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## **The ex-PKI Political Prisoners Motive to Produce the Memories of 1965/66 Mass Violence in West Sumatra.**

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### **Abstract**

This article analyses ex-PKI political prisoners' motive to produce their memory about mass violence and detention in 1965/66. They joined the YPKP (Yayasan Penelitian Korban Pembunuhan/Institute for Research on the victims 1965/65). In this organization, they expect justice for what they experienced in 1965. This article uses qualitative research. We acquire the data by interview and literature study. There are six interviewees –five of them are ex-PKI political prisoners, and one is the chairman of the YPKP branch in West Sumatra. Besides the interview, we also use relevant books, articles, newspapers, archives, and web pages. We employ the social memory approach to analyse this subject. The ex-PKI political prisoners' memory of violence had shaped the same vision between them to produce the memories of what they have experienced during 1965/66. Therefore, the old ex-political prisoners expected to straighten history to reconcile the government and the victims. They attempt to counter the state narration that mentions they had a part in the 30 September 1965 Movement to hold the coup and prove that the state victimized them for decades. Along with the straightened history, there are two primary purposes in this reconciliation they are fighting for; 1) Confession of the state that human rights violations had taken place; 2) Recovery and rehabilitation for those who had become the victim of human rights violations.

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**Keywords:** *ex-PKI political prisoners, G30S, Social memory*

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### **Abstrak**

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis motif dari eks-tahanan politik PKI untuk memproduksi memori mereka tentang kekerasan dan pemenjaraan massal pada 1965. Para eks-tapol ini bergabung dalam YPKP (Yayasan Penelitian Korban Pembunuhan). Dalam organisasi ini, mereka mengharapkan keadilan atas apa yang mereka alami pada 1965. Artikel ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif. Kami memperoleh data dari wawancara dan studi literatur. Terdapat enam narasumber –lima di antara mereka merupakan eks-tapol PKI dan satu orang ketua YPKP Cabang Sumatera Barat. Disamping wawancara, kami juga menggunakan sejumlah buku, artikel, koran, arsip dan laman internet. Kami menggunakan pendekatan memori sosial untuk menganalisis subjek ini. Memori kekerasan oleh para eks tapol telah membentuk kesamaan tujuan untuk memproduksi tentang apa yang mereka alami pada 1965/66. Jadi, para eks-tapol ini berharap meluruskan sejarah untuk meminta rekonsiliasi antara pemerintah dan para korban. Untuk itu, mereka berusaha melawan narasi yang menyebutkan mereka terlibat G30S yang sebagai sebuah langkah kudeta dan membuktikan mereka adalah korban oleh negara selama puluhan tahun. Dengan pelurusan sejarah ini, terdapat dua tujuan utama dari rekonsiliasi yang mereka perjuangkan; 1) pengakuan negara tentang kekerasan HAM telah terjadi; 2) pemulihan dan rehabilitasi terhadap mereka yang menjadi korban kekerasan HAM.

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**Kata kunci:** *Eks-Tahanan Politik, G30S, Ingatan Sosial*

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## Introduction

The 30 September 1965 Movement that initiated mass violence during 1965/66 in Indonesia had occurred more than fifty years ago. This catastrophe evolved into one of the darkest periods in Indonesian history. PKI and its affiliation were believed as perpetrators that caused the death of six army officers and one general's aid at Lubang Buaya, Jakarta, on 1 September 1965. After the beaten movement, mass violence emerged in Indonesia, which targeted PKI members and its sympathisers. It caused the death of thousands and several years detention without trial for another ten thousand for PKI sympathizers (Cribb, 2001). There are many debates about the background, the actors, the purpose, and the tricks behind it (Ricklefs, 2008; Roosa, 2008). Those involved in PKI, organizations, and affiliated with it had been detained for several years and became political prisoners (Cribb & Kahin, 2004; van der Kroef, 1976). Most of those involved or directly affected by this tragedy had passed away. Some of them still alive join the (Yayasan Penelitian Korban Pembunuhan/Institute for Research on the victims 1965/65), organization that attempts investigations to provide data and information to require an apology from the government to the 1965/66 victims. Most of the data come from interviews with the ex-PKI political prisoners still alive. It must be written and documented to make this memory accessible to future generations (Halbwachs, 2020, p. 79). Thus, this attempt makes those victims' memories last by recording and reporting them before all survivors pass away. However, the government had constructed this tragedy that PKI was the enemy and threatened, and this narration was permanently embedded to shape collective memory. It has been used to create and normalize the anti-communist movement in various ways (Munsi, 2016).

