

Controversial Historical Reconstruction: Uncovering the 1965 PKI Cemetuk Tragedy and its Impact on Local Communities

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Abstract: *This study focuses on the controversial historical reconstruction of the 1965 PKI Cemetuk Tragedy in Banyuwangi, Indonesia, a pivotal event that remains a significant but often overlooked part of the country's history. The main objective is to analyze the socio-political conditions leading up to the tragedy and assess its long-lasting impact on the local communities. By using historical methods, including primary and secondary sources and oral histories, the research reconstructs the tragic events from multiple perspectives, providing a comprehensive understanding of the local, national, and political ramifications. The findings highlight the political tensions between the PKI, NU, and other regional entities, exacerbated by electoral fraud allegations and the subsequent violent fallout. The massacre, resulting in the death of over 60 individuals, had profound effects on the social fabric of the region, transforming Cemetuk into a symbol of religious unity and tolerance after mass conversions and social shifts. The implications of this research are critical for historical education, reconciliation efforts, and promoting a more inclusive narrative of Indonesian history. The study calls for further investigation into the broader socio-political dynamics and educational strategies needed to address controversial historical topics.*

Keywords: *Controversial History; Reconstruction; PKI; Cemetuk*

INTRODUCTION

The Historiography of the G30S/PKI Event is one of the famous events that until now has been considered controversial in Indonesian history, especially in history learning in schools (Fitrianto & Kurniawan, 2023; Wardaya, 2021). This is due to the emergence of methodological problems regarding the limitations of sources that have not been disclosed. However, a new source will appear again, which results in a conflict with the previous source. This can happen due to the limited insights, mastery of knowledge, and skills of historians who build historiography, textbook writers, and history teachers (A. R. S. Ahmad, 2008).

Controversial historical events greatly affect the history learning process in the school environment. In addition to providing benefits that can develop students' ability to think critically, they also still experience many obstacles (Cash, 2017). The obstacles experienced can be in the form of teachers not teaching controversial history because there are concerns about the risks of teaching it to students. In addition, teachers also have difficulties in accessing historical sources, which causes a lack of knowledge of history among teachers, which is controversial (T. A. Ahmad, 2016).

The impact of the G30S/PKI incident caused chaos in several areas due to calls to suppress PKI members and sympathizers. One of the famous events in the East Java region occurred in Banyuwangi Regency. This event is known as the Cemetuk PKI Tragedy. Cemetuk is a PKI base located in the South Banyuwangi area and the Mantekan Karangasem area. This prolonged conflict between the PKI and NU occurred in Cemetuk Hamlet, Cluring District, Banyuwangi Regency on October 18, 1965. This event included an attack carried out by

Anshor members from Muncar against PKI people in the Karangasem area, but was defeated, so that many masses fled to Cemetuk. The masses from Muncar who fled to Cemetuk then began to make physical contact with the PKI members, causing the death of 62 people who were then buried in three pits (Abidin & Marjono, 2016).

This Cemetuk incident occurred in addition to the G30S/PKI incident in Jakarta, but previously, there had been an incident of insulting the holy verses of the Qur'an that occurred a few months earlier. Quoting from the newspaper *Duta Masyarakat* on February 15, 1965, it was reported that a group of Muslims led by a representative of the Anshor Youth and a representative of the Marhaenis Youth came to the head of the village of Djambewangi, Kalisat, Banyuwangi, demanding that the state apparatus immediately take strict action against those who insulted the holy book of the Qur'an, who at the same time also committed blasphemy. This event occurred during a puppet show. Spoken from the direction of the stage, a narrator then speaks to the audience and in the conversation interspersed with the song, he suddenly reads the Qur'an surah Al-Baqarah verse 2, which actually reads "Laa Royba Fi" but was deliberately changed to "Rai Babi", which means pig's face (Subekti, 2015).

After the G30S/PKI Incident and with the call from the Commander of the Military Headquarters, Major General Suharto, to suppress PKI members and sympathizers, the NU people became angry and then formed a group of troops to suppress the PKI in Banyuwangi known as the Black Crow. This force consisted of members from NU and PNI and their underbouw organizations wearing all-black attributes ranging from headbands, shirts and pants armed with celurites, swords, samurai, and pointed bamboo. The Black Crow Army carried out the suppression by visiting the headquarters or houses of PKI members and then killing them. According to the Secretary of Lekra Banyuwangi, Andang Chatib Yusuf, or Andang CY, the number of victims reached thousands. His body was dumped in the Tangis Gorge, located in the Baluran National Park area on the border of Banyuwangi and Situbondo. In addition, there are different locations precisely in the Gunung Gunitir Gorge on the border of Banyuwangi and Jember (Kurniawan, 2013).

The 1965 PKI Cemetuk Tragedy remains a significant, yet controversial, event in Indonesian history. Despite the decades, this event has not been thoroughly analyzed from multiple viewpoints, creating gaps in understanding the tragedy's political, social, and historical impact. The lack of comprehensive historical reconstruction using diverse sources, including oral histories, has led to limited recognition and acknowledgment of the event in public discourse and historical education. Understanding the full scope of this tragedy, including its causes and consequences, is essential for fostering reconciliation and ensuring that similar events are prevented.

In addition, the absence of a complete account of this tragedy within the context of Indonesian history has led to challenges in teaching these events effectively. Controversial historical events like this one are often avoided in education due to concerns over political sensitivity, leaving students with limited knowledge of such crucial events in their nation's history. Therefore, there is a pressing need to reconstruct the history of the Cemetuk Tragedy to support educational reforms and encourage historical accuracy.

This research is urgent as it seeks to uncover a key event in Indonesian history and bridge the gaps in historical education. Providing a comprehensive reconstruction of the 1965 Cemetuk Tragedy is essential for promoting national reconciliation, ensuring the preservation

of accurate historical records, and fostering a more inclusive understanding of Indonesia's complex past. It is critical to tackle the silences in historical accounts surrounding this tragedy to ensure future generations are equipped with the knowledge needed to understand the socio-political implications.

