

EPILOGUE

Jemma Purdey

This past December, I led a group of Australian students on a study tour to Indonesia, including a week of language and cultural immersion at a university in Bandung. The coordinators of the unit took the initiative to include a guest lecture in the program for our students and other foreign visitors, as well as their own graduate students in Citizenship studies. The topic of the lecture was Indonesian history and the *Pancasila*. As mine is a breadth subject open to enrolments from across faculties, in general my students had only a tacit knowledge of Indonesian history. The lecturer delivered his rather dry account as a chronology of Indonesian “pre-colonial”, “colonial” and “post-colonial” history with a concluding discussion on *Pancasila* as national ideology. My students found this latter aspect of his lecture to be the more stimulating (the idea of a “national ideology”, particularly with religion as its starting point, as it seems a provocative one for young Australians). Personally, despite his comprehensive chronological listing of historical events complete with detail of lives lost in the colonial wars against the Dutch, what struck me was that there was no mention at all of “1965” beyond the 30 September Movement and Suharto’s triumphant suppression of it. Not of the mass killings and purges of Communists. Not even as a footnote.

“1965” represents a period in Indonesian history roughly from 1965 to 1966 when an estimated half a million people were murdered (though some authors in this volume put this figure higher, see in this volume

Melvin & Pohlman), but also extending until the late 1970s, during which the state led a sustained campaign of terror and perpetrated other crimes against humanity including unlawful detention, torture, sexual enslavement and forced labour of hundreds of thousands more. Concealed as it was for decades, perhaps I was wrong to expect more disclosure in this particular forum. Nevertheless, as someone who has observed with close interest the opening up of this history in Indonesia these past two decades (however slowly, tentatively and fraught), this stark omission from the historical narrative presented to these students was a stinging disappointment.

In our own class discussion following the lecture, I mentioned this omission to my students, who are themselves only vaguely knowledgeable of it, and we talked about historiography and the selective nature of history telling. Following the lecture, there was an open, vibrant and rather rigorous discussion with the lecturer, which included challenging questions from the local post-graduate students of his position on *Pancasila*. However, not one raised the question of this missing entry.

In the 2005 edited volume, *Beginning to Remember: The Past in the Indonesian Present*, Mary Zurbuchen expressed her impatience at what she saw as a slowness amongst analysts, historians and other researchers and public officials to question and find new understandings of this period in Indonesia's past: "Why is it, ... that we have seen in Indonesia since 1998 so few thorough investigations, commissions, trials, textbook overhauls, rehabilitation, or other examples of 'getting to the bottom of' any one of the host of dimly understood incidents (*peristiwa*) that so many believe have taken place?" But she then goes on to concede, "It would be unfair, of course, to expect Indonesian society to deal with a diverse legacy of wrongs quickly and neatly" (2005, pp. 13–14).

More than ten years since the release of this seminal volume in what was then the emerging field of historical memory in Indonesia on 1965, Zurbuchen's call has in large part been heeded by a growing community of researchers, including Indonesians. In the past decade a significant body of new research of the "fact-finding" and truth-seeking kind has been produced through investigations by individual researchers, journalists, activists and organizations. Douglas Kammen and Katharine McGregor's edited book *Contours of Mass Violence* (2012) based on a conference held in Singapore in 2009, was an example of such scholarship, offering, as one reviewer described it

considered responses to questions such as when did the violence erupt, which parties were involved in which regions, why the death toll in a particular area was higher than the numbers of fatalities recorded in other locations, and whether there was any connection between the central government and the cases of violence emerging in various regions. (Adam, 2012)

In the past decade, the most important of the large fact-finding investigations was that conducted by the National Commission for Human Rights (Komnas HAM) and presented to the government for consideration in 2012. This breakthrough report “The Findings of the National Human Rights Commission on Human Rights Violations of 1965–1966” was then the basis for further evidence gathering and legal arguments assembled for the International People’s Tribunal (IPT) 1965 held in The Hague in November 2015, although the report itself remains suppressed by the government that commissioned it.

This current volume offers significant new empirical contributions to the field of this form of history writing and research on 1965 (see in this volume Melvin, Matsuno, Pohlman, Peters, Wahid, Hearman). But importantly, it also picks up where *Beginning to Remember* left off, with deep and revelatory work focused on the meanings of representations of this history, on the testimony of survivors and their families, thereby adding to what is now a deeply-rooted and maturing field of scholarly research on the historical memory on 1965. I will mention these in more detail shortly.

As Zurbuchen also noted over a decade ago, this research endeavour is tightly and irrevocably bound to the pursuit of transitional justice. This is an element for which the editors of this volume, all historians of 1965, would make no apologies and to which their work, including this book, commendably remains committed.

A CRITICAL MASS

In this field, the years 2012–2016 constitute something of a watershed for changing how and to whom this most contested and traumatic moment in Indonesia’s modern history was told and represented. In the lead up to the 50th anniversary of the commencement of the mass purges of Communists and their suspected sympathisers on 30

September 2015, a wave of public cultural, legal and scholarly activity emerged. This began with the extraordinary documentary feature film, *The Act of Killing*, by American filmmaker Joshua Oppenheimer (2012), followed by a special edition on the killings by *Tempo* magazine (2012) drawing on its own journalists' research, culminating in the groundbreaking report from Komnas HAM mentioned earlier. This documentation on 1965 added to a growing collection of publications including scholarly work, autobiographies and testimonial from victims and perpetrators and assumed something like a critical mass, which could no longer be ignored at home or overseas. Those involved urged that this momentum be continued into the 50th anniversary year and beyond with calls for still more documentation, storytelling, investigations and testimony (Hatley, 2013).

The goal for the survivors and their supporters is ultimately for such truth-seeking to lead to transitional justice, including acknowledgement of the crimes committed followed by reconciliation. A direct example of this effort was the "Say Sorry for 1965" campaign launched by Tapol in 2013 on the occasion of its 40th anniversary. "Say Sorry" was held in conjunction with screenings of *The Act of Killing*, and included using the film's imagery on its own campaign materials to gather support for a petition asking Indonesia's president (initially SBY, but ultimately Jokowi) to "acknowledge the truth about the atrocities and apologies to victims and their families" (Tapol, 2013).

This period of hyper-activity for research and activism on 1965 coincided with a period of renewed hope and anticipation of change in Indonesia under the new, non-establishment president Joko Widodo, elected in mid-2014. Many of those involved in human rights activism, including survivors of 1965 and their supporters, had significant expectations that the new president would stand by his election pledge to examine and pursue transitional justice for past cases of human rights violations, including 1965 (Wahyuningroem, 2016).

In 2015, the anniversary year, we saw a range of public events about 1965 take place in Indonesia—film screenings, academic seminars and conferences, artistic performances and literary discussions. However, as chapters in this volume detail, this period also saw a disturbing and deflating backlash against such opening up. From early 2015, threats against groups organising these events escalated and forced their closure (Leksana, 2015). These actions appeared random and localized and were mostly carried out by radical groups such as the Islamic Defenders Front

(FPI). In some cases, such as the Ubud Writers and Readers Festival cancellations in October 2015, to justify their threats against the festival organizers, local police called on a 1966 law prohibiting the spread of Communist ideology (McGregor & Purdey, 2015a). As Kate McGregor and I have written elsewhere, in looking for explanations for this unprecedented action by the Bali police, it is instructive to consider the complicity of the police in killings, torture, detention and surveillance of suspected Communists during the purges in Bali themselves (McGregor & Purdey, 2015b)¹: to look to the past for a better understanding of the present. Despite their seemingly local character, the consequence of such threats was indeed a nationwide heightening of awareness among this community of activists and survivors, and in many cases a period of reduced public activity.

