

Traumatic narrative of the pemberontakan PKI Madiun 1948 in the *Ayat-Ayat yang Disembelih* by Anaf Afifi and Thowaf Zuharon: A postmemory study

Joko Santoso ^{a,1*}, Faruk ^{a,2}, Novi Siti Kussuji Indrastuti ^{a,3}

^a Gadjah Mada University, Indonesia

¹jokogesang84@mail.ugm.ac.id *; farukkhan@ugm.ac.id; novi_indrastuti@ugm.ac.id

* Correspondent Author

Received: April 3, 2023

Revised: October 28, 2023

Accepted: October 29, 2023

KEYWORD

Ayat-Ayat yang Disembelih
Narasi trauma
Pemberontakan PKI 1948
postmemory

ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to explain the trauma narrative pattern that emerged in the works of the second generation of the Pemberontakan PKI Madiun 1948 through Anaf Afifi and Thowaf Zuharon's *Ayat-ayat Yang Disembelih* (2015). The second generation lacks immediate memory, or what Marianne Hirsch refers to as postmemory. The theory utilized in this research is Hirsch's postmemory, which holds that the second generation inherits trauma through investment in imagination, projection, and creativity. The employed method of analysis is the qualitative data methodological implication of postmemory theory. The Islamic narrative to the PKI reveals the trauma narrative pattern of reflexive secondary first person and mental transmission.

This is an open-access article under the [CC-BY-SA](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/) license.



Introduction

The memory of the PKI in Indonesian history is predominately centered on the 1965 G30 S PKI event, as many historians have described it as a genocide (Melvin, 2017; Eickhoff et al., 2017; Leksana, 2019; Cribb, 2001; Cribb, 2002; Robinson, 2017; Conroe, 2017; Roosa, 2008; Knight, 2012; Boden, 2007). Numerous works of art and culture, particularly literature, respond to the remembrance of the alleged genocide. Several literary works have been identified as responses to the 1965 G30S PKI, including *Kubah* by Ahmad Tohari (1980), the novel *Jalan Bandungan* by Nh. Dini (1989), the novel *Durga Umayi* by Mangunwijaya (1991), the memoir *Nyanyi Sunyi Seorang Bisu* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer (1995), *Sri Sumarah* by Umar Kayam (1975), *Jentera Lepas* by Ashadi Siregar (2012). *Mencoba Tak Menyerah* by Yudhistira Anm Massardi (1979), *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* by Ahmad Tohari (1984), *Pulang* by Lela S Chudori (2013), *Amba* by Laksmi Pamunjtak (2012), *Gadis Kretek* by Ratih Kumala

(2012), *65 Lanjutan Blues Merbabu* by Gitanyali (2012). The fact that these works were authored by authors from different generations demonstrates that the 1965 G30S PKI tragedy had a substantial impact on Indonesian literature.

The majority of narratives in the aforementioned works emphasize that the PKI was the victim. Prior to the events of 1965, the PKI Madiun Rebellion of 1948 was a minority narrative in Indonesian history. Few authors commented to this most recent incident, and researchers had trouble locating writings that addressed the PKI Madiun 1948. This poses a number of problems; *first*, why did the events of 1965 become increasingly prominent in Indonesian literary works, with the PKI portrayed as victims? Second, why did so few people respond to the 1948 episode in which the PKI was the murderer? In the history of the PKI in Indonesia as well as in Indonesian literature, there is a form of narrative contestation regarding who is the victim and who is the offender/perpetrator.

Ayat-ayat Yang Sembelih (2015) (later renamed AAYD) by Anab Afifi and Thowaf Zuharon features this story, despite the fact that the narrative surrounding the PKI 1948 is tiny and it is difficult to discover literary works that respond to this occurrence. This is a collection of short stories derived from biographical collections. In contrast to the majority of stories in the works that responded to the 1965 PKI, the stories in AAYD are unique. In AAYD, the PKI is represented as the murderer in reference to the events of 1948, yet in 1965, the bulk of PKI members were portrayed as victims. AAYD appears to go against the majority flow of historical narratives concerning the PKI in Indonesia. This illness is not easily treatable. Who was murdered if the PKI was the assailant? AAYD indicates that the vast majority of victims are Muslims/Islamists.

