They have two choices, those arrest and they may be killed or hidden and save themselves in order to continue their resistance. If they are arrested, they will not be able to continue their vision, in other word the target recognize the hiding as resistance and the actors hide in order to do resist.

2. Convert Resistance

Their resistance is not exposed for all. Some activities must be hidden and secret. Indeed some sympathizers identity must be hidden to keep them save. In other words, the target does not recognize that any resistance, but the actor intend that the act is resistance. This type of resistance is called as convert resistance.

Before become the communist sympathizer, Bhisma had had under esteemed to the Bourgeoisie. It is disclosed in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* on page 213, "Besides, with all those money worries you're likely to die of a heart attack before you reach fifty. An anesthesiologist is different. An anesthesiologist is his only island, his only republic."

In the quotation above is told about Bhisma's point of view that become bourgeoisie is something bad. The word "money" is represent of people who have power and authority. In this novel, characters that have power and authority are the government and the military. Besides, in the quotation above shows a sarcastic sentence. According to Bhisma, the kinds of people are fool because their life is useless. It implicitly depicts in his sentence, "worries you're likely to die of a heart attack before you reach fifty." In general, heart attack is one of illness that have high frequent to killing people due to their lazed life. Besides, it common got by old people or more than fifty years old. Unhealthy people and bad behavior have high opportunity to reach it. In other words, wealth, money, or position is bad live. It is one of Bhisma's reasons not to be bourgeoisie and he resists the bourgeoisie although he is a bourgeoisie.

In two last sentences Bhisma tells about become anesthesiologist. According to Bhisma, anesthesiologist is only island, his only republic. The Bhisma's view is not recognized as resistance, but implicitly he intends to be different with other bourgeoisie. His different view leads Bhisma to be communist sympathizer.

3. Unwitting Resistance

"Violence, like it or not, is part of life." It is quote in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* on page 485. The quotation reveals unwitting resistance. The actor does not intend his word as resistance, but either the government or the military able to recognize the word as resistance.

In Buru Island, people get limited food. However they have to work hard in order to survive. In Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* tells how the prisoners get extra energy by extremely act.

"Many prisoners on rice field duty look forward to getting their extra protein from catching the *orong-orong* insect. They came out and float haplessly in the water when soil is crushed into it. Lizard are common, and there are *kelabang* too, a kind of crab-like spider." (Pamuntjak, 2013: 474)

The quotation above told that the prisoners must eat wild insect. Explicitly the reason of their act causing the military guard deprives of access the prisoner food. In other hand, the prisoners need more food to get energy and live. It is impossible for them to get extra food because of their status. The narrator told that they get extra protein by catching insect. The prisoners do not intend their act as resistance because the purpose of catching insect to get extra energy. However, their dangerous act interest people. The military guard able to recognize their act as resistance because they can show the torture in Buru Island. Indeed, if there is other people outside Buru Island know about it, they could respect to them and show that the government and the military do crimes against humanity. Therefore, their act is recognized as resistance by the military guard.

4. Externally Resistance

In Buru Island, the military guard has the highest authority. Therefore, the prisoners resistance reveal implicitly and passively. One of their act is written in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question Of Red* on page 412, "Like the time he watched a handful of guards beat a band of *tapol* to a pulp without trying to intervence. For a man so invested in helping others, this must have been particularly painful."

The military guard treats the Buru Prisoner like an animal. Some of them are asked to hit each other. In the quotation above, Bhisma asked to watch the painful accident. The military guard asks two Buru Island prisoners to hit and fist each other. Due to the similar fate, almost all Buru Island prisoners are brother. They feel that they should not hit each other. However, the military guard gives the difficult command for them. The condition must hurt Bhisma as the prisoner and as a doctor.

In the last sentence, the narrator explicitly tells, "this must have been particularly painful." The word "this" refers to the situation when Bhisma must face his two friends hit each other. In contrast, Bhisma can do nothing except watch it and keep silent.