THE GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

In this volume, Andrew Conroe observes how in contrast to the heightened tension around 1965 events in 2015–2016, in the mid-2000s in Yogyakarta at a time when this long taboo history was just starting to emerge from the shadows for public discussion and reimagining, there were no such threats. As the editors and contributors to this book highlight, today the prospect of an “official” state-sponsored re-imagining, re-telling and reconciliation of this past, acceptable to both survivors and their families, their supporters, the activist community and the government and military, remains some way off.

Indicative of the stance taken in recent years is the rejection of any possibility of a government apology. On 1 October 2015, for example, former coordinating minister of Politics, Law and Security and close confidant of the President, Luhut Panjaitan stated: “The President just said that there are no thoughts on apologizing. I have said many times: We are looking forward. Don’t ever look backward” (Lala, cited in voa.com, 1 October 2015). He repeated this position more forcefully in May 2016 in his opening statement to the government-backed conference on 1965. It was a “reality-check”, perhaps, to those optimists who had expected more and faster improvements from Jokowi’s government on human rights, including 1965. The government-backed symposium invited testimony from both “sides” of this historical debate—from the military, as well as survivors and their family members, as well as “experts”. It

was significant as the first such occasion at which the survivors could be heard so widely. The event was broadcast live on the internet.

The decision on whether or not to issue an apology for past crimes against humanity as other national governments have done, including Australia and South Africa, became a focus for the media; however, of greater concern to those involved on the survivors' side was the government's lack of control or condemnation (read as tacit approval) of increasing hostility from groups opposing the symposium, military factions and the anti-Communist *Front Pembela Islam* (FPI, Islamic Defenders' Front). This included factions led by powerful figures, former Vice-President Try Sutrisno and current Minister for Defence, Ryamizard Ryacudu. As described here in Stephen Miller's and Evanty and Pohlman's chapters, the political role of the FPI and the anti-Communist "symposium in response" held in June 2016, reveal how alive and critical this history remains for those close to the institutions of state for whom anti-Communist and anti-Left rhetoric remains an ideological keystone. As several authors in this book detail, despite the fall of the New Order and almost 20 years of national reforms, impunity appears to be an insurmountable obstacle to the ultimate goal of truth-telling, justice and reconciliation for the survivors and their families (this volume, Evanty & Pohlman; Setiawan; Wahyuningroem). But the message one takes from this volume is far from one of defeat. In itself, this work represents some of the growing body of documentation gathered, voices represented and portrayed in films and artistic and cultural works as well as scholarship, that inevitably, as Pohlman eloquently puts it in her chapter, "brings light to those dark places" where these crimes have remained hidden since 1965.

SECOND GENERATION SCHOLARSHIP

Zurbuchen, Vickers and Heryanto are amongst those who have debated the "impossibility" of a history of 1965 where history means achieving a "full understanding" of "what really happened" (Heryanto, 2014, p. 107). The contributors to this book, many of them young, emerging scholars, would accept this as a challenge. The studies contained here are concerned with the scholarly interrogation of the processes, to paraphrase Conroe here, of "making and contesting history about 1965" in Indonesia today. The first half of the volume opens with chapters deep in new research made possible by access to heretofore unseen archival

documents (Melvin, Wahid, Matsuno, Sawita) and new approaches to use of testimony (Pohlman, Hearman). To frame their work, these scholars, who include several young Indonesian scholars, draw on what could be called the first generation of research in this field (for example, Robinson, Dhakidae, Farid, White, Coppel, Cribb)—which was at the time and remains ground-breaking and myth-smashing history-writing on this period. This new research extends and deepens these findings, made possible through the discovery of new sources and methodologies. Melvin’s serendipitous discovery of “smoking gun” documents in government archives in Aceh and Wahid’s bold requests to research his own university’s records are two examples demonstrating the potential that still lies hidden in archives of government and other institutions, awaiting investigation. What is more, given the enduring political and social atmosphere about 1965 in Indonesia, in many cases these researchers undertake their work with a significant level of courage; plunging into institutional archives and personnel records, recounting in lucid detail victim testimony as precious oral histories (Pohlman), potentially stirring up what remain “haunting memories” of this period for organizations, individual victims and perpetrators alike.

This *second generation* of scholarship is also evident in the section of this volume dedicated to discussion of the ways in which 1965 is remembered, embodied, socialized and, in some cases, resolved (Wahyuningroem). Within this fine and diverse collection the researchers focus on the “personal” as the site for this “history” to be acted out in various forms. There are several chapters concerned with the multi-generational nature of this history, in its telling (Conroe), remembering (Setiawan), and the continuation of its trauma (Dragojlovic, McGregor). As Setiawan describes it, this constitutes a form of post-memory, the transmission of personal memory to the children and grandchildren of survivors of 1965, but also to generations of Indonesian children born since the 1980s. Much like the powerful sequel to Oppenheimer’s *Act of Killing*, the searing *Look of Silence* (2015), these chapters remind us that this past is very much “living” in the present for those children and grandchildren of ex-political prisoners or “Anak’ 65”.

Chapters from McGregor and Lis remind us that as the 1965 narrative transcends the “Indonesian” story. The creative expressions of the Papermoon Puppet Theatre and artist Dadang Christanto bestows on this history an appropriate and necessary universal rendering, with global themes of suffering, oppression, bearing witness and memorialization

intended for both domestic and international audiences. Indeed, chapters by Evanty and Pohlman and Wahyuningroem make very clear that the internationalisation of “1965” is increasingly critical, it would seem, for those hoping to achieve some form of transitional justice. The government’s pursuit of a plan to facilitate a process of reconciliation without first acknowledging and acceptance of the facts—“what happened”—as presented by its own Human Rights Commission in its 2012 report (let alone the IPT 1965 evidence and findings, IPT 2015; 2016) meant that by mid-2016 activists and survivors who spearheaded the IPT 1965 and continue to drive this project were resolved to the fact that its goals could not be reached through internal processes alone (McGregor & Purdey, 2016). They planned to use the results of the tribunal to petition to the United Nations Human Rights Council to consider the 1965 case.

CONCLUSION

My history lesson in Bandung this past December was a timely reminder of the critical importance of the work being done by the contributors to this volume and those about whom they write—survivors, their supporters and children, artists, journalists, filmmakers. Over 50 years since these events occurred and almost 20 years since the fall of the regime founded on this legacy of violence and terror, recording and acknowledging the “1965 tragedy” in Indonesia’s historical narrative (in whichever version) cannot yet be counted as a given. For those survivors and their supporters, this is indeed slow progress to a national awareness and acknowledgment of this history. Several generations of Indonesians born since these events were steeped in the fears and terrorising that accompanied these horrors. The taboos and resulting silences remain and have been passed on to their children. Without open discussion and contestation the myth of anti-Communism prevails and both official and unofficial censorship continues.

This current generation of scholars and scholar-activists is continuing the work of those who embarked on such research under great duress in the New Order period, and in the early post-*Reformasi* facilitated the breaking down and opening up of this narrative. Today this work continues to face challenges, not least the denial of the importance of coming to terms with the past for forging a better future for Indonesians. Some Indonesians, including many in the government, ask, “Why open up this

painful past?” The work ahead remains but as the scholarship in this volume shows, there is also much hope, not least due to the work already done over many decades to assemble this critical mass of documentation, testimonies and narratives. As a consequence, this part of Indonesia’s history can no longer be overlooked.