The *Pemberontakan PKI Madiun 1948* took place before Anab Afifi and Thowaf Zuharon were born. Or, Afifi and Zuharon are the second generation affected by this occurrence. Consequently, the memory that they create is post-memory, or memory after memory. Afifi and Zuharon did not directly experience the horror, but they inherited it. As indicated previously, the legacy of the 1948 PKI trauma is difficult because it is not as extensive as the 1965 PKI and is a minor narrative.

Postmemory was first introduced as a theory by Hirsch in two significant books: *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (2012) and *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust* (2012). In addition to believing that traumatic memories can be inherited, Hirsch emphasizes that not only does the second generation inherit trauma, but it also reinvests in imagination, projection, and invention. This trauma investment is also a sort of familial gaze determination, or the generation-spanning view of the family or community. Hirsch highlighted that while postmemory is tied to history, it is not history itself

Santoso, Joko, et.al (Traumatic narrative of the)

(Hirsch, 2012a; Hirsch, 2012b). Postmemory is the subjectivity of an event's history. Postmemory is more concerned with historical "emotions" than "facts." Thus, the subject's participation in this instance is quite influential. The theme may be associated with the narrator, the characters or personalities, or the author. The subject functions as a narrator who reintroduces the "wound narrative" and expands the referent of meaning beyond the thing observed to the observable world as a whole.

The work of AAYD contradicts the prevalent narrative regarding the history of the PKI, which is commonly thought to have become the murderer. AAYD also explains how the PKI, through Musso, perpetrated crimes against humanity by murdering *kiai* (the leader of Islam), Islamic boarding school pupils, and creating adversaries of the Islamic faith. Indeed, this narrative will be perceived as obscuring history or undermining reconciliation attempts. With the narrative of the second generation of Islam, however, the question must also be asked: did the PKI, which is portrayed as a victim, never commit murder in the past? In fact, historical records demonstrate that the PKI assassinated *kiai*, government officials, and police officers (Poeze, 2020). Musso's PKI was ambitious in its desire to replace the Indonesian revolution based on communist struggles and ideologies (Gie, 2017; Efimova & McVey, 2011; Isnaeni, 2012; Matanasi, 2018; Onghokham, 1978; Swift, 1989).

Researchers have not yet encountered a postmemory study of Indonesian literature that analyzes the PKI Madiun 1948. On the other hand, studies relating to the 1965 PKI and postmemory theory are available, but they will not be examined here as they are irrelevant to the problem at hand. Such technological details also contribute to this research's contention that the 1965 PKI narrative has proven to be more convincing than the 1948 Madiun PKI. Researchers have not yet discovered any studies pertaining to AAYD. Following Hirsch's Holocaust research, studies on postmemory have evolved in numerous locations of the world. Youngmin Choe penned an account of events from the Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) (Choe, 2013). Ananya Jahanara Kabir penned the events surrounding the Partition of India (Kabir, 2004). Long Bui wrote on the suffering of Vietnam War evacuees (Bui, 2016). The Algerian war massacre was authored by Katelyn E. Knox (Knox, 2014). Craig Larkin and Chrisoula Lionis penned the account of the Lebanon civil war (Larkin, 2010; Lionis, 2014). These investigations are based on memories of tragic events, such as the PKI Madiun massacre of 1948. The absence of postmemory studies of literary works on PKI Madiun 1948 and studies on AAYD demonstrates the novelty of this research. Even though postmemory has been utilized by a number of researchers in other regions of the world, such as Choe, Kabir, Bui, Knox, Larkin, and

Lionis, it has not been utilized in postmemory PKI Madiun 1948 in Indonesia; so, its theoretical application in this instance is also relatively recent.

The primary subject of this paper and research is the trauma narrative that established the inequality in the history of the PKI in Indonesia, which between 1965 and 1948 appeared to be unilateral. This article is crucial because the narrative trends of these two historical occurrences diverge. In 1948, the PKI was described as the murderer, whereas in 1965, it was described as the victim. The position of AAYD and the manner in which the trauma narrative was narrated by the second generation, such as Afifi and Zuharon, in PKI Madiun 1948 amidst the supremacy of the 1965 narrative is the primary concern of this study.