The study about memory could change see the time and interrelation for the past, present, and future (Tamm, 2013, p. 466). Jeffrey Olick states that memory is a process in which society, community or group represents its history and reproduces the past to reshape the present day (Lattu, 2019, p. 101; Olick, 2013, p. 15). These memories do not stop in time; it still exists to establish today and our current understanding to reshape our perspective about the past. In another publication, Olick argues that collective memory represents collective, culture, and social construct; individual memories are shaped by socio-cultural (Olick, 1999). Gregor Feindt (2014, p. 43) argues that the social memory concept refers to three primary interpretations. Since, the First, presenting experience from the past; second, attribute in more comprehensive understanding from the past to deliver; third, nature to remember. We disposed of these ideas to explain the 1965/66 mass violence social memory establish the same purpose to reproduce and release it to the public.

Several scholars start this attempt to investigate the collective memory about the 1965/66 mass violence and the results of this tragedy. John Roosa, Ayu Ratih, and Hilmar Farid's book "Tahun-Tahun yang tak Pernah Berakhir" contributes precious model for the basis for this article. This book explains the social memory is the memory of something considered important; people talk and debate about it; but not anyone has the same memory (Roosa et al., 2004, p. 10). In this context, social memory and collective memory have the same meaning; they emphasize that group identity establishes the memory of individuals or groups. They observe that the 1965/66 mass violence has not become part of people's social

memory in Indonesia during the New Order (Roosa et al., 2004, p. 10). Robert Cribb states that the ratio of those who call themselves as a victim is less than the majority does not, as psychology is affected by mass violence. It may do not drive this become national consciousness (Conroe, 2012, p. 190; Cribb, 1990, pp. 39–43). New Order determined as the state put it into national memory politics (K. E. McGregor, 2013). After the decline of the New Order, there is a possibility to reproduce this memory from generation to generation. So that is how the ex-PKI political prisoners were determined to participate in YPKP movements.

Ahmad Taufik (2018) also contributes to analysing this article. This study argues that ex-political prisoners have two natures in two different periods; New Order and Reformation. The nature of memory during the New Order is domestic because the states held tight censorship, while Reformation opened the opportunity to disseminate the memory. Furthermore, people can easily access the publications about the 30 September 1965 Movement or the mass violence. Those publications are produced by researchers, writers, journalists, or artists (Oppenheimer, 2012, 2014; A. Pohlman, 2018; Roosa et al., 2004; Tempo, 2013). John Roosa and his colleges started a project to interview the victims in the early 2000s (Roosa et al., 2004). This work employed oral history to reconstruct the memory of the victims. Joshua Oppenheimer directed documentaries about perpetrators and victims of 1965/66 mass violence (Oppenheimer, 2012, 2014). Following the release of this film, one of the country's prestigious magazines held a deep investigation to follow Oppenheimer's path. The outcome of this investigation was later published in a book (Tempo, 2013). Annie Pohlman reconstructs the memory of female victims in West Sumatra that experienced sexual abuse during the mass violence (A. Pohlman, 2018).

Based on those publications, we suggest an area to examine ex-PKI political prisoners' motives to reconstruct the 1965/66 memory that scholars have not yet been concerned about further. There are thousands of ex-PKI political prisoners domiciled in West Sumatra; only a few of them are concerned about speaking up to produce memory about New Order mistreatment. Here, we examine the motive to compile these scattered memories. Thus, in this article, we employ the social memory to explain the purpose of ex-PKI political prisoners' struggle today. Now, every ex-PKI political prisoner has grown old. The average of their age is 70s years old. Most of them have passed away in recent years. It indicates we will no longer have the chance to interview them while still retaining much information that scholars can obtain. This article is one of these attempts to gather the memories first hand. There are numerous publications about 1965/66 mass violence, as we mentioned above. However, every study has its focus. This article examines the ex-PKI political prisoners' motive to reproduce memory of the 1965/66 mass violence in West Sumatra Province. It shall increase our understanding of this subject, especially in the local context.