Melbourne, 19 January 2017

NOTE

1. This volume includes several chapters concerned with Bali as a major site of mass violence in 1965 and beyond. In newly accessed sources, they reveal new insights into the roles of land reform, factionalism within the military and involvement of the police force in the program of terror.

REFERENCES

- Adam, A. W. (2012, September 1). *The Jakarta Post*.
- Hatley, R. (2013, April 20). Truth takes a while, justice even longer. *Inside Indonesia*. Retrieved from <http://www.insideindonesia.org/truth-takes-a-while-justice-even-longer>.
- Heryanto, A. (2014). *Identity and pleasure: The politics of Indonesian screen culture*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- IPT 1965. (2015, October 28). The indictment. Retrieved from <http://www.tribunal1965.org/indictment-1965-tribunal/>.
- IPT 1965. (2016, July 20). Press statement on findings. Retrieved from <http://www.tribunal1965.org/press-statement-on-the-findings-and-recommendations-of-the-ipt-1965/>.
- Kammen, D., & McGregor, K. E. (Eds.). (2012). *The contours of mass violence in Indonesia, 1965–68*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Lala, A. (2015, October 1). Indonesian president says no apology for 1965. *voa.com*. Retrieved from <http://www.voanews.com/a/indonesian-president-no-apology-massacre/2987854.html>.
- Leksana, G. (2015, March 17). Silencing the look of silence. *Inside Indonesia*. Retrieved from <http://www.insideindonesia.org/silencing-the-look-of-silence>.
- McGregor, K. E., & Purdey, J. (2015a, October 26). Memories of violence: Forbidden not forgotten. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved from <http://www.smh.com.au/comment/what-is-so-dangerous-about-discussing-1965-violence-in-indonesia-20151025-gki7dz.html>.

- McGregor, K. E., & Purdey, J. (2015b, November 2). Shining a light on police complicity in 1965. *New Mandala*. Retrieved from <http://www.newmandala.org/shining-a-light-on-police-complicity-in-1965/>.
- McGregor, K. E., & Purdey, J. (2016, July 29). The IPT 1965 is a historic moral intervention. Will it finally lead to action? *Indonesia at Melbourne*. Retrieved from <http://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/the-ipt-1965-is-a-historic-moral-intervention-will-it-finally-lead-to-action/>.
- Tapol. (2013). “Say Sorry” campaign. Retrieved from <http://tapol.org/saysorryfor65>.
- Wahyuningroem, A. (2016, July 18). Justice denied. *Inside Indonesia*. Retrieved from <http://www.insideindonesia.org/justice-denied>.
- Zurbuchen, M. (Ed.). (2005). *Beginning to remember: The past in the Indonesian present (Critical dialogues in Southeast Asian studies)*. Seattle: Singapore University Press in association with University of Washington Press.

GLOSSARY

- Abangan*, nominal Muslim, especially in Java
- ABRI (*Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia*, Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia), former name for the Armed Forces, now called the TNI (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia*)
- AGO (Attorney General's Office)
- Aksi sepihak* (unilateral action), land reform program undertaken by the PKI and associated organizations
- anak PKI* (child of a communist), a derogatory epithet
- Ansor, youth wing of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)
- Banser (*Barisan Serba Guna Ansor*, Multipurpose Ansor Brigade), a paramilitary militia formed within Ansor in the early 1960s
- BAPERKI (*Badan Permusyawaratan Kewarganegaraan Indonesia*, Deliberative Association for Indonesian Citizenship), an Indonesian Chinese political organization with ties to the PKI
- bersih diri, bersih lingkungan* (clean self, clean environment), refers to an anti-communist campaign commencing in the 1980s
- BTI (*Barisan Tani Indonesia*, Indonesian Peasants' Front), peasant organization affiliated with the PKI
- bupati*, regent, head of a *kabupaten*, the major administrative division between province- and village-level governance
- Cakrabirawa*, Sukarno's Presidential Guard

- CAT (Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment)
- CGMI (*Consentrasi Gerakan Mahasiswa Indonesia*, Indonesian Student Movement Centre), a leftist student movement disbanded after the 1965 coup attempt
- CHTH (*Chung Hua Tsung Hui*, Chinese Committee for the Preservation of Peace and Order)
dalang, mastermind, puppet master
- DEMA (*Dewan Mahasiswa*, Council of University Students), Student council
desa, village
- Dewan Jenderal*, Council of Generals, a group of Army generals who allegedly plotted a military coup against Sukarno
- Dewan Revolusi*, Revolution Council, a steering body set up by the coup organizers in Jakarta as a kind of governing council
- DGI (*Dewan Gereja-gereja Indonesia*, Indonesian Council of Churches)
- DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*, People's Representative Council)
- Dodik (*Depo Pendidikan*, Education Depot), an Army education and training centre
- dwifungsi* (dual function), the name given to the dual military and political function of the Indonesian Armed Forces
- Dwikora* (People's Double Command), the name given by Sukarno for the involvement of civilians in *Konfrontasi* in May 1964
- ECCC (Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia)
- ELSAM (*Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi Masyarakat*, Institute for Policy Research and Advocacy)
- FAKI (*Front Anti-Komunis Indonesia*, Indonesian Anti-Communist Front)
- Fifth Force, a PKI-supported "people's army" to be made up of armed labourers and peasants
- FPI (*Front Pembela Islam*, Islamic Defenders' Front)
- G30S (*Gerakan Tiga Puluh September*, Thirtieth September Movement), formal name of the movement which launched the 30 September 1965 coup, led by Colonels Untung and Latief, which kidnapped and killed six generals and one general's aide
- Ganyang Malaysia* (Destroy Malaysia), a *Konfrontasi* campaign launched by Sukarno in September 1963

- Gerwani (*Gerakan Wanita Indonesia*, Indonesian Women's Movement), a mass-based women's organization with close links to, but not formally affiliated with, the PKI
- Gestapu*, acronym for the 30 September Movement, coined by Brigadier General Sugandhi, Director of the Armed Forces' daily newspaper, *Angkatan Bersendjata*
- GKI (*Gereja Kristen Indonesia*, Indonesian Christian Church)
- GKJW (*Gereja Kristen Jawi Wetan*, East Javanese Protestant Church)
- GMNI (*Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasionalis Indonesia*, Indonesian Nationalist Student Movement)
- Golkar (*Golongan Karya*, Functional Groups), the name of the New Order government's electoral party
- Guided Democracy, the political system proclaimed by President Sukarno in 1959
- Hanra (*Pertahanan Rakyat*, People's Defence), civilian militia under Army control
- Hansip (*Pertahanan Sipil*, Civil Defence), civilians under Army control, similar to Hanra
- HMI (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*, Islamic University Students' Association)
- HSI (*Himpunan Sarjana Indonesia*, also spelled *Himpoenan Sardjana Indonesia*, Indonesian Graduates' Association), an organization associated with the PKI
- ICCPR (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights)
- IMM (*Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah*, Muhammadiyah University Students' Association)
- Indisch*, Indonesian-Dutch; a person of Indonesian-Dutch heritage
- IPB (*Institut Pertanian Bogor*, Bogor Agricultural Institute)
- IPKI (*Ikatan Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia*, Alliance of Supporters of Indonesian Independence)
- IPPI (*Ikatan Pemuda Pelajar Indonesia*, League of Indonesian Student Youth), a students' association affiliated with the PKI
- IPT65 (International People's Tribunal for 1965), a people's tribunal held in 2015
- ISRI (*Ikatan Sarjana Republik Indonesia*, Indonesian Association of University Graduates)
- kabupaten*, regency, the major territorial administrative division between province (*propinsi*) and village (*desa*) level governance

