



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Embedded remembering : memory culture of the 1965 violence in rural East Java

Leksana, G.T.

Citation

Leksana, G. T. (2020, May 26). *Embedded remembering : memory culture of the 1965 violence in rural East Java*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/92258>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/92258>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/92258> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Leksana, G.T.

Title: Embedded remembering : memory culture of the 1965 violence in rural East Java

Issue Date: 2020-05-26

EMBEDDED REMEMBERING: MEMORY CULTURE OF THE 1965 VIOLENCE IN RURAL EAST JAVA

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op dinsdag 26 mei 2020
klokke 11.15 uur

door

Grace Tjandra Leksana

geboren te Jakarta, Indonesie
in 1980

Promotores:

Prof. dr. Henk Schulte Nordholt

Prof. dr. Gerry van Klinken (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Prof. dr. Martijn Eickhoff (Universiteit van Groningen)

Promotiecommissie:

Prof. Dr. Bambang Purwanto (Universitas Gajah Mada, Yogyakarta)

Prof. Dr. Marieke Bloembergen

Dr. Ratna Saptari

Prof. Dr. Frank van Vree (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	iii
ACRONYMS AND GLOSSARY.....	iv
CHAPTER 1.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Function and Meaning of Memory	4
State Patronage in the Politics of Memory	6
Remembering 1965: Beyond the Binary	8
Embedded Remembering: Memory in Its Context	10
Research Methods	12
Research Area	13
<i>The Case of East Java</i>	13
<i>The Donomulyo District</i>	14
<i>Sources and Approaches</i>	15
<i>Ethics</i>	17
Structure Of the Thesis	17
CHAPTER 2.....	19
THE CONTEXT OF REMEMBERING: AGRARIAN INEQUALITIES AND PATRONAGE IN DONOMULYO	19
Colonial Era: Village Establishment and the Village Elites	20
Workers on the Plantation	27
The War of Independence, 1945-1950	29
Confronting Class Differentiation: The Left and Agrarian Reform	32
Rural Transformation under the New Order	35
Conclusion	38
CHAPTER 3.....	40
EXECUTING THE ORDER: RE-EXAMINING THE VIOLENCE IN EAST JAVA	40
Expansion of the Army's Power	43
Key Features of East Java's Military Operation	46
From Chaos to Extermination	49
When Local Acts Became Coordinated	52
Records of Detention	55
Military Operations in South Malang	57
Establishing The New Order	59

Conclusion	62
CHAPTER 4.....	64
EMBEDDED REMEMBERING: MEMORIES WITHIN THE PATRONAGE NETWORK AND RURAL TRANSFORMATION	64
Patronage in Memory Construction	66
Local Collaborators and Memory Work	70
Post-Violence Rural Development	78
Navigating Silence	83
Conclusion	85
CHAPTER 5.....	87
MEMORY LANDSCAPES IN DONOMULYO: NEGOTIATING THE PAST AND THE PRESENT	87
Indonesia’s National Site of Memory: Lubang Buaya	88
Memory Landscapes in Donomulyo	90
Trisula Public Meeting Hall	90
The Trisula Monument (<i>Monumen Trisula</i>)	92
The Ngerendeng/ Bhayangkara Monument	96
Kaliasri Public Cemetery	101
Mulyosari Mass Grave	102
Conclusion	106
CHAPTER 6.....	107
GENERATION OF POSTMEMORY: RETHINKING SILENCE AND TRAUMA IN FAMILY NARRATIVES.....	107
Memories of an Activist – The Family of Superman	109
Memories of the Lost Land – The Family of Marwono	112
Escaping Lifetime Imprisonment – The Family of Baharjo	115
Memories of a Survivor – The Family of Jarso	117
Beyond Families	121
Conclusion	123
CHAPTER 7.....	124
CONCLUSION: EMBEDDED MEMORY, HISTORIOGRAPHY, AND NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.....	124
<i>Insights on Methodology and Historiography in Indonesia</i>	126
<i>Insights on Reconciliation and Transitional Justice – Limitations of the Human Rights Approach</i> ..	127
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	130
SUMMARY	140
SAMENVATTING (Summary in Dutch)	142
Curriculum Vitae	144