Method

The material object of this research is a collection of stories from Anaf Afifi and Thowaf Zuharon's *Ayat-Ayat Yang Disembelih*, while the formal object is a trauma narrative. Given that the subject is a literary work, the data type is qualitative. On the basis of postmemory theory and qualitative data, the methods of seeing and the ways of insights are used for analysis. Thus, data analysis demands originality (Flick, 2007). The nature of qualitative data is inherently tentative. Variables and issues undergo ongoing enhancement (Moleong, 2017). Maximum coherence is the peak of analysis (Faruk, 2012). *First*, selecting the quality of trauma narrative data in AAYD; *second*, developing trauma narrative patterns from data into analytical variables; *third*, analyzing by correlating and cohering the quality of trauma narrative data; *fourth*, reducing unnecessary trauma narrative patterns into essential trauma narratives; and *fifth*, drawing a conclusion.

Results and Discussion

Reflexive Secondary First Person

Who speaks, what he says, and how he says it have a significant impact on the narrative. In other words, the narrative relies heavily on the narrator. As with attempts to generate traumatic memories, the narrator plays a crucial role in trauma narration. The second generation does not directly experience events/memories in memory research. When there is a time discrepancy or a big time gap between the direct event/immediate memory/memory conveyed by the first person, another narrator from the second generation will attempt to play a role or replace the first generation.

Consequently, Hirsch himself split the Holocaust into two transmission models: familial and affiliative. The first is carried through direct family, while the second is communicated through numerous Holocaust-related materials. While researching the Korean War, Chu

separates psychic transmission from genetic transmission. It is believed that telepathy is a mental transmission, but genetics is an automated transfer passed directly from one generation to the next.

Such transmission gives rise to narration and narrator. Narratives related to the family are based on the responsibility to protect or pass on generations as living things in general. Meanwhile, affiliative narratives relate to similar views, ideologies, or kinship as a general principle: shared destiny. The narration itself—whether delivered by a narrator who gets a transmission from the family or a shared ideology or views through a lot of literature—has a vital role in memory/trauma recall. The second-generation narrator is the second narrator because he does not experience directly, but his role in the narrative can be in the first person. Therefore, that position can be called a secondary first person. This can be seen in the following quotation.

“For me, the stories of the PKI’s ferocity under Muso’s command in 1948 are nothing new. I’ve heard stories about it from my father and grandparents since childhood.

Likewise, people my age or older around Madiun, Magetan, Ponorogo, Ngawi, Pacitan, etc.

In the Madiun area, this incident was not only in one or two places. However, it also occurred in 24 villages and 24 cities in the vicinity” (Afifi & Zuharon, 2015:65).

The quote shows how “I” uses his position as the narrator. He uses internal gaze as a non-PKI group or as a victim. Meanwhile, there is a visible pattern of opposition to an external gaze, namely the PKI itself, characterized by a narrative of “malignancy.” Such a narrative emphasizes the opposition between “I” and my father, grandfather, grandmother, the people of Madiun, Magetan, Ponorogo, Ngawi, Pacitan, and the PKI.

The narrator “I” is referred to as the secondary first person, namely as the first person to tell the experience of trauma that he has never experienced. In Hirsch’s postmemory terminology, the experience of trauma can be obtained through the family through familial transmission or non-family through affiliation. Although in Chu’s view, transmission can occur telepathically (mental transmission) or genetically (trauma develops in hereditary genes). In the quotation above, it can be seen that transmission varies, either through the familial, which is represented by “I” itself, or the affiliate, which the people of Madiun, Magetan, Ponorogo, Ngawi, and Pacitan represent. In that transmission, mental or telepathic transmission is possible, although it may still be debated whether genetic transmission also applies.

As a secondary first person, the narrator “I” takes over the first person role in events. However, because “I” is still not the first person or owner of direct memory, what “I” conveys

is not history but is included in the story category. This opens up opportunities for opening the reflexive factor of the self “I,” namely personal or subjective ideas, as seen in the following quotation.

“This afternoon, September 8, 2015, I invite you to enter the Rejosari Sugar Factory area, Gorang Gareng, Magetan, East Java. If you walk from Cigrok or Kenongo Mulyo Village, follow the road for about 7 kilometers, and you will reach this factory.

...
In this place, hundreds of people, including kiai, santri, and community leaders, were escorted by FDR's PKI troops, including several from the Takeran Sabilil Muttaqin Islamic Boarding School (PSM) family.

...
Woro Suradi, whose house is close to the location of the sugar factory's lodge, heard a series of gunshots and the screams of the prisoners inside the lodge.