- KAMI (*Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia*, Indonesian Students' Action Front), an anti-Communist group formed in October 1965
- kampung*, hamlet, cluster of dwellings
- KAP-Gestapu (*Komite Aksi Pengganyangan Gerakan Tigapuluh September*, Action Committee for the Destruction of the Thirtieth September Movement)
- KAPPI (*Kesatuan Aksi Pelajar Pemuda Indonesia*, Indonesian Student and Youth Action Front), an anti-Communist group made up of mainly university students, similar to KAMI
- KBG (*Komunis Gaya Baru*, New Style Communism)
- KBM (*Kesatuan Buruh Marhaen*, United Marhaenist Labor)
- kebaktian*, prayer meeting
- kecamatan*, territorial administrative division between *kabupaten* (regency) and *desa* (village)
- kelurahan*, formal administrative term for village (*desa*)
- ketoprak*, a theatre genre in Java involving singing accompanied by *gamelan* orchestra
- kiai/kyai*, a Muslim religious scholar
- KKPK (*Koalisi Keadilan dan Pengungkapan Kebenaran*, Coalition for Justice and the Disclosure of Truth)
- KKR (*Komisi Kebenaran dan Rekonsiliasi*, Truth and Reconciliation Commission)
- KODAHAN (*Komando Daerah Pertahanan*, Joint Regional Defence Command), later called KOHANDA (Regional Defence Command) in Aceh
- KODAM (*Komando Daerah Militer*, Regional Military Command)
- KODEMA (*Komisariat Dewan Mahasiswa*, Student Council Commissariat)
- KODIM (*Komando District Militer*, District Military Command)
- KOLAGA (*Komando Mandala Siaga*, Area Alert Command)
- Komnas HAM (*Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia*, National Commission on Human Rights)
- Konfrontasi* (Confrontation), the Indonesian military campaign to oppose the formation of Malaysia, 1963–1966
- KOPKAMTIB (*Komando Operasi Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban*, Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order), the military organization with special powers created by Suharto shortly after the 1 October 1965 coup which oversaw

- much of the killings and which remained in various forms throughout the New Order
- KORAMIL (*Komando Rayon Militer*, Military Sub-district Command)
- KOREM (*Komando Resort Militer*, Sub-regional Military Command)
- KOSEKHAN (*Komando Sektor Pertahanan*, Defence Sector Command)
- KOSTRAD (*Komando Cadangan Strategis Angkatan Darat*, Army Strategic Reserve Command), commanded by Suharto at the time of the 1965 coup
- KOTI (*Komando Operasi Tertinggi*, Supreme Operations Command)
- LEKRA (*Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat*, Institute of People's Culture), a cultural organization made up of writers, artists and performers associated with the PKI
- LOGIS (*Lanjutan Organisasi Gerilya Indonesia Seluruhnya*, Continuation of the All-Indonesia Guerrilla Organization), a land reform movement in the 1950s
- LP3ES (*Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan, dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial*, Institute for Economic and Social Research, Education and Information)
- Lubang Buaya* (Crocodile Hole), the name given to the well in which the seven victims of the 30 September Movement were thrown, and a central feature in the New Order regime's propaganda about the 30 September coup
- ludruk*, a theatre genre from East Java, often involving comedic life stories of everyday people and their struggles
- lurah*, village head
- Mahmillub (*Mahkamah Militer Luar Biasa*, Extraordinary Military Tribunal), a court created to try leaders of the 30 September Movement during the New Order
- Mandala Satu* (First Mandala) Command (also *Mandala Dua*, Second Mandala Command), set up in Sumatra during *Konfrontasi*
- Manipol (*Manifesto Politik*, Political Manifesto), part of Sukarno's political rhetoric during the Guided Democracy era, also written as Manipol-USDEK
- Masyumi, a modernist Islamic political party, banned by Sukarno in 1960
- MAWI (*Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia*, Indonesian Bishops' Conference)

- MK (*Mahkamah Konstitusi*, Constitutional Court)
- MP3 (*Masyarakat Pendukung Prabowo Presiden*, Society for Supporters of Prabowo for President)
- MPR (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat*, People's Consultative Assembly)
- Modin*, Islamic religious officiant
- Muhammadiyah (Followers of Muhammad), a mass-based modernist Islamic social organization, founded in 1912
- MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, Indonesian Council of Ulama/Religious Leaders)
- NASAKOM (*Nasionalisme, Agama, Komunisme*, Nationalism, Religion, Communism), a political slogan created by Sukarno to try to unite various factions during the Guided Democracy era
- NEFOS (New Emerging Forces), a political slogan created by Sukarno
- NU (*Nadlatul Ulama*, Revival of the Muslim Scholars), a mass-based Islamic organization, founded in 1926
- Operasi Trisula* (Operation Trident), a military campaign to wipe out Communist bases in South Blitar, East Java, in 1968
- Opsus (*Operasi Khusus*, Special Operations), a domestic intelligence agency dominated by Lieutenant General Ali Murtopo during the early New Order period involved in creating propaganda
- Orde Baru (New Order), the name coined in 1966 for the new Army-led regime under Suharto
- Orde Lama (Old Order), the name coined in 1966 to refer to former President Sukarno's reign
- Pemuda Pancasila (Pancasila Youth), an anti-Communist youth militia group
- Pemuda Rakyat (People's Youth), the youth wing of the PKI
- PETA (*Pembela Tanah Air*, Homeland Defenders)
- PETANI (*Persatuan Tani Nasional Indonesia*, Indonesian National Farmers' Association), a PNI-affiliated association
- PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*, Indonesian Communist Party)
- PMII (*Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia*, Indonesian Muslim Student Movement)
- PMKRI (*Persatuan Mahasiswa Katolik Republik Indonesia*, The Republic of Indonesia's Catholic University Students' Union)
- PNI (*Partai Nasionalis Indonesia*, Indonesian Nationalist Party)

- PPKI (*Persatuan Politik Katolik Indonesia*, Indonesian Catholic Political Union)
- Qur'an (al-Qur'an), Islamic holy book
- RKKS (*Rukun Kampung Kota Surabaya*, Surabaya City Kampung Association)
- RPKAD (*Resimen Para Komando Angkatan Darat*, Army Para-Commando Regiment)
- santri*, student at an Islamic school, also refers to a devout Muslim, especially in Java
- SARBUPRI (*Sarekat Buruh Kebutanan Republik Indonesia*, Plantation Workers' Union of the Republic of Indonesia), affiliated with the PKI
- SEKBER 65 (*Sekretariat Bersama 65*, Joint Secretariat for Victims of 1965)
- slametan*, a ritual meal
- SKP HAM (*Solidaritas Korban Pelanggaran HAM*, Solidarity for Victims of Human Rights Violations)
- SOBSI (*Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia*, All-Indonesia Organization of Labor Unions), a unions' federation associated with the PKI
- Supersemar (*Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret*, Letter of 11 March 1966), the letter signed by Sukarno on that date granting Suharto the authority to take whatever measures he deemed necessary to restore order in the aftermath of the genocide; letter used by Suharto to usurp executive powers from Sukarno
- Taman Melati* (Melati Gardens), kindergartens set up by Gerwani in the 1950s
- Tameng*, civilian militia group involved in the killings primarily in Bali
- Tameng Marhaenis*, PNI-affiliated youth group, involved in the killings
- TAP MPRS XXV 1966 (*Ketetapan Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara, No. XXV, tahun 1966*, People's Assembly Decree No. 25 of 1966), the ban on "all activities that spread or develop Communist/Marxist-Leninist ideas of teachings"
- tapol* (*tahanan politik*, political prisoner); also 'E/T' which stood for 'ex-tapol' was stamped on former political prisoners' identity cards after release
- TAPOL, the British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

teeter bone, puppet theatre, a genre of stage theatre which involves the manipulation of large puppets (*boneka*)