Historical research on the 1965 PKI Cemetuk Tragedy is sparse, with much of the available literature focusing either on the broader G30S/PKI movement or specific individual accounts. Several studies have concentrated on the political ramifications and the role of the PKI in the 1965-66 massacres, but a detailed account specifically of the Cemetuk incident is missing. Past research has mainly addressed the national political impact, without delving deeply into the localized experiences and consequences of the tragedy in Banyuwangi.

Moreover, previous studies have been limited by the scope of their sources, mainly relying on official accounts or post-1965 reports. This has resulted in a somewhat skewed or incomplete understanding of the events, leaving crucial gaps in the narrative of the Cemetuk incident. A lack of oral histories from survivors and local witnesses further complicates understanding the tragedy's full scope.

In the years following the incident, some historians have attempted to reconstruct the events based on scattered archival materials. However, these attempts have lacked a thorough, multi-perspective analysis that includes firsthand accounts from individuals involved. This gap in the literature presents an opportunity for further research to provide a more comprehensive and nuanced view of the Cemetuk Tragedy.

There is a distinct gap in research surrounding the 1965 Cemetuk Tragedy, particularly in terms of a detailed, multidimensional reconstruction. The existing literature does not fully explore the local impacts of this tragedy, such as the social, cultural, and psychological consequences on the affected communities. Additionally, oral histories and interviews with survivors and their descendants have not been fully incorporated into academic research. This lack of firsthand accounts has contributed to the incomplete portrayal of the event. Furthermore, the current historiography of the tragedy largely focuses on a singular perspective, neglecting the diverse viewpoints of various stakeholders, including the affected communities and the surviving perpetrators.

This research introduces the novel approach of combining historical methods with oral history and local source materials, providing a complete understanding of the 1965 Cemetuk Tragedy. The study aims to provide a more balanced and thorough reconstruction of the event by incorporating primary sources, including interviews with survivors and participants. Additionally, this research will focus on the impact of the tragedy on local communities, an area that has been largely neglected in previous studies. By reconstructing this controversial historical event from multiple perspectives, this research will contribute new insights into the socio-political and cultural effects of the Cemetuk incident.

This research aims to offer a detailed and multi-perspective reconstruction of the 1965 PKI Cemetuk Tragedy. This includes examining the causes, events, and consequences of the tragedy and exploring the social and cultural ramifications for the local communities involved. By analyzing various sources, including oral histories, archival materials, and historical accounts, the study aims to create a comprehensive narrative of the Cemetuk Tragedy that contributes to the wider understanding of Indonesia's complex political history during the 1960s.

The implications of this study are significant for both historical scholarship and education. A more complete and nuanced understanding of the Cemetuk Tragedy will help fill gaps in Indonesia's historiography and provide a more accurate picture of the political and social dynamics of the 1960s. It will also provide an essential tool for educators to teach controversial history in schools, helping students critically engage with sensitive historical topics. Moreover, the findings of this research will contribute to ongoing efforts at national reconciliation by providing a more inclusive and comprehensive account of the past, which is crucial for healing historical wounds.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The historical method used in this study is historical. According to Garraghan (1957), the historical method is a set of systematic principles accompanied by rules to collect historical sources effectively, critically assess, and systematically present the results that have been obtained in the form of writing (Herlina, 2010). In this method of historical research, a procedure is needed to produce good authorship and in accordance with the facts. The procedure of this historical method is carried out with five stages, namely, topic selection, source collection, verification, interpretation, and writing (Kuntowijoyo, 2013).

The selection of topics in this article is to discuss the Tragedy of the Anshor people's murder in Cemetuk Hamlet, Cluring District, Banyuwangi in 1965. The selection of this topic is based on looking for information about historical events that have occurred in Banyuwangi. Then, it continued by looking for literature and others about the 1965 Cemetuk PKI Tragedy, which had previously been written about. Source collection is carried out using books obtained by buying and borrowing from the Historiography Laboratory Library belonging to the Department of History, State University of Malang, articles on Google Scholar, archives on JSTOR, old newspapers such as Duta Masyarakat at the National Library, and also interviews to obtain oral data.

Research on Controversial Historical Reconstruction: Uncovering the Tragedy of the 1965 Cemetuk PKI and Its Impact on the Surrounding Community, consisting of an abstract, introduction, method, results, and discussion as well as conclusions. The first step that will be written in the discussion is about the conditions in Banyuwangi before the 1965 Cemetuk Incident, including the results of the 1955 election in Banyuwangi and the socio-political conditions in Banyuwangi before the 1965 Cemetuk Incident. After that, it was followed by a discussion of the Reconstruction of the 1965 Cemetuk PKI Tragedy using two different versions. The last step is to discuss the impact of the 1965 Cemetuk PKI Tragedy, which began with the arrest of PKI people involved in the murder in Cemetuk, the suppression of PKI members and sympathizers in Banyuwangi, and the process of religious conversion carried out by the local community.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Conditions in Banyuwangi Before the 1965 Cemetuk Incident

1. Results of the 1955 Election in Banyuwangi

On September 29, 1955, Indonesia held its first election to elect members of parliament and resumed on December 15, 1955, to elect members of the Constituent Council. All Indonesian citizens can out in the election provided they are 18 years old and above. Ahead

of the elections, each party began to conduct campaigns through meetings in the town square or at village halls, where speakers from local party leaders or the center were brought in, public meetings, and entertainment events. The party's emblem was also widely disseminated through pamphlets posted on city and village streets, private homes, and on public buildings, public vehicles, trees, advertisements posted in cinemas, calendars, and village lights (Feith, 1999).

The implementation of the 1955 election in Banyuwangi took place safely. Each party by the National Security Council is given a time limit for carrying out the campaign. Campaigns can be carried out in the field or can also be carried out in the city square. The National Security Council gave a deadline for the implementation of the campaign until September 28 and 29, 1955, in each region, such as in rallies, demonstrations, and marches, and in the campaign, the use of loudspeakers was prohibited. As a result, in the first election, it produced the four largest winning parties, namely, 1) PNI, 2) Masyumi, 3) NU, and 4) PKI (Indraswari, 2015).