Our focus is West Sumatra Province because we find many ex-PKI political prisoners in this region. There was an oscillation in the estimation of the ex-political prisoners. Van der Kroef (1976, p. 676) quoted in his article from Attorney General Agung Sugiharto, who stated the number of political prisoners has a fluctuating nature is still relevant. We find the different number of ex political prisoners –there were 40.000 on 1980; then it decreased 32.000 in next decade; and only left 25.653 by the early 2000s (Bakorstanas Daerah Sumatera Bagian Utara, 1995; Kepala Direktorat Sosial Politik Daerah Tingkat I Propinsi Sumatera, 1980; Padang ekspres, 2001). Furthermore, YPKP in West Sumatra is one of the most active branches of these organizations, which has well-documented data, accommodates, and guides the researchers who want to study 1965. Thus, we try to reconstruct these memories and analyse the impact on the ex-PKI political prisoner's motif to speak up. In this case, we will emphasize the historical narration to embroider their struggle for purpose. One thing to remember is that they had gotten so old, so we think it is expected they choose a compelling

way. Hence, we hope this article will describe the ex-PKI political prisoners' remember, experiences, and what they are fighting for in YPKP.

## **Research Method**

In this article, we use a qualitative approach. This approach provided a comprehensive perspective and a deep understanding of a social phenomenon (Bryman, 2016, pp. 366–367). So, the data will serve by more sentences to give deep knowledge. We collect the data from written and interviews. There are six source people that we interview from 2018 to 2020. Five informants are ex-PKI political prisoners, and one is the chairman of the YPKP branch in West Sumatra. They are; Pak Ali Munar (77) in Bukittinggi, Ibu Manisma (85) in Bukittinggi; Ibu Zulbainar (80) in Padang Pariaman; Ibu Janiar (76) ini Padang Pariaman; and Ibu Yohana (79) in Padang Pariaman. We also interviewed Ibu Nadiani (80). Ibu Nadiani is the head of the YPKP West Sumatra Branch. She is not a former political prisoner; instead, she was affected by the 1965/66 violence because her husband Akhiar Boer (alm) was in detention. After all, the Government suspects he had a connection to PKI by his job as a teacher in BAPPERKI's (Badan Permusyawaratan Kewarganegaraan Indonesia) School in Bukittinggi.

The interview has conducted at their house, and we have the permit to mention their real identity in this article. We divide the question into three main themes; before 1965 mass violence of 1965/66; and after the release from prison. These interviews, alongside the literature study such as books, scientific, auto-biography, and other publications, became the additional information to write this article.

We use Miles and Huberman model to analyse the data (Afrizal, 2014) (Miles & Huberman, 1992). Miles and Huberman diverge qualitative research into three phases; codification, data presentation, and verification. In codification, we entitle the research result. We record and write the information into an interview transcript. Then, we pay close attention to the detail we are examining and interpret both the document and the interview. In data presentation, we suggest the data findings in a classification. In verification, it is our interpretation from the interview or document data. The result of this activity is checked by codification and data presentation.

## **Results and Discussion**

The 30 September Movement triggered mass violence in 1965/1966, resulting in tens of thousands of people being killed associated with PKI and its affiliation organization. On that night, six top Indonesian army officers were abducted and murdered by a group that proclaimed themselves “the 30 September Movement.” The army blamed the PKI, and its mass organization played vital roles in abducting the generals. It would be the end of the long PKI's Journey as an essential political party in Indonesia as the crushing campaign followed by mass violence to this party during 1965/66. This catastrophe was described as a “spontaneous” uprising and an outburst of horizontal classes resulting in particular regions in Indonesia.

Political prisoners are the identities given to about 700,000 people detained after October 1965 on suspicion of involvement as members or sympathizers of the PKI and its allied organizations (Ahmad, 2018, p. 293; Cribb & Kahin, 2004, p. 423; van der Kroef, 1976). There were approximately 41.556 ex-political prisoners in West Sumatra (Kepala Direktorat Sosial Politik Daerah Tingkat I Propinsi Sumatera, 1980). The government took this effort to eradicate communism in Indonesia and design security and order. These ex-political prisoners served several years in prison. The Government released them in the mid-

1970s. Before being released, the government requested them to sign a statement not to get involved with the PKI and other organizations and pledge to be good citizens (Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia, 1994).

The situation began to change in the mid-1990s. The global economic crisis triggered the crisis and escalated further in 1998 when thousands of students staged demonstrations that forced Suharto to resign as President of Indonesia. Following the collapse of the New Order, debates about the events surrounding 1965/66 have started to appear in public spaces. The resignation of President Suharto gave the possibility that not yet happened before to examine the tragedy of 1965/66. So, it also opens up possibilities for victims and their advocates to talk about their experiences (A. E. Pohlman, 2016, p. 64). Some publications on the theme have also begun to be freely accessible.

