

The Representation of 30 September 1965 Tragedy's Violence in Leontin Dewangga, Ode untuk Selembar KTP, and Dendang Perempuan Pendendam Short Stories: A New Historicism Study

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Abstract—This research is conducted to describe the representation of (1) direct (physical) violence committed by the New Order government Indonesia in the Leontin Dewangga, Ode Untuk Selembar KTP, and Dendang Perempuan Pendendam short stories; (2) indirect violence (structural) committed by the New Order government Indonesia in the Leontin Dewangga, Ode Untuk Selembar KTP, and Dendang Perempuan Pendendam short stories. This research used a descriptive qualitative method, since the objects of the research were literary texts. Content analysis was deployed, while the instrument was human instrument, which means that the researcher is positioned as the one who has gained the knowledge about the theory of violence proposed by Johan Galtung, and New Historicism was used to make further analysis of kinds of violence in literary works. The procedures of this research were (1) parallel reading technique; (2) the analysis used to study further about the Leontin Dewangga, Ode Untuk Selembar KTP, and Dendang Perempuan Pendendam short stories made by Martin Aleida was New Historicism. In this research, literary texts data having any connection with any kinds of violence in September 30, 1965 were aligned with non-literature texts related in the short stories by all means to integrate them with the literary texts analyzed. The results of the research show the short stories analyzed reflect two representations of violence, (1) the representation of direct violence (physical) done by the New Order of government towards PKI sympathizers; (2) the representation of indirect violence (structural) done by the New Order of government towards PKI sympathizer.

Keywords: *direct violence, indirect violence, new historicism*

I. INTRODUCTION

The 30 September 1965 tragedy is a tragedy which has the pivotal function and position for the New Order government to legitimate its political power and dominance in Indonesia (Robinson, 2018). The series of 30 September 1965 tragedy begun with the kidnapping of seven Army generals: Nasution, Ahmad Yani, Suprpto, Soetoyo, Haryono, Panjaitan, and S. Parman, which was led by Colonel Untung (Sulistyo, 2004). The seven kidnapped generals were then killed and their corpses were buried in a hole around the Cipayang area, Jakarta Timur, commonly known as *Lubang Buaya* (Crocodile Hole) (Robinson, 2018).

The kidnapping tragedy towards seven generals by Colonel Untung was then named as 30 September Movement and it was interpreted by the Army as a *coup* attempt towards the government (Crouch, 1973). On 1 October 1965, Indonesian government made a statement that *Partai Komunis Indonesia/PKI*, under the leadership of DN. Aidit, was behind Untung's operation. Hence, since 2 October 1965, Indonesian Army unleashed violence campaign towards *PKI* and the followers (Roosa, 2016).

Violence politic campaign done by Indonesian government in 1965 created many victims. Robert Cribb reported that the mass massacre of communist society or society accused as communist in Indonesia reached 78,000 people. Oei Tju Tat, a team leader of Fact Finding Commission denied the claim which had previously stated by Robert Cribb in his research entitled *The Indonesian Killings 1965-1966: Studies From Java And Bali*. Oei Tju Tat stated that the number was too small. Oei Tju Tat said that there were 800,000 people who became victims in Jawa Tengah and Jawa Timur, and 100,000 people for each in Bali and Sumatera. Meanwhile, in Donald Kirk's note in *The Struggle for Power in Indonesia* documented 500,000 up to 1,000,000 of people's lives were taken in this bloody incident (Crib, 2003).

By looking at the amount of the people who became victims of 30 September 1965 political tragedy, it looks like the violence proceeded without the permission of the country top leaders. Herlambang (2013) stated that the Indonesian government who organized the violence. The same opinion was proposed by Heryanto that the violence leading to kidnapping, torturing, and killing that occurred on 30 September 1965 tragedy in reality was organized by the government, and the military as the executor in the field (Heryanto, 2018). Robert Cribb recorded that the assassination towards the people involved or people who were accused as part of *PKI* was started after the arrival of military elite at the scene. The military organized people to do violence towards everyone who was accused as the member of *PKI* (Crib, 2003).