UCLA (University of California, Los Angeles)

UGM (*Universitas Gadjah Mada*, Gadjah Mada University)

UI (*Universitas Indonesia*, University of Indonesia)

ulama, Islamic scholar

uragam (*urusan agama*, detainees who acted as religious guidance officers)

UUPA (*Undang-Undang Poko Agraria*, Basic Agrarian Law Act) of 1960

wayang kulit, shadow puppet, also a genre of theatre performance

YHB (*Yayasan Hidup Baru*, New Life Foundation)

INDEX

A

- ABRI (*Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia*, Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia), 367
- A-Category political prisoners. *See* tapol
- Aceh, 13, 15, 39, 40, 52, 56–67, 192, 249, 363
- affect, 20, 54, 271–273, 279–281
- affective atmosphere, 271, 272, 279, 280
- affective transfer, 15
- Agrarian Law of 1960. *See* Aksi sepihak
- Aidit, DN, 85. *See also* PKI
- Aksi sepihak* (unilateral action) land reform, 10, 16–17, 91, 110, 166, 365
- Alwi, Muhammad Nazir, 171
- Ansor, 180, 294. *See also* NU
- anti-Communism. *See* communism; propaganda
- Argentina, 34, 35, 158
- military junta repression (1974–83), 34
- Army, 5, 8, 10–17, 33, 35, 40, 56, 57, 60, 62, 63, 65, 71–76, 81, 84–88, 91, 92, 105, 107–111, 117, 122, 125, 126, 133, 139, 140, 144, 146, 148, 152, 158, 168, 169, 171, 172, 179, 184–186, 193, 201, 216, 221, 238, 243, 260, 272, 289, 295–297, 301, 348
- Army personnel, 11, 13, 14, 73–82, 86, 118, 119, 122, 124, 129, 140, 144, 146, 149, 259, 261–262, 326, 351
- art, 166, 241, 242, 256, 291, 292
- artistic responses to the 1965 genocide, 138
- see also* popular culture
- Assman, Jan, 218
- Assmann, Aleida, 218, 225
- Australia, 6, 9, 15, 19, 92, 235–241, 243, 244, 247–249, 262, 273, 362
- involvement in 1965 killings, 92, 175, 243, 314

B

- Bali, 14–17, 71–79, 81–87, 89–96, 98–101, 103–106, 108–110, 211, 246, 361, 365
- Banser (*Barisan Serba Guna Ansor*, Multipurpose Ansor Brigade), 15
- BAPERKI (*Badan Permusyawaratan Kewarganegaraan Indonesia*, Deliberative Association for Indonesian Citizenship), 13, 38
- baptism, 190
- Baptist Church, 184
- Battalion 741, 75, 77, 81, 82, 86
- B-Category political prisoners. *See* tapol
Bersih diri, bersih lingkungan, 220. *See also* discrimination
- BTI (*Barisan Tani Indonesia*, Indonesian Peasants' Front), 9, 13, 21, 90, 91, 97, 101–103, 107, 109, 118, 122, 125. *See also* PKI
- Bukit Duri women's prison, 189. *See also* detention
- Buru Island, 190, 191, 206, 208, 219, 224, 226. *See also* detention
- C**
- Cakrabirawa Regiment, 82
- Cambodia, 30, 33, 37, 40, 41, 164, 237, 238
Democratic Kampuchea regime, 41
genocide in, 30, 33, 34, 37, 40–42
see also ECCC
- Carri SJ, C., 185
- Catholic Church, 181, 185, 186, 188, 189, 191, 230
- Catholic Party, 100, 105, 183, 185, 186
- C-Category political prisoners. *See* tapol
- CGMI (*Consentrasi Gerakan Mahasiswa Indonesia*, Indonesian Student Movement Centre), 165, 166, 168, 169, 172
- children, 1, 6, 12, 13, 18, 20, 97, 109, 117, 118, 122, 124, 129, 142, 150, 190, 199–203, 205, 206, 209, 222, 223, 235, 244, 253, 256–258, 260, 261, 264, 266, 270, 271, 273, 274, 277, 278, 281, 282, 363, 364
- harm of and discrimination against, 13, 18–19, 118, 124, 129, 190, 199–202, 222–223, 235, 244, 253, 271–274, 277–279
- of PKI members and affiliates, 16
- relationships with parents, 183, 200–204
- separation from, 4, 11, 12, 122–123, 125, 126, 129, 190
see also pregnancy
- China, 9, 16, 33, 34, 39, 53
- Chinese-Indonesians
persecution of, 5, 9, 13, 21, 28, 38–42, 180, 243–244
- Christanto, Dadang, 19, 235, 239, 242, 249, 363
- Christianity, 18, 180–183, 187, 191, 192
“Christianization”, 192
- CHTH (*Chung Hua Tsung Hui*, Chinese Committee for the Preservation of Peace and Order), 172
- Cold War, 2, 3, 9, 30, 37, 42, 53, 158–160, 184, 208, 248, 270, 287, 290, 302
- communism, 2, 9, 18, 20, 36, 72, 79, 110, 140, 159, 164, 187, 208, 209, 237, 239, 249, 287–292, 295–304, 319–321, 364
- anti-Communist discourse, 6, 18, 20, 36, 87, 117, 158, 186,

220, 239, 244, 254, 255,
287–304, 347, 364
ban on, 319–321
latent communist threat, 291, 297,
298
see also PKI
conditions in detention. *See* detention
congregation, 183, 187, 189
conversion, 18, 180–183, 187, 189,
192, 193
coup, 30 September/1 October 1965.
See G30S
Cribb, Robert, 3, 4, 8, 21, 32, 39, 98,
130, 134, 142, 176, 238, 272
Crimes against humanity, 41, 117,
126–129, 221, 317, 318, 325,
336, 358, 362
sexual violence as, 126–127
see also violence

D

dalang, 226, 254, 258
Darmoyuwono, 185
death toll, 1965 genocide, 12
DEMA (*Dewan Mahasiswa*, Council
of University Students), Student
council, 165
detention, 13, 14, 116–118, 121, 123,
124, 127, 129, 191, 193, 216,
219–221, 230, 262, 312, 358,
361
camps and centres, 13, 19, 82, 116,
119, 172, 189, 190, 216–224
conditions in, 13, 118, 121, 123,
216
Dewan Jenderal (Council of Generals),
72, 77, 82. *See also* G30S
Dewan Revolusi (Revolutionary
Council), 72, 76, 78, 79, 82, 84,
167. *See also* G30S

DGI (*Dewan Gereja-gereja Indonesia*,
Indonesian Council of Churches),
183, 184
Dhani, Omar, 56
Diponegoro Division, 74, 75. *See also*
Army
discrimination, 21, 182, 199, 201,
220, 244, 245, 319
against family members, 245, 319
against former tapol, 123, 216–218,
220, 223, 227–229
see also *bersih diri*, *bersih lingkungan*
disease, contraction of, 94, 202, 221
death from, 221
Djuarsa, Ishak, 40, 56
dwifungsi (dual function), 368. *See also*
Army
Dwikora (People's Double
Command), 52, 54–57, 63, 64.
See also *Konfrontasi*