The results of the 1955 election in each region are not necessarily the same as the total results of the votes that have been announced at the national level. For example, the results of the 1955 election in Banyuwangi according to the *Harian Rakjat* newspaper in the first place were won by NU with a total of 160,989 voters, in second place followed by the PKI with a total of 130,438 voters, in third place there was PNI with a total of 80,696 and in fourth place was Masyumi with a total of 31,297 voters. Based on these results, it can be concluded that NU and PKI are superior and have a large number of votes compared to PNI and Masyumi. The PNI vote results were only half of the number of votes of the NU, while the PKI received four times the number of votes of Masyumi (Subekti, 2015).

However, the 1955 election in Banyuwangi had different victory results based on what was listed in the *Rakjat Daily* newspaper. According to the results of the "Research Report of the Center for Rural and Regional Studies UGM", the results of the 1955 election in Banyuwangi were won by the PKI with a total of 172,249 voters, in second place followed by NU with a total of 150,927 voters, and in third place there was PNI with a total of 75,071. So the result was that the number of votes obtained from NU was 10,062, PNI was 5,625, and PKI was 41,811 (Subekti, 2015).

Table 1. Recapitulation of the Results of the Votes of the Top 3, 1955 General Election of Banyuwangi Regency

NO	District	NU		PNI		PKI		Total
		Sum	%	Sum	%	Sum	%	
1	São Paulo	9.800	44,23	2.612	11,79	9.743	43,98	22.155
2	Giri	22.970	65,29	4.361	12,4	8.850	22,31	36.181
3	Glagah	9.048	49,93	1.642	9,06	7.432	41,01	18.122
4	Rogojampi	9.826	38,96	8.759	34,73	6.636	26,31	25.221
5	Kabat	13.667	70,33	1.334	6,86	4.433	22,81	19.434
6	Singojuruh	9.815	30,95	8.910	28,09	12.989	40,96	31.714
7	Tile	11.567	35,12	4.736	14,38	16.631	50,5	32.934
8	Kalibaru	14.891	42,52	9.491	27,1	10.636	30,37	35.018
9	Gambiran	8.000	29,72	5.528	20,54	13.390	49,74	26.918
10	Cluring	14.914	40,17	6.714	18,08	15.499	41,75	37.127

NO	District	NU		PNI		PKI		Total
		Sum	%	Sum	%	Sum	%	
11	Srono	10.829	32,1	6.751	20,01	16.155	47,89	33.735
12	Tegaldlimo	6.488	20,57	6.674	21,16	18.378	58,27	31.540
13	Bangorejo	4.301	20,2	4.651	21,84	12.343	57,96	21.295
14	Estimation	4.811	17,92	2.908	10,83	19.134	71,25	26.853
		150.927	38,43	75.071	18,35	172.249	43,22	398.247

Source: Research Report of the Center for Rural and Regional Studies, UGM in (Subekti, 2015).

Although the map of the distribution of NU and PKI supporters in each sub-district has been mapped based on the Research Report of the Center for Rural and Regional Studies UGM, it does not mean that the area is a Red (PKI) or Green (NU) base. Another concentration is the existence of old Islamic boarding schools that were still active in the 1950s-1960s, which were owned and cared for by famous kyais such as K.H. Askandar, the founder of PP Mambaul Ulum Muncar, K.H. Mukhtar Syafaat, the founder of PP Darussalam Blokagung, and K.H. Zarkasy Djunaidi, the founder of PP Bustanul Makmur, and each of its founders is included in NU figures. NU figures in Banyuwangi also cannot be separated from the pesantren, because the place is their base in providing education and gathering support from the students (Aynur, 2008, pp. 28-29). Meanwhile, plantation areas, in general, are also the base of workers affiliated with the PKI (SOBSI), but there are also NU labor unions (Sarbumusi), etc. The concentration of Banyuwangi people is based on their ethnicity, Javanese, Madura, and Osing. Does this concentration indicate a particular political preference?

2. Socio-Political Conditions in Banyuwangi Before the 1965 PKI Cemetuk Tragedy

Entering 1965, the condition of Banyuwangi experienced many events involving the PKI, ranging from destruction, unilateral actions, murder, to blasphemy against its opponents. This then caused hatred for the PKI by many parties. The relationship between the PKI, NU, and PNI then heated up during the regent election in 1964, which then raised the issue of fraud in the vote count from the PKI. In addition, Banyuwangi is also the birthplace of art and culture, thus giving birth to many artists who later joined the Lekra (People's Cultural Institute).

The lekra in Banyuwangi was used as a political tool to attract the attention of the masses to join the PKI. Lekra's development in Banyuwangi produces arts in literature, drama, dance, and music. In the field of music arts, Lekra has an organization engaged in the field of musical arts known as Srimuda (Young Indonesian People's Arts). Many famous Banyuwangi artists, such as Moh, are members of the Srimuda Organization. Learned. He is known for creating songs considered popular in his time, namely Genjer-Genjer. This song was written against the background of the Japanese occupation in 1942. The song's lyrics contain the meaning of the life of the people of Banyuwangi who experienced difficulties in finding food, so that they were forced to consume genjer, which grew a lot in rice fields and swamps, and was even considered a weed. This plant was previously used as animal feed by the residents of Banyuwangi (Subarkah, 2022).

Entering 1963, the Genjer-Genjer song became very popular and was even used as a political song by the PKI. Through this policy, the songs of Genjer-Genjer were known by the public and even politicians in the capital, and even re-sung by artists at that time,

such as Bing Slamet and Lilis Suryani in 1965. The recording was then included in the compilation vinyl album "Mari Bersuka Ria" and was often played through RRI and TVRI. The popularity of this song made Moh popular. Arif became tall and even often received orders to make songs until he became a member of the Banyuwangi legislature representing artists (Subarkah, 2022).