Moreover, the military packed the society with weapons, and the ability to make weapons, as part of the effort to arm

the society so that they could suppress members of *PKI* in the society. *Resimen Para Komando Angkatan Darat/ RPKAD* gave military basic training and how to use weapons as well as the village security maintenance tactic, cooperation between *Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia/ABRI* the society to extinguish the remaining members of *PKI* who were in hiding (Crib, 2003). Based on these facts, it could be seen that the violence towards the people who were accused as *PKI*, or those who were really a part of *PKI*, had no more freedom in the society. The members of *PKI* were hunted and assassinated with the excuse of homeland security (Crib, 2003).

The bloody tragedy of 30 September 1965 then became the background for the birth of several literary works which criticize and were used to reveal the cruelty of history occurring in the New Order. Martin Aleida is one of the writer who intensely wrote about the tragedy of 30 September 1965 in Indonesia in the form of literary works. In three of his short stories, *Ode untuk Selemba KTP*, *Leontin Dewangga*, and *Dendang Perempuan Pendendam*, Martin Aleida represented any kinds of violence experienced by *PKI* political prisoners—directly and indirectly.

In his article entitled *Cultural Violence*, Galtung states that there are two kinds of violence. The two kinds of violence are direct violence (physical) and indirect violence (structural). Direct violence (physical) is a kind of act to hurt a person or an object physically. This kind of violence often happens – and it is done during war, the eradication of an ethnic, mass massacre, and any other brutal acts which force physical damage of other people. Galtung states that indirect violence (structural) is a kind of violence run through cultural products such as ideology, language, religion, art, flag, nation administration device, and knowledge which could be used to legitimize violence practice, both directly (physically) and structural (social system) (Galtung, 1996).

New Historicism is a very heterogeneous literature critic. Thus, standard boundary could not be given. Vasser as a theory New Historicism has five basic assumptions, and they are 1) that every expressive act is embedded in a network of material practices; 2) that in every act of unmasking critique and opposition, the tools used are prey to the practice it exposes; 3) that literary and non-literary “texts” circulate inseparably; 4) that non discourse, imaginative or archival, gives access to unchanging truths nor expresses inalterable human nature; 5) that a critical method and a language is adequate to describe culture under capitalism participate in the economy they describe (Greenblatt, 1998). Based on the assumptions mentioned above, some basic criticisms of New Historicism that are connected or distinguished with other literary critics could be described. Stephen Greenblatt—founder of New Historicism study—used New Historicism for the first time in the introduction of *Genre* journal 1982 edition, to propose new perspective in Renaissance study, by emphasizing the relation between literary texts with any kinds of social, economy, or political power which encompassed it. Greenblatt broke through the the tendency of textual-formalis

study in New Criticism tradition which was seen to have ahistorical influence that saw literature as an autonomous esthetic area (taking place in a vacuum), which was separated from several aspects that are believed to be ‘outside’ the works (Branning, 1998). All kinds of texts, including academic discourse of a period, appeared under theoretical model from that period. Literature is no longer to be seen as something which runs from the history and floats in the air just like an alienated and separated entity (Foucault, 1972).

By seeing all of the occurring violence phenomena, the researchers are interested in investigating the violence representation of the tragedy of 30 September 1965 in *Leontin Dewangga*, *Ode untuk Selemba KTP*, and *Dendang Perempuan Pendendam* short stories made by Martin Aleida using The New Historicism approach.