E

East Timor, Indonesian occupation of
(1975–1999), 239, 296, 305
ECCC (Extraordinary Chambers in
the Courts of Cambodia), 41. *See*
also Cambodia
Effendi, Iwan, 256, 262
elections, 140, 153, 220, 297, 320,
339, 347, 348
general elections of 1955, 7
presidential elections of 2014, 288,
296
ELSAM (*Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi*
Masyarakat, Institute for Policy
Research and Advocacy), 317
extrajudicial arrests, 313. *See also*
violence
extrajudicial killings, 348. *See also*
violence

Extraordinary Military Tribunal. *See*
Mahmillub

F

FAKI (*Front Anti-Komunis Indonesia*, Indonesian Anti-Communist Front), 288, 290, 297, 303, 304, 347

fascism, 288, 289, 303
in Indonesia, 303

Flores, 183, 185, 192, 318
Maumere, 318

forced labour, 6, 13, 116, 216, 221, 228, 358. *See also* violence

FPI (*Front Pembela Islam*, Islamic Defenders' Front), 288, 290, 297–299, 302–304, 326, 347

G

G30S (*Gerakan Tiga Puluh September*, Thirtieth September Movement), 40, 71, 167, 291, 301, 320

attempted coup, 11, 72, 82

members of, 40

Ganyang Malaysia (Destroy Malaysia). *See* Konfrontasi

gendered forms of violence, 17, 116

forms of, 134

perpetrators of, 1, 30, 123, 260, 315

victims of, 128

see also rape; violence

genocide, 2–8, 11, 12, 15–21, 27–42, 51–53, 58, 61, 62, 65, 92, 126, 128, 134, 216, 236–238, 248, 270, 271, 282, 287, 289

definitions of, 2, 4, 28

of 1965, 2, 4–6, 8, 11, 16–21, 27–29, 31–34, 36–39, 42, 51–53, 58, 62, 65, 117, 126,

128, 133, 134, 215, 216, 238, 248, 270, 287

risk factors for, 7

scholarship of 1965 case, 294, 324, 326, 337, 349, 364

Gerwani (*Gerakan Wanita Indonesia*, Indonesian Women's Movement), 9, 12, 13, 66, 91, 117–118, 122, 125, 139, 145, 153

GKI (*Gereja Kristen Indonesia*, Indonesian Christian Church), 181

GKJW (*Gereja Kristen Jawi Wetan*, East Javanese Protestant Church), 181, 186

GMNI (*Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasionalis Indonesia*, Indonesian Nationalist Student Movement), 165, 166

Golkar (*Golongan Karya*, Functional Groups), 289, 299, 302, 347

Guided Democracy, 7, 8, 81, 87, 88, 142, 144, 163, 166, 184, 185, 257

H

Habibie, Bacharuddin Jusuf, 313
Heads from the North (2004), 236, 239–243, 245–249. *See also*

Christanto, Dadang

Hidayat, Tamuri, 73, 74, 76–78, 83, 85, 87

Hirsch, Marianne, 218. *See also* memory

HMI (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*, Islamic University Students' Association), 165, 171

Holocaust, 30, 33, 34, 92, 236, 237, 248, 249, 262, 267, 281, 282

HSI (*Himpunan Sarjana Indonesia*, Indonesian Graduates' Association), 165

I

IMM (*Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah*, Muhammadiyah University Students' Association), 165

incitement. *See* propaganda

Indisch (Indonesian-European), 269, 271–276, 281

intellectual, 101, 146, 158, 159, 175, 219, 292, 302

violence against, 175, 298, 301

see also victims

intergenerational trauma, 267. *See also* discrimination; trauma

interrogation, 13, 83, 84, 118, 119, 122, 149, 150, 171, 222, 272, 362

process of, 171, 172

see also detention; torture; victims

IPB (*Institut Pertanian Bogor*, Bogor Agricultural Institute), 159

IPKI (*Ikatan Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia*, Alliance of Supporters of Indonesian Independence), 100, 105

IPPI (*Ikatan Pemuda Pelajar Indonesia*, League of Indonesian Student Youth), 169

IPT65 (International People's Tribunal for 1965), 5, 36, 38–39, 41, 128, 131, 174, 324–325, 359, 364

ISRI (*Ikatan Sarjana Republik Indonesia*, Indonesian Association of University Graduates), 164

J

Jakarta, 9, 11, 14, 42, 64, 66, 67, 72, 74, 77, 79, 82–85, 90, 91, 105, 109, 121, 138, 141, 145, 160, 161, 167, 168, 176, 185, 190,

192, 201, 204, 220, 226, 230, 231, 242, 256, 258, 262, 292, 297–299, 301, 304, 305, 326, 328, 343, 350, 353

Java, 10, 13–16, 21, 39, 66, 71, 81, 85, 90, 133–137, 140, 141, 145, 148, 152, 153, 159, 168, 171, 180–182, 184–187, 189, 190, 216, 218–220, 222, 223, 225, 228, 231, 242, 243, 246, 257, 263, 297, 298, 301, 337, 339, 348

Central Java, 21, 39, 85, 168, 171, 181, 186, 243, 298, 301, 337, 339, 348

East Java, 13–15, 71, 81, 133–137, 140, 141, 145, 148, 152, 180, 181, 184, 186, 187, 189, 242, 263, 297

West Java, 297

K

KAMI (*Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia*, Indonesian Students' Action Front), 370

KAP-Gestapu (*Komite Aksi Pengganyangan Gerakan Tigapuluh September*, Action Committee for the Destruction of the Thirtieth September Movement), 185

KAPPI (*Kesatuan Aksi Pelajar Pemuda Indonesia*, Indonesian Student and Youth Action Front), 370

Kasimo, I.J., 185, 186

Katamso (Colonel), 167

KBM (*Kesatuan Buruh Marhaen*, United Marhaenist Labor), 165
kebaktian (prayer meeting), 188

- Kedaulatan Rakyat* newspaper, 169
 Kediri, 75, 79, 80, 85, 184–186, 189, 191
Ketoprak, 255
 KKKP (*Koalisi Keadilan dan Pengungkapan Kebenaran*, Coalition for Justice and the Disclosure of Truth), 294, 324, 327, 350
 Koblen, 189
 KODAHAN (*Komando Daerah Pertahanan*, Joint Regional Defence Command), 59, 61
 KODAM (*Komando Daerah Militer*, Regional Military Command), 55, 56, 58, 59
 KODIM (*Komando District Militer*, District Military Command), 59, 74, 77, 78, 81, 107
 KOLAGA (*Komando Mandala Siaga*, Area Alert Command), 14, 55, 56, 63
 Komnas Ham (*Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia*, National Commission for Human Rights), 221, 318, 336, 340, 343, 350, 353
Konfrontasi (Confrontation), 10
 KOPKAMTIB (*Komando Operasi Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban*, Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order), 14
 KORAMIL (*Komando Rayon Militer*, Military Sub-district Command), 371
 KOREM (*Komando Resort Militer*, Sub-regional Military Command), 74, 81, 168
 KOSEKHAN (*Komando Sektor Pertahanan*, Defence Sector Command), 59, 60
 KOSTRAD (*Komando Cadangan Strategis Angkatan Darat*, Army Strategic Reserve), 11, 14, 56, 62, 63, 72, 296
 KOTI (*Komando Operasi Tertinggi*, Supreme Operations Command), 52, 55–57, 63, 168
 Kurniawan, Eka, 302
- L**
 Laoly, Yasonna, 301
 Lasut, Jopie, 189
 Lemkin, Raphael, 28
 LOGIS (*Lanjutan Organisasi Gerilya Indonesia Seluruhnya*, Continuation of the All-Indonesia Guerrilla Organization), 94
 Lowokwaru, 189
 LP3ES (*Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan, dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial*, Institute for Economic and Social Research, Education and Information), 174
Lubang Buaya (Crocodile Hole), 105.
See also propaganda
- M**
Mahabharata, 257
 Mahmillub (*Mahkamah Militer Luar Biasa*, Extraordinary Military Tribunal), 87
 Maluku, 183, 190, 219, 225, 318
 Manek, Gabriel, 185
 martial law (1957–1963), 14, 54, 56, 63, 144. *See also* Army massacres of 1965–1966. *See* genocide of 1965; violence
 mass grave, 19, 91, 246
 body disposal in, 14
 location of, 248, 249