The popularity of the PKI has soared in the field of art, but there are also negative sides carried out by its members and sympathizers in Banyuwangi, such as unilateral actions. This unilateral action occurred on January 5, 1965, based on a report from the Suara Indonesia newspaper. This action occurred in the Genteng District, where 6,720 people participated. Similar actions also occurred in other sub-districts, such as Srono, Cluring, Kabat, Gambiran, and Glagah. This action was further aggravated by the burning and destruction of people's houses, looting of crops, and various other acts of chaos. The PKI also incited BTI members to claim land belonging to wealthy peasants who were not communist members (Crib, 2016).

A few days after the incident of unilateral action, there was an act of blasphemy carried out by the PKI by committing acts of insult to the holy verses of the Qur'an. This action was circulated by the daily newspaper Duta Masyarakat on February 15, 1965, informing that a group of Muslims led by a representative of the Anshor Youth and a representative of the Marhaenis Youth came to the head of the village of Djambewangi, Kalisat, Banyuwangi, demanding that the state apparatus immediately take strict action against the person who insulted the holy book of the Qur'an, who at the same time committed blasphemy. This event occurred during a puppet show. Spoken from the direction of the stage, a narrator then speaks to the audience and in the conversation interspersed with the song, he suddenly reads the Qur'an surah Al-Baqarah verse 2, which actually reads "laa royba fi" but was deliberately changed to "rai babi", which means pig's face (Subekti, 2015).

At the beginning of 1965, there was tension in Banyuwangi, and the conditions heated up, namely regarding the issue of fraud in the regent election held on November 28, 1964. The three major political parties in Banyuwangi, PKI, NU, and PNI, are trying to find and choose candidates to submit for the regent election. The candidate from the proposed PKI, namely Soewarso Kanapi, S.H., was an employee of the Banyuwangi prosecutor's office. The candidate from NU, Hafid Soeroso, is an employee of the religion department. PNI itself initially still did not have a candidate to be nominated in the regent election. However, they received an offer from the military, and finally, the PNI chose a candidate from the military, namely Lt. Col. Djoko Supaat Slamet, who was the Commander of Kodim 0825 Banyuwangi and was made the sole candidate. However, the selection of the candidate received a good protest from the PNI itself. The NU itself became worried after the existence of a candidate from the military submitted by the PNI, resulting in the NU canceling the proposed regent candidate.

Information about the submission of a single candidate made by Djafar Ma'ruf from the PNI finally reached the NU. NU itself at that time was divided into two managements, namely NU Banyuwangi Branch, chaired by K.H. Ali Mansur, while K.H. Abdul Latief Sudjak chaired NU Blambangan Branch. The two NU camps have established support for the candidates who have been determined. NU Banyuwangi Branch stated to support

Soewarso Kanapi, S.H. The political move did not involve the Blambangan Branch of NU. The Blambangan Branch NU then communicated to discuss political steps with the chairman of the Banyuwangi PNI, Djafar Ma'ruf, and produced an agreement to propose and support Lt. Col. Djoko Supaat Slamet. Finally, the relationship between NU Banyuwangi Branch and NU Blambangan Branch became increasingly heated (Wahyudi et al., 2022).

Soewarso Kanapi, S.H., from the PKI, won the results of the Banyuwangi regent election. The result of the victory then received opposition from the Blambangan Branch of NU. The next day, on November 29, 1964, there was a demonstration against the election of Soewarso Kanapi, S.H., as the regent of Banyuwangi at the Banyuwangi Pavilion, which was carried out by the masses from the PNI and NU Blambangan Branch. This demonstration occurred because there was an issue of fraud carried out by the PKI, and the demonstrators demanded that the Banyuwangi Panca Tunggal address the issue. The demand was reported by Panca Tunggal Banyuwangi to the Governor of East Java and was considered unclear.

The inauguration of the regent was then to be held on January 2, 1965, but the event was canceled because the place used for the inauguration was blockaded by the masses from NU and Marhaenis. This event was stated in the newspaper Duta Masyarakat on January 8, 1965, informing that this inauguration would be held in the Special Plenary Session of the House of Representatives, GR Tk II Banyuwangi, at the Banyuwangi Pavilion on Saturday night. Since the morning, the Marhaenis and NU masses have blocked the place that will be used for the trial by occupying the seats in the Pendopo. The masses of Marhaenis and NU, which numbered in the tens of thousands, had flooded the district yard so that it became full. The demonstrator leader then emphasized that he could not be the elder of the people. He emphasized that before he was transferred to Kalimantan, he had protected unilateral actions from one of the groups that caused losses to the people. Meanwhile, the Governor/Regional Head of East Java, Brigadier General Moh. Wijono, High Prosecutor Kohar Harjosoemarno, S.H., Commander of Korem 31, Colonel Soemadi, and members of the Banyuwangi Panca Tunggal were not allowed to enter the inauguration room by the demonstrators.

On the week of January 3, 1965, a deliberation was held by political parties in Banyuwangi, such as NU, PNI, PKI, Partindo, PSII, Murba, and the Catholic Party, which agreed that the issue of the new Regent of Banyuwangi was to the Governor/Regional Head of East Java (Subekti, 2015). After making an agreement with the Governor of East Java, both sides agreed to the agreement, and the demonstrators began to disperse. The inauguration of Soewarso Kanapi, S.H., as the regent of Banyuwangi was still held on August 26, 1965, at the Swagata Blambangan Sabha Hall, held at the same time as the session of the House of Representatives GR Tk. II Banyuwangi.

Reconstruction of the Occurrence of the 1965 PKI Tragedy According to Various Versions

Cemetuk is a hamlet located in Cluring Village, Cluring District, Banyuwangi Regency, East Java. This area is known as the largest PKI base in the South Banyuwangi area. This is evidenced by the 1955 election, where the people of Cemetuk voted for the PKI with the largest

number of around 2500 voters, thus making Cluring District the base of the PKI (Abidin & Marjono., 2016). This hamlet was then used as a refuge for PKI people from the inner and outer areas of Banyuwangi after the G30S/PKI incident, so that in this hamlet, there was a bloody incident known as the Cemetuk PKI Tragedy.