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research was a qualitative research by using content analysis method. The sources of this research’s primary data were *Leontin Dewangga*, *Ode Untuk Selemba KTP*, and *Dendang Perempuan Pendendam* short stories. The sources of secondary data were historical books, scientific journals about history, the result of interview, and other documents related to the object of the study, such as social background of 1965 tragedy, direct violence (verbal), and indirect violence (structural). Data from those two different kinds of data become the main data of the research. The instrument of the research was *human instrument*, in that the researchers equipped with theoretical knowledge about Joahn Galtung’s violence and New Historicism used to learn kinds of violence in literary work. In this research the comparison was also carried out to crossingly connect literary texts with non-literary texts, such as historical books, scientific journals about history, the result of interview, and other documents related to the object of the study to get the historical context that is desired to be understood. However, the comparison in this research was not a comparative literature. The comparison was the form of parallelization of literature text and non-literature text data to link the texts containing violence of 1965 tragedy with the social-culture, value, and institution contexts used to form the text. The whole analysis of this research used the New Historicism theory. Through New Historicism point of view, the interpretation towards the direct violence representation (verbal) and indirect violence representation (structural) in *Leonting Dewangga*, *Ode Untuk Selemba KTP*, and *Dendang Perempuan Pendendam* short stories will be made.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In this section, direct violence (verbal) and indirect violence (structural) in *Leonting Dewangga*, *Ode Untuk*

Selemba KTP, dan *Dendam Perempuan Pendendam* short stories will be described.

A. Representation of Direct Violence (Verbal) in *Leontin Dewangga, Ode Untuk Selemba KTP, and Dendam Perempuan Pendendam* Short Stories

Direct violence is a kind of act which directly attacks someone's physical or psychological aspects. Acts that could be categorized as this kind of violence are all kinds of murder (homicide), such as the massacre of an ethnic, war crime, mass massacre, and also all kinds of forced or brutal acts that could result someone's physical or psychological suffering, for example forced expulsion of the society, kidnapping, torturing, raping, and tormenting. All kinds of those acts are disrupting basic human right, which is the right to live.

We could record that there are many kinds of violence happening in the world, for example the Nazism under the governance of Adolf Hitler, Red Cambodians under the governance of Pol Pot, the massacre in Iraq under the governance of Saddam Hussein. In Indonesia, we could not conclude the 30 September 1965 tragedy as a kind of human right's deprivation which ever happened in Indonesia. In *Leontin Dewangga* short story made by Martin Aleida, for example, the researchers find several direct violence practices tried to be represented by the writer.

- (1) *"Kalaupun selamat, mereka ditendang ke dalam kamp-kamp konsentrasi dan penjara... Di antara yang dia tinggalkan banyak yang harus bertahan terhadap siksaan dan penyakit. Dua hari yang lalu, misalnya, dia dengan kabar belasan tahanan mati di penjara karena kolera di penjara Tangerang. Dan wabah masih berkecamuk. Mereka yang berkuasa atas nyawa di penjara itu tidak peduli. Konon pula menyediakan obat-obatan. Keluarga tahanan sendirilah yang harus menyelamatkan jiwa mereka yang dikucilkan dijempit tembok, apakah itu bernama suami, istri, anak, atau kerabat mereka, dengan jalan menyeludupkan obat-obatan... Bahkan siksaan fisik ini ditambah dengan derita batin para tapol untuk mengatakan sesuatu yang tidak sesungguhnya. Ya, para tapol dipaksa dengan cara dipukul, disetrum, atau disayat kulitnya untuk mengakui suatu dosa yang tak pernah dilakukannya,"* (Aleida, 2009).

Based on the excerpt, it seems like the violence acts done by the military are the physical and psychological violence practices. For example, political prisoners were abused by leaving them to survive in the middle of cholera plague in the prison. The military did not give any help by giving medicine to the political prisoners. They were just left dying. The lives of those political prisoners are depicted by Martin Aleida as no more valuable as garbage. The representation of physical violence done by the military is also shown by Martin Aleida in another short story entitled *Dendam Perempuan Pendendam*. The representation of direct violence could be seen in the citation below.