Acknowledgements

This manuscript would not have come into being without the enormous support of my promotor: Henk Schulte Nordholt, Gerry van Klinken, and Martijn Eickhoff. The three of you are a perfect combination. It was an honor to collaborate with you. My gratitude also goes to those who have voluntarily read some of the chapters and gave comments during my early writing stage: Douglas Kammen, Marieke Bloembergen, Fridus Steijlen, Ben White, Katherine McGregor, Annemarie Samuels, and Mark van de Water. I would also like to thank my friends at ISSI and Condet, who introduced me to '1965' in the first place, and supported me throughout this project: Mbak Gung Ayu, John, Fay, Gungti, Anom, Fauzie, Ocip, Rinto, Taat, Erlijn, Alit, Mbak Riri, Mbak Rini, Mbak Atoen, Awah and Yudi. I am also very grateful to be part of KITLV for the last four years; thanks to Yayah Siegers, Ellen Sitinjak, Jeannette Poestkoke, and Ireen Hoogenboom, who helped me with my landing period in the Netherlands, and also to Ine Goedegebuur, who helped me with my (partial) take off from the institute. Many thanks to my colleagues at KITLV: Gert Oostindie, Rosemarijn Hoefte, David Kloos, Ward Berenschort, Tom Hoogervorst, Harry Poeze, Bart Luttikhuis, Kathryn Wellen, Wouter Venendaal, Jessica Roitman, Willem van der Molen, Roel Frakking, Onno Sinke, Ester Captain, and Tom van den Berge. Also to my PhD colleagues Stacey MacDonald, Sanne Rotmeijer, Christiaan Harinck, Matthieu Pereira, Fenna Egberink, Hoko Hori, Katja Paijens, Lennie Geerlings, and especially to my office room-mate Taufiq Hanafi. I will miss KITLV a lot. Special thanks to Peter Keppy who pointed me to important colonial archives, and Sebastian Coops who helped me in translating and discovering more of them.

I would also like to thank my friends, colleagues and informants in Malang, who helped me throughout my fieldwork: Prof. Haryono, Prof. Djoko Saryono, David Ardyanta, Francis Hera, Ary Budhi, Wayan Suyadnya, Mega Fatanti, BX. Suherman, JA Noercahyo, Marsudi Prawiranegara, Pak Kardi, Romo Eko Atmono, Tante Oka, Mbak Yatik, Onie Herdista, Abdul Malik, and all my informants in Donomulyo whom I could not mention here. Their memories of the past are Indonesia's future.

I am also grateful to my friends in the Netherlands who have supported me, especially during my challenging first year: Raisa, Gia, Tedy, Pak Tjahjono, Kathy, Paula, Sandra, Ana, Rediet; Reza Arlianda (who designed the map in this dissertation), Retna Hanani; and to my Indonesian friends in the neighbourhood: Nurenzia, Rio, Julinta, Dito, Ruth, Astri, Ratna, Natasha, Sukianto, Fachrizal, Rully, Syahril, Ayu, Ajeng.

Last, but not least, I am very grateful for the support and patience of my children, Rafael Prabangkara and Michaela Tyaga. They gave me the courage to go on. Also to the man who transforms impossibilities into opportunities – Santoso.