But apparently, there is still a concern of telling this in public spaces (Katharine McGregor, 2010). This issue is still quite sensitive for some groups. In the last few years, we have seen several sweeps carried out by some community groups towards activities that carry this theme (Tempo.co, 2015). It is a legacy of the New Order which was very anti-leftist (Amindoni, 2019). Even though the Regime collapsed more than two decades ago, it seems that fear of these themes persists in both government and society. By law, communism is still prohibited in Indonesia (Ketetapan MPRS Nomor XXV/MPRS/1966, 1966). However, it will not prevent them from producing the memory that they are not guilty of killing six generals in Jakarta, nor had the intention to substitute Pancasila as a state ideology. For decades, they have been victimized by the "Komunis Bahaya Laten's" state narration. Some NGOs and independent institutions have started to build support systems for victims and witness protection programs.

### ***The Narration of Five ex-PKI political prisoners in West Sumatra***

As we mentioned above, in this article, we have interviewed five ex-PKI political Prisoners who live in West Sumatra Province. Ali Munar was born in 1942 on VII Koto, Padang Pariaman. He was accused getting entangled as a PKI sympathizer because his hometown is called "wilayah Merah." This name had famous because many PKI sympathizers come from this region. He was an excellent civil servant. By his intelligence, Ali Munar managed to get a scholarship from the government to study "Akademi Koperasi" in Padang. However, the Army and the Government determined to detain him because they were afraid Ali Munar had already been influenced by the "left" from his hometown. He never entered the organization and paid no attention to political tension or ideology. In this case, his hometown of "red territory" became why he was afterwards deposed from the state apparatus and experienced detention. The government then withdrew his status as a civil servant in the Cooperative Bureau. After being released from prison, Ali Munar, who had resigned as a civil servant, worked as a businessman engaged in advertising in Padang Pariaman then; nowadays, he lives in Bukittinggi.

Zulbainar (born in 1938) comes from Sungaisariak, Padang Pariaman Regency. She entered Gerwani in 1955. She was curious about the activities and objectives of Gerwani. Zulbainar acquiesced that anti-polygamy and anti-forced marriage ideology is very suitable for her. At first, Zulbainar Gerwani was engaged in Padang Pariaman, but when they moved to Padang to continue her education, she continued her activities in Gerwani Padang. After finishing her education in Padang, she returned to Padang Pariaman and became general treasurer. In 1965, as the other Gerwani members experienced, Zulbainar was charged and imprisoned for 12 years. After the release, she lost her career as a teacher. To maintain her life, she worked as a seamstress and cook (Agustina & Fatimah, 2020).

Yohana (born in 1940) is a resident of Bungus Teluk Kabung. She was active in the BTI (Barisan Tani Indonesia/Indonesian Farmers Front) and married to an army during her

youth. Yohana was determined to join BTI because it protected residents' land from capitalists who wanted to buy it. At that time, she even had time to become deputy chairman of BTI Outside Padang City. Besides being productive at BTI, Yohana has organized several kindergartens in the Teluk Bayur, Cengkeh, and Indarung. In 1965, she was imprisoned in Muaro Prison for her connection with the BTI. Due to her status as a political prisoner, her husband left following his transfer to Pekanbaru (Riau). After being released, Yohana made a living by serving as a cook in several hotels in the city of Padang. She alone raised her children. Yohana remains active in society, despite the proscription against ex-political prisoners to be engaged in the community. She has an essential role in the PKK association and gymnastics club in the Teluk Bayur (Padang).

Manismar was born in 1934. She once joined Gerwani and was a senior member of the organization. In the 1950s, Manismar had been an envoy for Gerwani West Sumatra to China. For her, joining and carrying out activities in Gerwani is her effort to advance women's positions. Its agendas contain skills training, primary education, and eliminating illiteracy for Kids and women. In addition, she often provided lectures on Pancasila. In 1965, she and her husband were arrested. While in detainment, her husband was "bon" and never returned. Manismar herself frequently suffered roughness from soldiers and guards. After her release, she was initially domiciled in Solok and then moved to Bukittinggi. She was no longer permitted to gather and participate in social activities as before 1965. It is distinctive from what was experienced by Yohana, who was still active in society. According to this interviewee, domicile is a factor that causes it. Manismar lives in the downtown of Bukittinggi, while Yohana lives on the outskirts of Padang. It made a difference in the control of these two former political prisoners from the state apparatus.