- (2) *"Berminggu-minggu kemudian, sampailah berita yang tak dipastikan kebenarannya. Tapi, karena Ayah tak pernah kami lihat lagi, maka kami mempercayai kebenaran kabar burung itu. Menurut berita itu, Ayah kami yang malang dan dihinakan, digiring ke atas jembatan yang menghubungkan kedua tebing Bengawan Solo, agak jauh dari desa kami. Di bawah todongan pistol, Ayah diperintahkan bersujud, mata tertutup. Begitu dia dibentak supaya duduk kembali, dan manakala adanya belum tegak benar, sebilah parang panjang dilayangkan ke batang lehernya oleh seorang pemuda, dan kepala Ayah, (Oh, Tuhan... aku tidak akan memberikan ampun kepada mereka yang terlibat dalam pembunuhan tiada tara dosanya itu!) terpelanting ke bawah, dan dengan cepat tubuhnya ditendang menyusul kepalanya yang terlebih dahulu tercebur... Ah, pantaskan sebuah peradaban memberikan ajal yang hina-dina serupa itu kepada Ayah kami?!"* (Aleida, 2009).

Based on the citation of *Dendam Perempuan Pendendam* short story above, Martin Aleida once again represented direct violence done by the military. From the description above, the military was brutally killing the PKI political prisoners. They were executed by being shot or being beheaded. The direct violence also happened without legal trial.

Concretely, by seeing the phenomena outside the fiction story served by Martin Aleida, in *Leontin Dewangga* and *Dendam Perempuan Pendendam* short stories, the researchers also found the real and similar violence practice. In the field and literary studies done by the researchers, the military was indeed cruelly locking up and torturing the political prisoners. They could spend months inside the interrogation room. Everyday, the interrogators gave similar questions about systematic and structural matters, like trajects to fulfill the searching target. In order to fulfill the targets of military needs, the interrogators even did not hesitate to force the victims to state something far from the truth. As it had been explained by Maryati in *Suara Perempuan Korban Tragedi 1965* journal.

- (3) *"Saya ditangkap pada bulan Oktober 1965. Karena saya ditangkap dan ditahan di penjara Ambarawa..."*

Begitu saya masuk Kamp Ambarawa, langsung saya diinterogasi sepanjang malam. Saya diberikan pertanyaan-pertanyaan yang nyaris sama setiap hari. Saya dipaksa menjawab hal-hal yang tidak saya ketahui. Bahkan saya disuruh untuk mengarang cerita hal-hal yang sebenarnya tidak dilakukan pengikut partai, serta diri saya...

Saya disiksa tidak hanya dalam bentuk pertanyaan-pertanyaan verbal yang bersifat menyudutkan, saya disiksa dengan cara paling lazim yaitu diperkosa, dan disetrum. Seutas kabel yang satu ujungnya disambungkan pada alat pembangkit listrik, dan pada bagian lain ujungnya

diberi semacam ‘cincin’ tembaga. Cincin ini, terkadang ada beberapa, ditempel atau dicantelkan pada bagian-bagian tubuh yang paling peka: klistoris atau penis, atau putting payudara, atau yang paling tidak tajam menyengat yaitu jari kaki dan jari tangan. Dera siksa ini merupakan bagi mereka untuk memberikan terror kepada diri saya untuk menyatakan informasi-informasi yang ingin mereka ambil. Bahkan terkadang fungsi alat-alat ini menjadi sangat tidak jelas, ketika mereka sebenarnya hanya ingin menyiksa saya hingga mati” (Maryati, 2009).

As could be seen above, Maryati’s statement has the similarities with the incident that happens to the characters represented by Martin Aleida in his short stories. The abuse, in the form of physical violence/direct, was given to their bodies so that they could give statements about the matters needed by the military at that time—and these information digging practices were done by force and without following the legal standards.

From several kinds of violence represented by Martin Aleida in the form of fictional work, and the violence which were displayed by the the writers of scientific works in research books, if we look by the theory New Historicism, there are several similarities between the practice in real life and in fiction, which makes the researchers believe that all things written by Martin Aleida are not just fictional imagination. There are empirical fact in the form of direct experience which is stated Martin Aleida. Even if by reminding the fact that Martin Aleida’s political life background was a *PKI* sympathizer who directly experienced being locked up in a concentration military camp, the researchers believe that Martin Aleida was not only just writing stories, but also trying to express the violence that he had been through in his short stories.