ACRONYMS AND GLOSSARY

Ansor/ Pemuda Ansor	a youth organisation affiliated to Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)
Babinsa/ Badan Pembina Desa	village-level monitoring officials
Bimas/ Bimbingan Masyarakat	mass guidance, a farming credit programme which lasted until the late 1960s
Brimob/ Brigade Mobile	Mobile Police Brigade
BTI/ Barisan Tani Indonesia	Indonesian Peasants' Front
Bouw	unit of land measurement during the colonial era. 1 bouw = 0.7 hectare
Bupati	regent
Camat	Subdistrict head
Dwikora	acronym for Dwi Komando Rakyat (People's Two Commands), released in 1964. President Sukarno announced Dwikora in relation with the confrontation campaign against Malaysia, instructing the people to thwart the formation of Malaysia as Britain's puppet state, and to form volunteers to assist this campaign.
Front Nasional	National Front
FDR/ Front Demorkasi Rakyat	People's Democratic Front
Gerakan 30 September/ G30S	September 30 th Movement
Gerwani/ Gerakan Wanita Indonesia	Indonesian Women's Movement
Golkar/ Golongan Karya	Party of Functional Groups, Suharto's ruling political party
Gulden (f)/ Netherlands Guilders	currency of the Netherlands since the middle ages until 2002. 1 f = € 0,45
Hadji/ Haji	people who went to the pilgrimage in Mecca, which made them respected Islamic leaders in a community
Hansip/ Pertahanan Sipil	civil defence
Harian Rakjat	the Indonesian Communist Party newspaper
Jihad	holy war in Islam
Juru kunci	guardian of monuments, graves, or other sacred sites
KAMI/ Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia	Indonesian Students Action Front
Kamituwo	local leaders who are appointed formally by village authorities
Ketoprak	Javanese theatrical performance
Kodam/ Komando Daerah Militer	Regional Military Command
Kodim/ Komando Distrik Militer	District Military Command
Koramil/ Komando Rayon Militer	Military Precinct Command
Korem/ Komando Resort Militer	Military Resort Command
Kopur/ Komando Tempur	battle command
Kyai	Islamic religious leader
Lekra/ Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat	Institute of People's Culture
Marhaen	a term coined by Sukarno to refer to a category of poor Indonesians who were oppressed by capitalism and imperialism, but who were not part of the traditional peasant or proletarian classes as they were small landowners and owned a few tools

Nasakom – Nasionalisme, Agama, Komunisme	Nationalism, Religion, Communism, a doctrine in the Guided Democracy era that officially recognised the role of these three major political tendencies in Indonesian political life
NU/ Nahdlatul Ulama	a large, traditionalist Islamic group in Indonesia
Pagar betis	‘fence of legs’, a counter-insurgency encirclement strategy used by the Indonesian military
Pancasila	the five principles of the Indonesian state, consist of: 1) belief in Almighty God, 2) humanity that is just and civilized, 3) the unity of Indonesia, 4) democracy guided by the wisdom of representative deliberation, 5) social justice for all Indonesians
Pangad/ Panglima Angkatan Darat	Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces
Pandam/ Panglima Daerah Militer	Regional Military Commander
Pantja Tunggal	an administrative coordinating body established around 1960s at provincial to the district level. It consisted of governors or regents, local army commanders, police chiefs, public persecutors and the National Front
Pamong	village authorities
Partai Katolik	Catholic Party
PKI/ Partai Komunis Indonesia	the Indonesian Communist Party
PNI/ Partai Nasional Indonesia	the Indonesian Nationalist Party
PDI-P/ Partai Demokratik Indonesia-Perjuangan	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle
PMKRI/ Pemuda Katolik Republik Indonesia	Indonesian Catholic Youth
Pemuda Rakyat	People’s Youth organization
Pepelrada/ Penguasa	Regional Authority to Implement Dwikora
Pelaksanaan Dwikora Daerah	
Pupelrada/ Pembantu Penguasa	Assistant of Regional Authority to Implement Dwikora
Pelaksanaan Dwikora Daerah	
Puterpra/ Perwira Urusan Teritorial dan Perlawanan Rakyat	Territorial Affairs and People’s Resistance Officer
RPKAD/ Resimen Para Komando Angkatan Darat	Army Paracommando Regiment
Santiaji/ wajib lapor	one of the programmes under Mental Building for accused ex-communists, where participants were obliged to report and follow indoctrination programmes on Pancasila in the local military office.
Sawah	wet cultivated land
Tasakuran	village communal activity to express gratitude and ask for blessing
Tegal	dry cultivated land
Tokoh	local leader(s)
Tjatur Tunggal	an administrative system in which four government elements, consisting of the governors or regents, local army commanders, police chiefs and public persecutors, made collaborative decisions on their regional issues
Walikota	city mayor