Janiar (born 1943) was a member of Pemuda Rakyat in the 1950s. She was interested in joining when she saw the anti-colonial spirit that existed in the organization. In 1961, she moved to Gerwani because she thought that the organization had more programs engaged in women's empowerment activities. Janiar felt that what she was doing at Gerwani was not against the religious teachings she accepted. Because she is active in this organization, Janiar was often a guide for leaders or elites from other areas to his village. The activities they carry out relatively get a good acknowledgement from the community –Gerwani, before 1965, was a legitimate organization in Indonesia. During the crisis in Jakarta in early September 1965 and mass violence followed, Janiar was arrested and her husband killed by the mob. While in detention, she was often sexually assaulted by soldiers or guards. After being released, Janiar lived as a farmer in Sungai Saria, Padang Pariaman Regency.

Based on our literature study, many ex-political prisoners were villagers who did not know what happened on the night of 30 September in Jakarta. As Kahin noted from Governor Harun Zein's statement, most of those arrested were group C –those who supported the mass organization of the PKI without playing the role of figures (Kahin, 2008, p. 390).

In this article, we will only raise an overview of the lives of our sources. In the following discussion, we aim to offer the common fate experienced by these ex-political prisoners. To provide a common thread for their story, we are interested in quoting the statements of Ariel Heryanto in a public lecture entitled "The Historiography of Racism in Indonesia." Heryanto delivers the characteristics of were victims of the 1965/66 violence in the film. He affirmed that the victims were naive but silly individuals, had terrible luck, or were lost because they followed one of the leftist organizations. None of them acknowledged Marxism-Leninism (Heryanto, 2017). This comment is relevant enough to define the "innocent" people who became political prisoners after 1965, especially in West Sumatra.

***YPKP (Yayasan Penelitian Korban Pembunuhan 1965/Institute for Research on the victims 1965)***

All of our interviewees are a member of YPKP. Thus, we assume it is required to discuss this organization shortly. Our assertion here is those ex-political prisoners have the sharing memory and consider producing these memories to require reconciliation from the state; they believe it is easier to manage themselves in a group. Therefore, their work will be more efficient and well-organized. This organization also depicts a place to share their memory and comfort each other.

Since the fall of New Order, there have been some initiatives to re-examine 1965/66 violence and overcome the mistreatment of survivors and ex-political prisoners. These movements were primary by founding some NGO (Non-Government Organizations) alongside the university student support by the National Commission of Human Rights. One example of this organisation that concerns the 1965/66 tragedy victims is YPKP, founded by Sulami Djoyoprawiro, Hasan Said, Pramodya Ananta Toer, and other colleagues in Jakarta. YPKP focused on researching the mass victims of 1965/66, the G30S PKI incident. Meanwhile, the branch of West Sumatera was founded in 2001 in Bukittinggi. Most of its members are ex-political prisoners who have consciousness in the struggle to require reconciliation from the state. Still, they do so in the face of the almost impossible challenge of entrenched impunity in Indonesia for past atrocities decades (A. E. Pohlman, 2016, p. 62). A thousand survivors live scattered in West Sumatera, but we find that only several of them disposed to participate in the movement to speak up about what they have been through after 1965. These individuals refused to speak up and deal with their experiences by keeping silent.

According to Asvi Warman Adam, there are five issues related to the 1965 tragedy; the killing of military official; mass killing after the generals' death; cancellation of thousand Indonesian citizenship abroad; exile in Buru Island (1969-1979); victims and family stigma and labelling (Handayani, 2016). At least, there are two primary purposes in this reconciliation that they are fighting for; 1) Admission of the state that human rights violations had taken place; 2) Recovery and rehabilitation for those who had become the victim of human rights violations (Wardaya, 2010, pp. 109–110). As a result, they attempt to determine the state of the human rights violations that occurred in the past and redress and compensation against the ex-political prisoner whose rights are usurped (Ramolan, 2021, p. 19). The means to achieve the goal is by pressuring the government to approve this proposal. They considered themselves victims who did not know anything about the coup in Jakarta on 30 September 1965. We highlight one of their efforts that produce the memory to write and document. Thus, the public has admission if they desire to hear or read their story.