B. Representation of Indirect Violence (Structural) in *Leontin Dewangga, Ode Untuk Selemba KTP, and Dendang Perempuan Pendendam Short Stories*

Indirect violence is an act that does not seem to harm man, but in fact it is really dangerous to man, even could kill man. Indirect violence is a kind of violence that is not directly involving the victims and the parties (people, society, or institution) who are in charge of the violence act. The mechanism of indirect violence is really subtle even the dominated ones would not be conscious, would be obedient, and would just accept it right away. This mechanism is called as structural violence.

On the other hand in the context of Bahasa Indonesia, the form of structural violence is found in the bloody tragedy of 30 September 1965. This kind of violence is practiced especially after power shift from President Soekarno to President Soeharto in 1965-1966 in the New Order. Since the New Order Government ruled the nation, the society who involved or accused as members of *PKI* were cornered and threatened. The New Order Government was not only doing the physical violence, but also doing the propaganda

movement –in terms of culture – towards the society with the intention of devilized *PKI*. Cultural violence is not always about physical violence. Cultural aspects such as symbolic areas (religion, ideology, nation administration device, language, art, empirical knowledge, formal knowledge) are used to justify or legitimate indirect violence.

There were lots of cultural products used by the New Order to promote the communism movement as devilized act. For example, the nation’s ideology, museums, religions, students’ textbooks, study materials, movies, literary works, and many others. This was done by the New Order to discolor the history; to obscure the gloomy past incident from the memory of each person in the nation. For example, in Martin Aleida’s literary work entitled *Leontin Dewangga*, the researchers find indirect violence practice.

- (4) *“Rangkaian kedatangan tamu-tamu asing itu membangkitkan ingatan Dewangga pada satu episode dalam kehidupan mereka sekeluarga. Pada suatu ketika, karena tugas dari sekolah, salah seorang dari anak perempuannya minta diantarkan mengunjungi Museum Lubang Buaya. Setelah berkeliling menyaksikan diorama mengenai pembantaian para jendral tahun 1965, anaknya menyimpulkan: “PKI kejam sekali, ya!!” Ibunya tenang mengangguk. Sementara Abdullah Nampak menjawab dengan nada suara yang dingin, seperti mau mengoreksi. Dan terdengar pula nada suaranya yang gelagapan: “Ya....., ya....., ke.... kejam....,” (Aleida, 2009).*

Based on the citation above, if it is carefully observed, there is a stigma revolving in the society that the 30 September 1965 tragedy is just centered towards one perpetrator only: *PKI*. The stigma is then—if it is observed carefully in the short story above—presenting the formula which points only to one definition, that *PKI* is the vicious and terrible party. Historical versions about the Lubang Buaya tragedy are widely spread along with the spread of horrific stories about the cruelty that happened in Lubang Buaya. The New Order showed the abomination of *PKI* through two newspapers owned by the military: *Angkatan Bersenjata* (Armed Forces) and *Harian Berita Yudha* (Yudha’s Daily News). Due to those news about Lubang Buaya, Indonesian citizens were constructed to hate *PKI* as a gang of vicious and terrible people. For example, in one of the pages of *Harian Berita Yudha* on 4 October 1965. It reported an ‘honest confession’ of a fifteen-year-old member of *Gerwani/Gerakan Wanita Indonesia* (Indonesian Women’s Movement) who was pregnant for three months named Djamilah most commonly known as ‘*Srikandi Lubang Buaya/Heroine of Lubang Buaya*’. Djamilah was depicted by *Harian Berita Yudha* as one of the people who mutilated the victims on the 30 September 1965 tragedy.

- (5) *“Ada sekitar 500 orang yang berkumpul di sana, 100 di antaranya perempuan. Pisau dan silet di bagi-bagikan. Saya hanya mendapati sebuah siluet. Dari kejahatan, kami melihat seorang*

bertubuh pendek tapi gemuk masuk. Dia mengenakan piyama. Tanganya dan wajahnya diikat dengan kain merah. Pimpinan kami, komandan peleton, memerintahkan kami untuk menyiksa orang ini. Kemudian mereka mulai memotong-motong kelamin orang ini dengan pisau kecil yang dibagikan. Orang pertama yang memukul dan mengiris-ngiris kelamin orang itu adalah ketua Gerwani Tanjung Priok. Kemudian semua teman yang lain ikut menyiksa orang itu. Semua anggota Gerwani yang berjumlah 100 orang melakukan hal lain dan menjadi saksi,” (Aveling, 1975).