Ahead of the G30S incident, the PKI carried out acts of chaos by robbing, demonstrating, unilateral actions, criticizing the government through Lekra by performing art performances, and making canned letters addressed to non-communists containing threats of death and robbery if they did not give a predetermined amount of money. In addition, the PKI also often held dark meetings at night, precisely at Alm's house. Sudarji (Family of Mr. Ashari/Deputy Leader of PKI Cluring District, Alm. Mastur Atmosanyoto (Family of Mr. Suprayitno/Member of the DPRD Tk. II Banyuwangi from the PKI faction) and at the house of Kromo (BTI Leader of Cluring Village) (Noer, 2011).

The OPR often supervised these PKI activities. This OPR is a government institution that serves as security in the village, but they are also tasked with conducting reconnaissance for PKI members who often hold clandestine meetings until they are thwarted. The meeting was chaired by 1) Mr. Suyatno (Chairman of PKI Cluring District), 2) Mr. Ashari (Vice Chairman of PKI Cluring District), 3) Mr. Supardi Jeglek (Vice Chairman of PKI Cluring), 4) Mr. Suryanto (Vice Chairman of PKI Cluring District), 5) Mr. Sangadi (Chairman of BTI Banyuwangi Selatan), and several other PKI members from outside Cluring District. They initially gathered at a rice stall and then met with OPR and had a conversation. After a while, the news of the assassination of the generals in Jakarta began to be broadcast, and they regrouped to listen to the broadcast somewhere (Noer, 2011).

Information about the existence of the General Council and the formation of the Revolutionary Council on October 1, 1965 in the morning through the radio began to spread, the leaders of the PNI, Jafar Ma'ruf, the leader of the NU, Ali Mansur and the leader of the PKI, Sigit, held a meeting to discuss the situation that had been circulating. Sigit stated that the General Council did exist, but Jafar Ma'ruf and Ali Mansur denied the existence of the General Council and the Revolutionary Council. As emotions increased, Jafar Ma'ruf tried to calm the atmosphere by ending the meeting so that it would not continue with violence. Sigit's debate with Ali Mansur continued until there was a brawl at the office door where the meeting took place (Crib, 2016).

At the beginning of October 1965, after the G30S incident, many masses gathered on the side of the road. The OPR tried to mobilize its 23 members to maintain security so that unwanted events did not occur between ordinary people and the PKI masses. The PKI and the People's Youth were also preparing to guard the houses of their members armed with a clurit. After being investigated by the OPR, many members of the PKI and People's Youth held clurit so they were forced to be confiscated. Not long after, the mob from Cluring Village and Benculuk Village destroyed the houses of the PKI people. OPR members tried to prevent the mob from doing damage, but were considered pro-PKI and were even shot by a Perhutani police member named Mr. Sunaryo.

The act of destruction of the houses of the PKI people finally spread to the west of the Jamek Mosque and entered the villages. The PKI people north of the mosque also did not resist and chose to retreat to the west of the canal, precisely in the direction of Cemetuk. After the mob that destroyed the houses of the PKI people returned, the PKI/BTI and People's Youth

masses who retreated towards Cemetuk returned to the east and had time to demolish the OPR members who were on guard. The PKI masses also accused the OPR of giving orders for the destruction of PKI people's houses. In this incident, there were no casualties from the OPR even though they received threats to be killed with clurit already around their necks.

At night, PKI members from BTI and People's Youth headed to Cemetuk to develop defense and resistance strategies. They became angry over the incident of destruction of the PKI people and marched with clurit and pointed bamboo from Cemetuk to the Cluring Kingdom to threaten and kill the people who had damaged the houses of their members. The crowd, consisting of about 200 people, then approached the OPR headquarters and was reprimanded by a police officer named Pak Junib because, in the PKI mass, there were three members of the Indonesian Armed Forces who participated. They finally returned to Cemetuk at 20.00 WIB at night. The next day, they held another demonstration with a crowd of about 400-500 people carrying a clurit, a pointed bamboo, and marked with a yellow janur on the left arm. The PKI masses also did not wear clothes when they held demonstrations and shouted: "Ganyang PNI", "Ganyang NU", "Ganyang Muhammadiyah", "Ganyang OPR", "Ganyang Moch Noer", and so on (Noer, 2011).

Hearing the radio broadcast on October 1, 1965, at night, there was an order from the Commander of the Military Headquarters, Major General Suharto, stating that the mastermind of the assassination of the generals was the PKI and ordering the suppression of its members and sympathizers. The masses in Kawedanan Blambangan, starting from Srono, Muncar, Benculuk, Sragen, and Cluring, began to destroy and burn the houses of PKI members. On October 13, 1965, many refugees outside the Cluring District came to Cemetuk. To maintain the safety conditions of many residents and refugees, the PKI divided three power posts. Pos I is located in the eastern part of Cemetuk and is led by Matulus (Head of Cluring Village) and Sudomo from the local People's Youth. Pos II is located in central Cemetuk and is led by Mangun Lehar (PKI Elder/Peguron) and Wasito from BTI. Meanwhile, Pos III is located in the western part, led by Mursid (Bromocorah) and Kaderin Budheng (Samsubur, 2017).