As most of the membership of this organization is old individuals, they determine the persuasive way to acquire their objectives. In this case, we assume this organization is an interest group. This organization attempts to influence the government policy from outside without serving in the public position. The group members have the characteristic, behaviour, beliefs, and purpose who manage themselves in a group to achieve their objective (Surbakti, 1992). However, none of these measures that accomplished yet. This theme is quite sensitive to discuss, and after an extended period, the government appears to write off this issue from its priority.

***The ex-PKI Political Prisoners Struggle to Produce Their Memory***

Joining YPKP is a few forms to make this endeavour a reality for the ex-political prisoners. In her old age, Nadiani, as the chairman of the YPKP in West Sumatera, partakes in assembling facts about the 1965/66 violence in West Sumatera. She and several other YPKP associates visited various sites where the 1965 violence had occurred and documented data on victims from that incident. From a number of these activities, they acquire notable

complete data. Yet, many survivors cannot make peace with the past and are stuck in concussion and damage as a traitor and evil label attached to them (Hendra, 2021). We discovered from our interviews that YPKP associates in West Sumatra had never had higher education. Still, they admitted that they received basic training and the opportunity to observe the field research and interview methods with their network of researchers. They reported their findings in Jakarta (Komnas HAM Republik Indonesia, 2019). Nadiani and several other administrators were invited to report these findings to the Central YPKP executives. On this occasion, she is also often requested by several NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) to speak about the themes they are currently studying. These local campaigns make a significant contribution to dealing with the past.

In addition to what has been experienced by YPKP, activities with these themes are often rejected by the community. It confirms that this theme is still a sensitive subject. Some individuals still have apprehensions about these issues. They believed that this activity was a way to revive the PKI and communism, which was forbidden by law. They also think that this activity will disturb the residents and disrupt security if they tolerate it. Many believe that examining the issues around 1965/66 would open the old wounds. In this regard, one could agree with Geoffrey Robinson (2018, p. 438) that there is no justification for keeping all documents or memories. Eventually, there was no more tight censorship from the state in such activity; most of the policies that restricted ex-political prisoners' civil rights were cancelled soon after the resignation of Suharto in 1998. (Robinson, 2018, p. 389).

YPKP's activities have met with disapproval from the masses on several occasions. In 2015, the YPKP had mass protests. At that time, YPKP West Sumatra wanted to discuss the rehabilitation of victims of the 1965 tragedy in Bukittinggi. However, residents consider this activity to be a form of discussion about the notion or ideology of communism. The rumour has spread out when to the news of the arrival of the Head of the Central YPKP, Bedjo Untung, whom the community believed to be the son of Lieutenant Colonel Untung, one of the leading actors of the 30 September movement, will come to the discussion. However, based on the publications that we obtained, Bedjo Untung is not the son of Lieutenant Colonel Untung (Tempo, 2020).

Furthermore, *komunis bahaya laten* also become a political commodity. This movement shall establish fierce debate along with society. As we have seen in recent decades, the notion of reprisal of communist ideology has risen on several occasions, yet many believe it without question the rumours. In these circumstances, the attempt of ex-PKI political prisoners and their advocates to produce their memory as a counter for the New Order narration legacy is stuck in the wall.

## Conclusion

This article examines the ex-PKI political prisoners motive to produce their memory about 1965/66 mass violence. We suggest that understanding the ex-political motive shall increase our understanding of this subject, especially in the local context. This tragedy caused tens of thousands of deaths and detention for those PKI, wing organizations, and sympathizers. After being released, the New Order maintained the resulting controls and restrictions in several elements of life that influenced and made their lives as former PKI political prisoners harder. Most of the survivors now have passed away. And few of them that are still alive are getting old. Some survivors decide to speak up about what happened to them during the past as they join the YPKP. This organization manages to make reconciliation happen between the states the victims.



In this context, their memory establishes the social memory and then makes consciousness among the survivors. In other words, this social memory plays an essential role in creating ex-PKI political prisoner' motif to speak the memory up to the public about what they have been through during mass violence and discrimination during the New Order era. We suggest that reproducing memory is meant to counter the state narration that mentions they had a part in the 30 September movement as a step to hold the coup and prove that the state victimized them for decades. Finally, The Indonesia Reformation era allowed this effort to happen in Indonesia, and it would be a long hard way to make reconciliation happen in Indonesia.

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