Indirect violence practice in Martin Aleida's short stories could also be found in one of his works entitled *Ode untuk Selemba KTP*. This short story is about a woman called Irmani who lives in misery after her husband was caught because he was suspected as a member of *PKI*. Irmani must survive in the middle of political prisoner stigma. Even the political prisoner stigma was stamped on her Identity Card/IC (*KTP*), and on one of the corners there is small abbreviation of *ET (Eks Tapol)*/Ex-political prisoner. That sign, for Irmani, is a curse which makes her life and her children's lives in misery.

- (6) *“Dan uangnya digunakan untuk menyingkirkan ET yang terus-menerus mengempung, membelenggu hidup kami. Kupikir inilah saatnya untuk menebus pembebasan terakhir sebelum aku mati,”* (Aleida, 2009).

From the citation of *Ode Untuk Selemba KTP* short story as could be seen above, it seems that there are restrictions towards the political prisoners in the New Order Government. The restriction is in the form of *ET* sign which is stamped on the Identity Card. From this problem, it could be seen that the New Order Government seemed to cut the movement of the society, especially the ones who had been in acquaintance with *PKI*. Those who had involved or accused as the political prisoners of *PKI* would not be entitled to some rights so that their lives would be very limited. The restraint could be said as one of the forms of indirect violence, or structural violence.

The *ET* sign has become a scourge for Indonesian since 1965. The *ET* sign was a ghost for people who were involved or accused as the sympathizers of *PKI*. Those who had the *ET* sign would not be entitled any rights to work properly, or become one of the civil servants. Spaces for them were disconnected. It was in line with Rukiah's confession, for example, a leader of *Gerwani* who confessed that the *ET* sign became a restraint for her children to continue their study properly.

- (7) *“Banyak dari kami itu para tapol yang harus menitipkan anak-anak kami ke dalam Kartu Keluarganya kerabat atau kenalan yang kami kenal, karena tanda ETP di KTP kami,”* (wawancara dengan Rukiah).

Rukiah herself could be said to have the same fate as Irmani, the character in *Ode Untuk Selemba KTP* short story. She had to give up what was most important in her life in order to get the freedom. Rukiah must give up her children to other people so that the children could survive and grow without terror which their mother has experienced. Based on this fact, once again the New Order had practiced structural violence by utilizing nation administration device in the form of identity card (*KTP*).

Based on several phenomena that the researchers have found in literary works as well as the result of the interview or the result of other scientific documents and notes, using the theory of New Historicism as a basis for thinking, there is a relationship related to acts of violence that occur structurally in the real world and literary works, structural violence works much more powerful than direct violence. Structural violence could last much longer and has the hegemonic character. Symbolic power—if we use Foucault's way of thinking about discourse—is indeed one of the powerful movements to arrange the flow of discourse in the society. In symbol there is a sign. The sign itself could be interpreted as an idea or a concept. Symbolic power is the power to construct reality, and a power which tends to form gnosological order, a meaning of the world which soon could be interpreted, or the concept of homogeneity over the time, space, number, or reason; something that could allow the intellect differences to reach agreement. It could be said that symbol is the *pre-excellence* instrument to create 'social integrity' as the knowledge and communication instruments, and logical instrument is the requirement for integrity of morals and actions. Therefore, it is clear that symbol (language, literature, art, and knowledge) has a very important role to create, preserve, and change moral values in the society, and it is the reason why it becomes powerful.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Referring to the results of data analysis, it can be concluded that short stories analyzed reflect two representations of violence: (1) representations of direct (physical) violence committed by the New Order government Indonesia, and (2) indirect violence (structural) committed by the New Order government Indonesia.

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