Actions to reduce chaos were then carried out on October 16, 1965, and a grand meeting was held at Banyuwangi Square. Initially, this meeting was used to call the community not to commit acts of destruction. This meeting was attended by the Commander of the Military Command, Lt. Col. Djoko Supaat Slamet, K.H. Abdul Latif Sudjak from NU, Soekmadi from PNI, and Soewarso Kanapi, S.H. from PKI, who was elected as the regent of Banyuwangi. This meeting also discussed the freezing of PKI activities in Banyuwangi. Soewarso Kanapi, S.H., did not make a speech, while Lt. Col. Djoko Supaat Slamet stated that the PKI was responsible for the murder of the general at Lubang Buaya, and K.H. Abdul Latif Sudjak strongly stated that killing the PKI was tantamount to jihad against the infidels. Soekmadi also made a speech stating that the PNI was close to Soekarno, who was involved in the movement, and Lt. Col. Untung must also cooperate. The crowd became increasingly uncontrollable and asked to get off the rostrum, but refused until Lt. Col. Djoko Supaat Slamet forced him to come down. The mob also threw Soekmadi with sandals (Hadi, 2017).

Two days later, on October 18, 1965, hearing information from a courier that the mosque of the NU people in Karangasem would be damaged and burned by the PKI, a group of people from Muncar led by Salamin departed for Karangasem with seven trucks, sedans, and several motorcycles. During the trip to Karangasem, they stopped at the Cluring Village OPR

headquarters to ask for directions to Cemetuk. Moch Noer then answered by pointing in the direction of Jajag and not directly pointing in the direction of Cemetuk because the PKI had made a defense base west of the Jamek Mosque. So it is very dangerous if it is immediately notified. The group from Muncar then continued their journey carrying clurits, machetes, and swords. They also chanted and sounded trumpets and arrived in Karangasem at around 11.00 WIB in the afternoon (Noer, 2011).

The group from Muncar then returned at around 12.30 WIB in the afternoon through the initial road, and around 13.00 WIB in the afternoon, many of the groups walked and ran in the rice fields and then were secured into the OPR headquarters. When asked by the OPR, some gave a weak answer because the PKI people used gunfire. Karangasem became the scene of a very great battle. Many victims from both sides were killed, and the truck used to transport the masses from Muncar was burned after being surrounded by trees. Many masses from Muncar then fled to Cemetuk. The southern part of Cemetuk was marked by the NU flag, and the masses from Muncar who were fleeing were then called by members of the People's Youth disguised as members of Anshor. He was then invited to the house of a PKI figure and the Head of Cluring Village named Matulus. Inside the figure's house, the masses from Muncar were given food treats that had been poisoned. After that, the masses from Muncar were invited to the house of a PKI/BTI figure named Mangun Lehar.

The masses from Muncar who had drowned due to food poisoning were then killed in Mangun Lehar's house. Meanwhile, his body was buried in several holes. The next day, the news about the murder in Cemetuk was then reported by the residents of Cemetuk to Tritunggal, the Tritunggal group headed to Cemetuk at around 14.00 WIB in the afternoon consisting of, 1) From Purtepra (Koramil) commanded directly by Mr. Letda R. Sunarto, 2) From the police there were Mr. Mardiyono, Mr. Jamal, Mr. Junib, Mr. Gurito, etc., 3) From the Mantri Police sub-district office, namely Mr. R. Sumantri, 4) Team of Genteng District doctors, doctors from Germany. Upon arriving in Cemetuk, the hamlet was very quiet, with only older people and women. The team that came then asked them and replied: "Kulo mboten ngertos, Kulo tiyang bodo" (I don't know, I'm a fool). The group then continued their journey to Mangun Lehar's house, and when they arrived there, they were surprised by blood splatters. After research, the blood splash was human blood. The group then asked Mangun Lehar about the stray Muncar people in Cemetuk with the answer: "Kulo mboten ngertos, Kulo tiyang bodo" (I don't know, I'm a fool) (Noer, 2011).

The officers also entered to search Mangun Lehar's house with flashlights to illuminate the room. Under the bed, a person was found alive and shouting "Allahhuakbar, Allahhuakbar, Lailahailallah". The officers then helped the person with his hands and feet tied. After being asked by the officer, the man said that he was from Jember, and then he cried and said that his friends had been killed. The investigation team then proceeded to ask Mangun Lehar about the dead Muncar people with the answer: "Kulo tiyang bodo" (I am a fool). The officer then switched to asking questions to Mangun Lehar's son, who was pressured to tell where the graves of the Muncar people were, but did not want to answer, and did not want to give instructions. The ABRI investigation team then pushed with a gun against Mangun Lehar's child. Finally, Mangun Lehar's son showed the graves of the Muncar people (Noer, 2011).

Tritunggal then conducted an excavation together with the local community and found three holes covered with bamboo trees. These three grave pits contained 62 victims' bodies (1

pit contained 40 people, 1 pit contained 11 people, and 1 more pit contained 11 people). That same night, the rotten bodies of the Muncar people were transported by truck to be returned to their original area. At the same time, PKI figures involved in the murder, such as Mangun Lehar, Supardi, Sutoyo, and others, were arrested and then detained by the Benculuk Police, Cluring District (Noer, 2011).

Hearing that there were fellow PKI members who were arrested and detained at the Benculuk Police, in Krajan Hamlet, Cluring, there was a demonstration carried out by the PKI by shouting: "Kill the Enemies of the Revolution", "Ganyang NU", "Ganyang PNI", and "Ganyang Muhammadiyah". Ashari, Suryanto, and others led this demonstration, with about 200 people armed with a clurit and a pointed bamboo. They also wear yellow janur on the left and do not wear clothes. They demanded that the arrested PKI members be released. The demonstrators walked past the Cluring District Office, and a Puterpra member named Sergeant Nawan blocked and stopped the PKI masses. The PKI masses then wanted to resist while the demonstration leader, Ashari, was told to lay down his arms and raise his hands, but he did not wish to (Noer, 2011).

Ashari was then threatened to be shot by the Indonesian Armed Forces, so he wanted to lay down his weapon and raise his hand so that the masses he led dispersed. After that, a demonstration led by Suryanto appeared by issuing chants: "Ganyang Garong DI/TII", "Ganyang Kontra Revolución", and so on. They were then told to retreat, but did not want to fight. Finally, after calculating if they would resist, a police member named Mr. Somak immediately pulled out a gun and fired it at their heads. The crowd then dispersed and fled to the villages (Noer, 2011).