In certain condition, keep silence is needed in order to support the other resistance act. In the dangerous land such Buru Island, people must be careful to make decision. The wrong decision may broke the other resistance planning or harm the other prisoners. Bhisma passively is not intended as resistance and the military guard is not recognized it as resistance. However, the observer recognizes the act as resistance because Bhisma can help to treat the two-man medicine after the incident. In other words, Bhisma helps to other resistance.

Resistance can also reveal by expression. It is difficult to recognize the resistance. In Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* on page 224, Amba describes Bhisma expression that able to depict implicitly resistance. "Amba realized that whenever someone made an anti-Communist remark, Bhisma kept quite, his expression tense."

In the quotation above, Bhisma is told that his expression is different when people are talking about communist. The government as the target will not recognize the expression as resistance and Bhisma as the actor does not intend his unconscious expression as resistance. However, the observer recognizes the act as resistance. 53 use Bhisma does not like when people talk about communist.

5. Missed Resistance

Other type of resistance reveal in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question Of Red* is missed resistance. Missed resistance is resistance that the target is recognized the resistance and the actor intends the resistance, but the observer does not recognize the resistance.

In Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* on page 265, "[...] The artist from the Bumi Tarung colony are made of the same stuff, the same spirit, although they are far from being mere imitators. They call their art Revolutionary Realism."

Bhisma knows more about communists' art. Bhisma and other communists represent their resistance by art. In the quotation Bhisma tells that the artist made of the same stuff, the same spirit. It means that they have same vision and mission to revolution. Amba the observer does not realize that purpose of the art is resistance, but the government knows about it.

Indeed, the communist common tells revolution word such "Danger is part of our struggle." (Pamuntjak, 2013:271) and "Turba is way of life" (Pamuntjak,

2013:272). The words have no meaning to observer. However, the words are intended to burn resistance spirit toward the government authority. Besides, the words are recognized as resistance by the government because there are heard as resistance, indeed the words are spoken by the communists.

6. Attempted Resistance

The last reveal resistance in Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* is Attempted Resistance. In the resistance, the actor is intended act as resistance but neither the target nor the observer recognizes it as resistance. Attempted resistance can be seen in Pamuntjak's novel when Bhisma begin to respect and sympathy to the communist. Bhisma chooses to study in German because of his mother's question. Actually, he dislikes going German, but he cannot refuse his mother's question because he has to exchange his father position that has passed way in one day.

"It was her son who though her what motherly loves was, even if he disappeared to Europe for years, only to return with funny ideas about property, parliamentary democracy and patriotism" (Pamuntjak, 2013: 214). The quotation is one of Bhisma resistance way. Bhisma has followed his mother's obsession. He goes to German and study surgeon there, but in German Bhisma learns about other thing. There he can learn about life struggling and learn about politic in life or communism. Bhisma should not study about communism because the reason of his study is medical study.

Bhisma intends his act as resistance to his mother. However, his mother do not recognize his act as resistance. As result Bhisma's mother though that her son is different. Bhisma doe not look like Bhisma that she knows beore. After come to German, Bhima prefer to care about politic. According to common civilian, politic is funny ideas. The civilian should not think about it because civilian who think about is only in opposing of government.

CONCLUSION

Crimes against humanity is crimes to attack an organization of multiply people, especially to civilian, either national or non-national. In Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red* crimes against humanity is analized into some part, those are extermination, imprisonment with arbitrary reason, force displacement, physical or mental torture of person, and discrimination. Crimes against humanity is representation of power. The act high lead resistance to response. In *Conceptualizing Resistance*, Hollander and Einwohner simplify the typology of resistance into eight. Overt, convert, unwitting resistance, target-defined resistance,

Externally-defined resistance, Missed resistance, Attempted resistance. The typologies of resistance are determined by the actor, the target, and the observer. In Laksmi Pamuntjak's *The Question of Red*, reveal six types of resistance, those are overt resistance, convert resistance, unwitting resistance, externally resistance, missed resistance, and attempted resistance.

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