The sound of this shot came from a machine gun or *sten*, which Suhud turned on.

A few moments later, he saw Suhud darting out of the lodge wearing black glasses and a sten gun that was hung. Suhud ran south on a big motorcycle with his two friends” (Afifi & Zuharon, 2015:65-66).

The “I” in the quote is like a “museum officer” telling an event around 1948. However, what needs to be underlined first is that the narrative was not the first narrative in 1948 but the narrative of September 8, 2015. Apart from explaining the position as a secondary first person, it also allows reflexive opportunities with encouragement to incorporate personal ideology, in this case, Islam. As discussed earlier, “I” represents Islam and emphasizes its opposition to the PKI. The above quote reaffirms the previous section that PKI is a “vicious” ideology and endangers the generation of Muslims.

The quote appears as a diorama. However, as a diorama, its function is more accurately described as a mental event rather than a direct analogy. Because a direct analogy will only come to how the event happened, whereas mental events will operate on consciousness. In human consciousness, at least according to Freud, there are two basic instincts, namely, the life instinct and the death instinct. The first operates on how-to carry-on life, the continuity of generations, while the second is the condition humans are afraid of, namely death.

The quote above shows the instinct of death on a large scale, including a generation represented by the Islamic generation from among the santri, kiai, and community leaders. This death instinct put pressure on the mind and constructed the ideal PKI concept. This means that the PKI is a symbol of the death instinct for Islam and can potentially break the sustainability/continuity of the Muslim generation. In other words, the PKI is a group, or if it represents an ideology, it is not an ideal concept for Islam. The death instinct is reinforced by the narrative of how the figure of Suhud shot students, clerics, and community leaders in the style of an action movie actor (wearing black glasses and seeming indifferent to his actions).

Such a reflexive narrative is essential for the writer to emphasize the death instinct, mental transmission, and trauma recall. As a diorama, there is a symbolic influence that works more profoundly than the direct analogy of an event. The narrator uses the power of "I" to ensure the authenticity of his narrative and his story and not to emphasize his historicity. The effort to reveal the facts is not more important than telling the story. Reflexive narratives are personal narratives that absorb the objectivity of facts, history, and general views into a personal gaze. Once again, "I" is a critical actor who processes these external aspects into a trauma recall formula.

Mental Transmission

The fundamental question of trauma recall events is why trauma is continuously produced. A reproduction effort is a form of responsibility in the context of life instinct, namely how the survival of a generation can continue. One form of that responsibility is to warn of ideal disturbances related to death instinct. Therefore, as in the previous discussion, the narrator provides narration *reflexively*, which seeks to provide a mental experience. With death instinct, mental experience is more readily accepted by consciousness. This can be seen in the following quotation.

"Of the hundreds of prisoners who were shot, five people survived. They are Rokib, Salis, Sartono, Sujono, and Lasman.

The scene of the massacre was like a dream. These five people witnessed human bodies toppled and rolled down by sharp bullets and hand grenades.

The smell of gunpowder and rancid blood filled the surroundings of the lodge. A moment later, the atmosphere became silent. Corpses piled up, and blood filled the room.

Not all of the prisoners who were strafed were killed. Some were still alive, and some even screamed in pain. Some still breathed heavily and asked for a drink" (Afifi & Zuharon, 2015:67-68).

In the quote above, the narrative built is a narrative *death instinct*. It should be underlined that if the narrative is an object, then the object in question is not only an actual object but also an ideal. The ideal thing is the qualities contained in a narrative. These qualities can be received by consciousness as mental experiences. Instinctively, humans cannot accept the loss of an object, either actually or ideally. Meanwhile, death instinct can be said to be an event where humans will lose both things. When humans lose these objects, trauma occurs (sadness, grief).

Rokib, Salis, Sartono, Sujono, and Lasman, in the quote, are the first person but are reborn in the narrative through the narrator's *secondary first person*. The narrative seeks to maintain the authenticity of mental experience by re-presenting the first person. The first person is faced

with a death instinct situation that humans never want to imagine, namely witnessing their brother being killed in a sadistic manner, and they should have the same fate. Of the victims killed, some died immediately; some were in pain. Situations that the average human would like to avoid mentally.