The 1965 Cemetuk Incident also had different versions of events with different numbers of victims. In *the Report from East Java*, it is said that the Anshor Youth from Muncar carried out an attack on Karangasem with four trucks, three cars, and four motorcycles. The PKI was aware of the plan and had prepared a strategy. The Anshor Youth Truck entering Karangasem was given a surprise with a tree that was cut down. The Anshor youth set fire to several houses, after which they were attacked back, and the truck used as a vehicle was set on fire. Gerwani then participated in the section by entering houses and disguised himself as Fatayat NU. Once inside, the Anshor Youth was then killed by PKI executioners, with a total of 64 people (Hudak, 1986).

The Impact of the 1965 PKI Tragedy

Information about the murder in Cemetuk was received by Danrem 083 Malang, Colonel Soemadi. Danrem 083 was accompanied by staff I and II by riding panzers from the Malang Cavalry Battalion and 1 joint company to move towards Banyuwangi. After arriving in Karangasem, he only saw traces of the incident. Danrem 083 then moved to Jajag and met with the commander of Puterpra, Lieutenant Kabul. After it was known, it turned out that he had sided with the PKI and was then immediately arrested and detained for investigation and questioning about the murder of 62 NU Muncar people (Samsibur, 2017).

The Danrem 083 Malang troops, led by Colonel Soemadi, then moved to Cemetuk Hamlet through Trembelang to the north with ordinary-dressed Indonesian army troops. When they arrived, they looked for a place where the PKI people could gather. On October 20, 1965, Cemetuk Hamlet was then surrounded and fenced by the ABRI. At around 04.00 WIB in the

morning, the sound of gunfire was intensified to scare the PKI people until it was heard in Cluring Village. An hour later, the members of the Cemetuk PKI then gathered together with their friends and finally surrendered. They were then led and gathered in a place where PKI members and their leaders who were arrested amounted to around 40 people, namely, 1) Matulus (Head of Cluring Village), 2) Suyatno (Chairman of PKI Cluring District), 3) Ashari (Vice Chairman of PKI Cluring District), 4) Sangaji (Chairman of BTI Banyuwangi Selatan), and others. They were then taken through Cluring Village. At 24.00 WIB at night, Puterpra ordered Danki OPR to remove the boards/signs of the PKI party and its organizations, such as BTI, People's Youth, and Gerwani. The party's board/sign was then collected at the Benculuk Police Station (Noer, 2011).

One by one, the members of the Cemetuk PKI surrendered to the Cluring Kingdom like Mr. Sauri. He reported that many weapons were still found in Cemetuk. He also said that the Cluring and Cemetuk PKI would kill the OPR and his men. Then followed by other PKI figures who surrendered to Puterpra after being investigated by the Cluring Police. They claimed to have killed the Muncar people and put them in three holes, namely, 1) Mr. Sunar (Cluring), 2) Mr. Bakeri (Cluring), 3) Mr. Ajar (Cluring), 4) Mr. Yasin (Cluring), 5) Mr. Waris (Cluring), 6) Mr. Jalal (Cluring), 7) Mr. Asmuni (Cluring), 8) Mr. Domo (Cemetuk), 9) Mr. Sa'I (Cemetuk), 10) Mr. Sukri (Cemetuk), 11) Mr. Sakur (Cemetuk), 12) Mr. Badrun (Cemetuk), 13) Mr. Samidi (Cemetuk), 14) Mr. Rebo (Ponorogo), and others. They all admitted that the execution was carried out by the decision of the party and the leaders of the Cluring District PKI, such as 1) Suyatno (Chairman of the Cluring District PKI), 2) Ashari (Deputy Chairman of the Cluring District PKI), 3) Supardi Jeglek (Chairman of the Cluring District PKI), and others. They were all finally brought to Banyuwangi (Noer, 2011).

Furthermore, Danki OPR received an order from Commander Puterpra to carry out an arrest operation against PKI members and Bromocorah with the masses. The order was then carried out and succeeded in arresting 9 PKI and Bromocorah members from Trembelang Hamlet, Cluring Village, and 9 PKI members from Sumberwaru Hamlet and Bendorejo Hamlet, Cluring Village. Those who have been arrested include Mr. Parto Klopo (Bromocorah Trembelang), Mr. Rukimin (BTI Trembelang), Mr. Tukul (Bromocorah Trembelang), Mr. Tikno (BTI Trembelang), Mr. Marto Sidik (BTI Bendorejo), Mr. Samud (Bromocorah Bendorejo), Mr. Bero (Bromocorah Bendorejo), Mr. Buimin (Bromocorah Bendorejo), Mr. Pi'I (BTI Cluring), Mr. Sadiran (PKI Cluring), Mr. Sadi (PKI Cluring) and others. They were then handed over to Puterpra along with the confiscated weapons such as swords, clurits, spears, keris, and poisonous sander guns (Noer, 2011).

After the incident in Cemetuk, the NU people became angry and then formed a group of troops to suppress the PKI in Banyuwangi known as the Black Crow Force. This troop used all-black clothes ranging from headbands, shirts, and pants armed with clurits, swords, samurai, keris, and pointed bamboo. The Black Crow Army carried out its initial suppression through an overt announcement announced by sub-district employees. After that, they went to the headquarters or houses of PKI members and were killed, and their bodies were then thrown into rivers or ravines. The house belonging to the PKI member who was killed was then burned (Kurniawan, 2013).