see also victims; violence
 Masyumi, 99, 185
 MAWI (*Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia*, Indonesian Bishops' Conference), 184
 memorials, 216, 217, 224, 228, 236–238, 246, 248
 national, 236
 transcultural, 236, 237
 memory, 18–20, 30, 160, 201, 217, 218, 225, 227–229, 236, 243, 244, 247–249, 267, 269–271, 275, 281, 282, 352, 353, 358, 359, 363
 communicative, 218, 225
 cultural, 218, 225, 229, 274
 institutional, 159
 sites of, 19, 217, 218, 227–229
 social, 18, 217, 225, 227–229, 274
 transmission of, 217, 218, 227, 229, 282, 363
see also post-memory
 military. *See* Army; perpetrators
 militia groups. *See* perpetrators
 MK (*Mahkamah Konstitusi*, Constitutional Court), 317
modin (Islamic religious officiant), 192
 Mokoginta, 55, 58, 59, 61–63
 MP3 (*Masyarakat Pendukung Prabowo Presiden*, Society for Supporters of Prabowo for President), 297, 298. *See also* elections
 Muhammadiyah (Followers of Muhammad), 168, 326
 MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, Indonesian Council of Ulama/Religious Leaders), 326
 Mulyono (Major), 167
 Murtopo, Ali, 368
 mutilation, 39
 of the dead, 146
see also violence

Mwathirika. See Papermoon Puppet Theatre

N

NASAKOM (*Nasionalisme, Agama, Komunisme*, Nationalism, Religion, Communism), 79
 National Art Gallery of Australia, 241
 NEFOS (New Emerging Forces), 164
Noda Lelaki di Dada Mona (A Stain on Mona's Chest). *See* Papermoon Puppet Theatre
 Nora, Pierre, 217. *See also* memory
 NU, Nadlatul Ulama (The Awakening of the Muslim Scholars), 15, 90, 100, 101, 105, 140, 141, 148, 192, 244, 245, 294, 320

O

Old Order (*Orde Lama*), 290
Operasi Singgalang (Operation Singgalang), 52, 58, 60
Operasi Trisula (Operation Trident), 13. *See also* Java
 Oppenheimer, Joshua, 4, 20, 269, 270, 272, 276, 277, 324, 360
 Opsus (*Operasi Khusus*, Special Operations), 372
 Oral history, 3, 16–18
 methods of, 3
Orde Bara. See New Order

P

Pancasila, 106, 164, 239, 290, 301, 326, 357, 358
 New Order ideology using, 291, 304
 Panjaitan, (General) Luhut, 325, 326
 Panjaitan, Sintong, 326

- Papermoon Puppet Theatre, 19, 253, 255–259, 261, 263, 265–267, 363
- Patrice Lumumba University, 162
- Pattimura division, 219. *See also* Buru Island; Maluku
- Pemuda Pancasila (Pancasila Youth), 107. *See also* perpetrators
- Pemuda Rakyat (People's Youth), 9, 80, 118, 139, 145, 152, 166, 204, 206. *See also* PKI
- Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* (The Treason of the September 30 Movement/PKI) film, 254. *See also* propaganda
- Perpetrators, 323. *See also* Army; militias
- PETA (*Pembela Tanah Air*, Homeland Defenders), 74
- PETANI (*Persatuan Tani Nasional Indonesia*, Indonesian National Farmers' Association), 97
- PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*, Indonesian Communist Party), 1, 2, 5, 8–17, 27, 29, 30, 35, 38–40, 52–58, 60–62, 64, 65, 71–73, 75, 76, 78, 80–87, 89–91, 97–104, 106, 107, 109, 110, 116, 133, 136, 137, 140, 141, 148, 158, 165–168, 184, 185, 200, 207, 218, 238, 243, 245, 254, 287, 292, 298, 299, 302, 319, 326, 348, 349
- association with, 184
- demonization of, 304
- elimination of, 254
- members of, 8, 12, 13, 40, 83, 91, 159, 218, 348
- Politbureau, 136
- Special Bureau, 73, 76–78, 83, 87
- Plantungan, 190
- PMII (*Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia*, Indonesian Muslim Student Movement), 165
- PMKRI (*Persatuan Mahasiswa Katolik Republik Indonesia*, The Republic of Indonesia's Catholic University Students' Union), 165, 186
- PNI (Partai Nasionalis Indonesia, Indonesian Nationalist Party), 15
- police, 57, 59, 60, 72, 75, 76, 78–80, 84, 86, 92, 97, 106–108, 115, 117–121, 123, 124, 126–128, 140, 171, 172, 180, 289, 292, 297, 298, 326, 351, 361. *See also* perpetrators
- political prisoner. *See* tapol
- popular culture, 290, 291, 305
- post-memory, 217, 218, 227, 229, 363. *See also* memory
- PPKI (*Persatuan Politik Katolik Indonesia*, Indonesian Catholic Political Union), 185
- Prabowo, (Ret. General), 288
- Prasetyo, Pujo, 76–78, 83
- pregnancy, 116
- as a result of rape, 116
- see also* gendered forms of violence
- Prison fellowship, 189, 191
- Prison Fellowship International, 189
- propaganda, 3, 6, 11, 12, 15, 35, 38, 244, 254, 257, 349
- about the coup, 12, 117
- against former communists, 117, 244, 254, 299
- see also* discrimination
- prostitution, 120, 126–128, 130, 131
- Protestantism, 183
- Puger, Gede, 78, 84, 86
- Pulau Buru Tanah Air Beta* (2015), dir. Rahung Nasution, 19
- R**
- Rachmadi, Ki Tristuti, 254
- Ramayana*, 257

rape, 116, 119, 120, 123, 125–128, 312. *See also* gendered forms of violence; violence

Reformasi (1998–today), 287, 288, 291, 295, 296, 298, 303, 304, 313, 314, 316, 319, 320, 327, 335, 336

legal reforms during, 351

Reksosamodra, (General) Pranoto, 75, 82

resettlement of families, 216, 219, 223. *See also* Buru Island

reversion, 192

RKKS (*Rukun Kampung Kota Surabaya*, Surabaya City Kampung Association), 136, 137, 144

Round Table Conference, 1949, 160

RPKAD (*Resimen Para Komando Angkatan Darat*, Army Para-Commando Regiment), 86, 107, 108, 111, 168, 170, 348. *See also* Army

Rustandi, Achmad, 326

Rwandan genocide (1994), 126, 237

Ryacudu, Rymizard, 326

S

SARBUPRI (*Sarekat Buruh Kebutanan Republik Indonesia*, Plantation Workers' Union of the Republic of Indonesia), 373

Sardjito, 162, 163

Savanajaya, 216–218, 223–225, 228, 229

screening, 159, 171–173, 175, 185, 201, 238, 275, 360. *See also* *bersih diri*, *bersih lingkungan*; discrimination