This is what the Islamic narrative emphasizes on the PKI. In this narrative, a countertransference formula is built, namely the condition of rejecting certain ideals. This sadism was not just an experience but a mental experience that, at the same time, gave a counter-ideal picture of PKI. This happens because humans depend on objects or something outside themselves. Humans rely not only on empirical objects but the quality of that objects. Islam is one of the ideal objects that humans want. For the communists, the PKI was their ideal object. However, Islam does not make PKI an ideal object in this quote, and vice versa. This situation is known as countertransference. This can be seen in another quote as follows.

“Sartono shed tears remembering the terrible incident. He survived the massacre because he remained under the window while the FDR men opened fire on the prisoners from above.

...

Rono Kromo, a villager who at that time took part in lifting the victims, said that when he entered the room, dozens of people were covered in blood. He could not bear to see the suffering of those people.

‘When I entered the room, my feet felt ... sore when they stepped on the blood on the floor,’ said Rono Kromo as I read in a book” (Afifi & Zuharon, 2015:68).

Sartono and Rono Kromo in first person narrated by *secondary first person* authentically by the narrator being in that event. The narrative, “said Rono Kromo as I read in a book, ” describes two different times, two different generations. The construction of the narrative lies precisely in the distance of time or generation. The narrator wants to show that affiliative and familial experiences have the same significant effect. That is, anyone can own trauma, namely those related to the immediate family or no family connection at all. Books, references, and documentation can be used as a medium for transmitting trauma. In that way, the narrator doesn’t need to make detailed clarifications to get the authenticity of the narration.

As for reflexively, this narrative emphasizes the strong countertransference of sadism from PKI. Rono Kromo, for example, is illustrated as the first person after the killing of Muslims by the PKI. Under such conditions, resistance emerged against the object, both actual and ideal, from the PKI in the Islamic view. Objectively, the PKI was positioned as having no ideal qualities in the face of Islam. Such a narrative allows it to be transmitted not as a quality that the Islamic generation must accept, but on the contrary; it must be rejected. The loss of Islam as an ideology or generation needs to be anticipated, while the PKI is positioned as a death instinct,

namely object qualities that must be avoided. The trauma narrative means continuity, or it can also be said as *post-*. In other words, the constructed narrative was *post-Madiun 1948*, namely the effort to build the ideal quality of the PKI to be counter-ideal to Islam.

Conclusion

The trauma narrative patterns of the Pemberontakan PKI Madiun 1948 in the *Ayat-Ayat Yang Disembelih* by Anaf Afifi and Thowaf Zuharon look varied. *First*, there is a reflexive secondary first-person pattern. This narrative pattern is constructed by utilizing first person experiences/people who have experienced direct trauma. The narrator utilizes the power of "I" as a guarantor of the authenticity of the story, and at the same time utilizes symbolic power rather than direct analogy. However, it needs to be emphasized that "I" is a secondary person construction, not a true first person. This means that the narrator is a second-generation construction who does not experience it directly, and positions "I" as if it were someone who experienced it directly. The "I" narrator here also does not focus on history, but on the reflexive story. "I" is only a guarantee of authenticity, but "I" is not used to guarantee history. This method allows "me" to determine familial gaze, or personal views regarding Islam towards the PKI. *Second*, mental transmission. Reflexive narration aims to establish mental transmission. The emphasis on story, not history, encourages mental transmission, namely the transfer of qualities of ideal objects/ideologies from one generation to the next. The quality that is transmitted is the familial gaze, or personal view. In the Slaughtered Verses, the second generation of Islam positions the PKI as a death instinct, namely an object that must be avoided. The trauma narrative is constructed according to the meaning of *post-*, namely *post-Madiun 1948*, an effort to build the ideal qualities of the PKI into a counter-ideal to Islam as an ideology.

Declarations

- Author contribution** : Joko Santoso is responsible for all writing projects. He also leads screenwriting for data collection, transcription, and analysis. The second author, Prof. Dr. Faruk, and the third author Dr. Novi Siti Kussuji Indrastuti who is promoter and co-promoter agreed to the final manuscript of this paper.
- Funding statement** : This research was funded scholarship provider, namely the LPDP of the Ministry of Finance.
- Conflict of interest** : All authors declare that they have no competing interests.
- Ethics Approval** : Information on Ethical Consent and informed consent statements are required for all articles published on BAHASTRA since 2023.
- Additional Information** : No additional information is available for this paper.