The cleansing or massacre process was then carried out led by Colonel Soemadi (Commander of Korem 083), Lt. Col. Djoko Supaat Slamet (Commander of Kodim 08325),

Djafar Ma'ruf (Chairman of PNI Banyuwangi), Haji Abdul Latif (Chairman of NU Banyuwangi) and Captain Saimin Suprpto (Head of Section I Kodim 08325) assisted by Lt. Djumangat and butchers from PNI and NU. The process of cleaning PKI members and their sympathizers in Banyuwangi is usually carried out in quiet places far from crowds, such as public cemeteries, riversides, and plantations. These places include: 1) Curahtangis is located in Baluran National Park, the border of Banyuwangi with Situbondo, 2) Mrawan/Gunung Gumitir is located on the border of Banyuwangi and Jember, 3) Tampuh, a village with a plantation that is now located in Cluring, Banyuwangi, 4) Curahjati, a teak forest that is now located in Purwoharjo, Banyuwangi, 5) Bulusan and Ketapang on the coast (Crib, 2016).

Knowing the total victims of the 1965-1966 Mass Murder is by quoting or seeking information from the government. According to the Fact Finding Commission, the number of victims is 78,000. However, according to Oei Tjoe Tat, the team leader, the number is too small. More precisely, when added by a number 0 after it, it becomes 780,000. Meanwhile, Kopkamtib in its report mentions the figure of 1 million (800,000 in Central Java and East Java, and 100,000 each in Bali and Sumatra) (Crib, 2016). Around December 25, 1965, when the fact-finding team consisting of Brigadier General Dr. Sumarno, Oei Tjoe Tat, and Police Chief Sukanto descended, the number of victims reached 25,000 people. On October 1, 1966, another 150 victims were persuaded, and more were killed in May 1968, although the exact number is unknown (Crib, 2016).

The purge of communist sympathizers in 1965-1966 in Banyuwangi was based on the *New Findings on the Indonesian Killings of 1965–66*, which stated that in Banyuwangi itself at that time, there was a population shift, so that there was an increase in population by 105,914. So, in Banyuwangi, the population increased by 9%. This phenomenon is very interesting because many people migrate on a large scale due to violence and murder in their home areas, so they choose places that are still sparsely populated or remote to take refuge. The area that is widely visited is the southern part of Banyuwangi. There are a number of indications that can be said to be safe for refugees. First, the military categorized the area as an area that the PKI could use to reassemble its membership. Second, there were the Karangasem and Cemetuk incidents where the PKI had massacred 64 NU members (actually 62 people). Here, it can be seen that the PKI received very strong support from the Central and Southern regions. Third, the PKI's votes in 1955-1957 competed with NU. Fourth, in terms of linguistics, Banyuwangi is an area that has a strong Javanese influence, while Madura dominates the western and northern regions of Banyuwangi. Fifth, the southern part of Banyuwangi is very remote because it is located at the eastern tip of Java Island. This terrain was very popular with refugees and PKI people who fled because it was almost similar to the South Blitar area (Chandra, 2017).

The estimated casualties in *the New Findings on the Indonesian Killings of 1965–66* are not only high death rates, but also depression that makes the population depressed, and inter-district or inter-provincial migration. Overall, the results show that deaths in East Java are likely more than 150,000 people. Looking at it from a historical and comparative perspective, these findings are not without reason. There are anecdotal accounts of deaths, including those in Cribb (2016), stating that deaths for the whole of Indonesia amount to hundreds of thousands and, if consensus is taken, around 500,000. East Java is one of the three worst-affected provinces (along with Central Java and Bali), so the figure of 150,000, which means

approximately 15,000, one-third of the overall agreed figure, can be said to be reasonable (Chandra, 2017).

After the incident in Cemetuk in 1965, to commemorate the occurrence of the event, a monument was built at the place where the mass graves of Anshor members from Muncar were found, named the Pancasila Jaya Monument. This monument is similar to the Pancasila Sakti Monument, also known as Lubang Buaya. On this monument, there is a statue of Garuda Pancasila, which, as the ideology of the Indonesian state, remains firmly established until now, even though it has become a rival to communist ideology. Around this monument, there are reliefs next to the Garuda Pancasila statue that depict how the event happened. This monument also has three pits, the former places where Anshor members of Muncar were buried en masse. Each of the holes contained the bodies of 40 people, 11 people, and 11 people, for a total of 62 people. So this monument can be used as a place of commemoration, a place of education, and also to reflect on yourself, so that historical events that have occurred in the region do not happen again. Cemetuk Hamlet was then known as Pancasila Village because various religious people had been born after the Cemetuk Incident in 1965.

The nickname of Cemetuk Hamlet as Pancasila Village was motivated by the occurrence of religious conversion carried out by the local community after the Cemetuk Incident in 1965. This is obtained from the narration of a Buddhist nun named Uun Triya Tribuce (30 years old), or commonly called Silla Uun. The process of religious conversion also occurred in his family as a result of the Karangasem and Cemetuk Incidents in 1965. Before the religious conversion to Buddhism, some of his ancestors still adhered to Kejawen. The process of conversion to Buddhism, according to him, the surrounding community in groups has the principle of what teachings are closest to the teachings of their ancestors so that Buddhism was chosen. Entering Buddhism is inseparable from the existence of Buddha Jaya Vishnu in the neighborhood around where he lives.

CONCLUSION

Banyuwangi, located at the eastern tip of Java Island, is known for its cultural richness but also carries a dark history tied to the 1965 PKI tragedy. Following the PKI's rise in the 1955 election, tensions between political parties, particularly between the PKI, NU, and PNI, escalated due to election fraud accusations. The G30S incident in Jakarta triggered widespread conflict, with news of military actions against the PKI spreading across Indonesia. This led to brutal violence in Banyuwangi, notably on October 18, 1965, when 62 people from Muncar were massacred and buried in mass graves in Cemetuk and Karangasem. The formation of the Black Crow Team escalated the violence, leading to further mass killings and secret burials. The aftermath saw the creation of the Pancasila Jaya Monument, commemorating the event and symbolizing the region's shift toward religious tolerance, following mass conversions to avoid PKI accusations. The community, now known as Pancasila Village, united across religious lines, fostering interfaith harmony. Future research should explore the long-term impacts of these events on community identity and interfaith relations in Banyuwangi, as well as the role of monuments and educational programs in promoting peace and reconciliation.

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