Second Vatican Council, 185

SEKBER 65 (*Sekretariat Bersama 65*, Joint Secretariat for Victims of

1965), 298, 337–339, 344, 346, 347, 349, 351, 352

Setiawan, Hersri, 19, 220, 225, 226

Setjangkir Kopi dari Playa (A Cup of Coffee from Playa). *See*

Papermoon Puppet Theatre

sexual violence. *See* gendered forms of violence; rape; violence

Shihab, Muhammad Rizieq, 326. *See also* FPI

silencing, 216, 228

sites of memory, 19, 217, 218. *See also* memory

SKP HAM (*Solidaritas Korban Pelanggaran HAM*, Solidarity for Victims of Human Rights Violations), 340–346, 348–352

SOBSI (*Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia*, All-Indonesia Organization of Labor Unions), 9

social media, 174, 288, 290, 292

campaigns, 18, 324, 336

use of, 174, 288, 290, 292

see also popular culture

Soegih Arto, 219, 220

Soerjohadiprodjo, Sayidiman, 326

Soetrisno, Try, 326

Soewahjo, Widari, 263

Soewardjo, Widodo, 263

Special Bureau. *See* PKI

Subroto, Ki Ledjar, 258

Sudomo, 220

Sugiarto, (Lieutenant) Bagus, 82

Sugiyono (Colonel), 167

Suharto, 2, 3, 11, 14, 15, 18, 41, 53, 56, 61–65, 72, 75, 79, 128, 146,

147, 149, 173, 174, 180, 189,

193, 200, 201, 206, 211, 219,

221, 225, 238, 239, 245, 254,

270, 272, 287, 288, 290, 291,

294–299, 302–304, 312, 313,

327, 336, 346, 357

Sukarlan (Major), 74, 78

Sukarno, 7, 9–11, 52–57, 60, 61, 63–65, 72, 75, 77, 79, 81, 82, 90, 92, 94, 99, 102, 105, 141, 142, 144–146, 163–165, 183, 185, 189, 238, 290

Sukarnoputri, Megawati, 295, 297, 313, 320, 336

Sulawesi, 21, 192, 302, 318, 337, 340–342, 344, 348, 349

Sulistiyani, Maria ‘Ria’ Tri, 256

Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX, 161

Sumatra, 14, 17, 52, 55, 56, 58, 59, 62, 64, 116, 118, 121, 122

North Sumatra, 4, 13, 15, 20, 58, 64, 171, 270, 272, 318

South Sumatra, 318

see also Aceh

Supardi (Lieutenant Colonel), 77, 167

Supersemar (*Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret*, Letter of 11 March 1966), 339

Suryatmoko, Joned, 256

Suteja, (Governor) Anak Agung Bagus, 78, 84, 99, 100, 104

Suyadi, Pak Raden, 257

Suyanto, Djoko, 318

Syafiuddin, (Brigadier General), 78, 83, 86

T

Taman Melati (Melati Garden kindergartens), 117, 118. *See also* Gerwani

Tameng, 15, 92, 107, 108, 110. *See also* perpetrators

Tameng Marhaenis, 107. *See also* perpetrators

tapol (*tahanan politik*, political prisoner), 116, 123, 215–223, 226–229, 351, 352. *See also* detention; victims

teater boneka (puppet theatre), 257, 259

Teater Gardanalla (Gardanalla Theatre), 256

Tejdabayu Sudjojono, 172, 225

The Act of Killing (2012), 4, 20, 148, 151, 269–272, 275–281, 324. *See also* Oppenheimer, Joshua

The Look of Silence (2014), 20, 269–272, 277–281, 324. *See also* Oppenheimer, Joshua

Toer, Pramodya Ananta, 219, 222

Toko Wong, 86. *See also* detention

torture, 13, 14, 40, 116, 119, 136, 149, 172, 174, 185, 216, 221, 242, 248, 271, 272, 275, 276, 278, 282, 301, 303, 312, 316, 348, 358, 361

forms of, 116, 135, 136, 148, 216, 221, 275, 282, 312, 316

perpetrators of, 276, 311

victims of, 13, 14, 149, 174, 216, 301, 311, 316, 348

see also detention

transitional justice, 312, 314, 316, 327, 335, 337, 347, 348, 350–352, 359, 360, 364

attempts in Indonesia, 313

see also Truth and Reconciliation Commission

trauma, 173, 175, 243, 256, 258–260, 266, 267, 274, 275, 279, 281, 282, 363

Trisula Operation, 13

Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 21, 312–318, 339, 341

2004 legislation, 21

current draft bill, 322, 323

U

Ubud Readers’ and Writers’ Festival, 301

UCLA (University of California, Los Angeles), 162

- UGM (*Universitas Gadjah Mada*, Gadjah Mada University), 170
- UI (Universitas Indonesia, University of Indonesia), 159, 163
- UK, 2
involvement in 1965 killings, 2
- UN Convention of Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), 2, 27, 29
- Universitas Res Publica, 172
- University of Wisconsin, 162
- Untung, Colonel, 77, 82, 83, 167. *See also* G30S
- Uragam (*urusan agama*, detainees who were religious guidance officers), 187
- USA, 30, 57
involvement in 1965 killings, 30
- USSR, 53, 263
- UUPA (*Undang-Undang Poko Agraria*, Basic Agrarian Law Act) of 1960, 90, 91, 94. *See also* *Aksi Sepihak*
- V**
- victims, 3–5, 13, 20, 28–32, 35, 37, 39–42, 109, 123, 127, 128, 146, 148, 150, 168, 180, 200, 201, 203, 210, 215, 217, 235–237, 241, 245, 246, 248, 249, 260, 262, 265–267, 275, 291, 294, 295, 314, 315, 317, 319, 322, 323, 336–338, 340–342, 344–346, 351, 352, 360, 363. *See also* violence
- violence, 1–3, 5, 6, 12, 13, 16–21, 27–30, 34, 35, 39, 40, 52, 71, 91–93, 108, 110, 116, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125–129, 133, 140, 141, 146, 151, 152, 158, 160, 179, 180, 186, 200, 201, 206, 211, 216, 228, 229, 235, 236, 238–241, 244, 247–249, 253–255, 259, 263, 270–273, 276, 280–282, 289, 294, 302, 303, 311–313, 316, 324, 325, 335–342, 344, 346, 348–353, 358, 359
- forms of, 6, 17, 116, 117, 121, 126–129, 134, 200, 216, 241, 280, 282, 289, 312, 353
- see also* Crimes against humanity; gendered forms of violence
- Vredenburg Fort, 172
- W**
- Wahid, Abdurrahman (Gus Dur), 206, 294, 295, 313, 316, 319, 323, 335
- wayang kancil* (shadow puppets), 258
- wayang kulit* (shadow puppets), 257
- Wibowo, (Colonel) Sarwo Edhie, 14, 296
- Widjojo, (Lieutenant General) Agus, 326
- Widodo, Joko (Jokowi), 298–301, 304, 312, 321, 327, 360, 361
- Wieringa, Saskia E., 3, 11, 12, 117, 270, 272, 325
- Wirogunan prison, 172, 187. *See also* detention
- Wisnuaji (Major), 167
- women, 1, 12, 17, 116–121, 123–129, 144, 222, 223, 237, 242, 273, 291, 336, 348
- violence against, 13, 16, 34, 37, 117, 127, 145, 158
- see also* gendered forms of violence; rape
- Y**
- Yani, Ahmad, 56, 62
- YHB (*Yayasan Hidup Baru*, New Life Foundation), 189

Yogyakarta, 17–19, 76, 160, 161,
166–168, 171, 200, 201, 204,
207, 208, 211, 212, 231, 244,
245, 253, 255, 256, 258, 262,
263, 266, 292, 339, 348, 361

Sultanate of Yogyakarta, 161
Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 264,
295, 313, 316, 321, 336