References

- Afifi, A., & Zuharon, T. (2015). *Ayat-Ayat yang disembelih*. Jagat Publishing.
- Boden, R. (2007). The "Gestapu" events of 1965 in Indonesia: New evidence from Russian and German archives. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde*, 163(4), 507–528. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003693>
- Bui, L. (2016). The refugee repertoire: Performing and staging the postmemories of violence. *Melusus*, 41(3), 112–132. <https://doi.org/10.1093/melus/mlw034>
- Choe, Y. (2013). Postmemory DMZ in South Korean cinema, 1999-2003. *The Journal of Korean Studies*, 18(2), 315–336. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jks.2013.0013>
- Conroe, A. M. (2017). Moments of proximity: Former political prisoners, postmemory and justice in Indonesia. *Asian Studies Review*, 41(3), 352–370. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2017.1334760>
- Cribb, R. (2001). Genocide in Indonesia, 1965-1966. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 3(2), 219–239. <https://doi.org/10.1080/713677655>
- _____. (2002). Unresolved problems in the Indonesian killings of 1965-1966. *Asian Survey*, 42(4), 550–563. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2002.42.4.550>
- Efimova, L. M., & McVey, R. T. (2011). Stalin and the new program for the communist party of Indonesia. *Indonesia*, 91(April), 131–163. <https://doi.org/10.5728/indonesia.91.0131>
- Eickhoff, M., van Klinken, G., & Robinson, G. (2017). 1965 Today: Living with the Indonesian massacres. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 19(4), 449–464. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2017.1393931>
- Faruk. (2012). *Metode penelitian sastra: Sebuah penjelajahan awal*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Flick, U. (2007). *Designing qualitative research*. Sage Publications.
- Gie, S. H. (2017). *Orang-orang di persimpangan kiri jalan*. Mata Bangsa.
- Hirsch, M. (2012a). *Family frames: Photography narrative and postmemory*. Harvard University Press.
- _____. (2012b). *The generation of postmemory: Writing and visual culture after the holocaust*. Columbia University Press.
- Isnaeni, H. F. (2012). Jalan baru musso dalam peristiwa Madiun. *Historia*. <https://historia.id/politik/articles/jalan-baru-musso-dalam-peristiwa-madiun-PeGqD/page/1>
- Kabir, A. J. (2004). Musical recall: Postmemory and the punjabi diaspora. *Journal of Comparative Poetic*, 24, 172–189. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4047424>
- Knight, G. R. (2012). From merdeka! To massacre: The politics of sugar in the early years of the Indonesian republic. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 43(3), 402–421. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022463412000318>
- Knox, K. E. (2014). Rapping postmemory, sampling the archive: Reimagining 17 October 1961. *Modern & Contemporary France*, 22(3), 381–397. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09639489.2014.885004>
- Larkin, C. (2010). Beyond the war? The lebanese postmemory experience. *Int.J.Middle East Stud*, 42, 615–635. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002074381000084X>
- Leksana, G. (2019). Remembering the Indonesian genocide, 53 years later. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde*, 175(1), 67–79. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-17501001>

- Lionis, C. (2014). A past not yet passed: Postmemory in the work of mona hatoum. *Social Text*, 32(2), 77–93. <https://doi.org/10.1215/01642472-2419558>
- Matanasi, P. (2018). *Musso gagal menciptakan ketertiban, akibatnya: Madiun affair 1948*. Tirto.Id. <https://tirto.id/musso-gagal-menciptakan-ketertiban-akibatnya-madiun-affair-1948-cYFA>
- Melvin, J. (2017). Mechanics of mass murder: A case for understanding the Indonesian killings as genocide. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 19(4), 487–511. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2017.1393942>
- Moleong, L. J. (2017). *Metodologi penelitian kualitatif*. PT Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Ongkhokham. (1978). Pemberontakan Madiun 1948: Drama manusia dalam revolusi. *Prisma*, (7), 57–70.
- Poeze, H. A. (2020). *Madiun 1948 PKI bergerak*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia dan KITLV.
- Robinson, G. (2017). “Down to the very roots”: The Indonesian army’s role in the mass killings of 1965–66. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 19(4), 465–486. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2017.1393935>
- Roosa, J. (2008). The truths of torture: Victims’ memories and state histories in Indonesia. *Indonesia*, 85, 31–49.
- Swift, A. (1989). *The road to Madiun: The Indonesian communist uprising of 1948*. Cornell University.