

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables	7
Acronyms and glossary	9
Acknowledgements	13
Introduction	15
Function and Meaning of Memory	21
The Locality in Politics of Memory	24
Embedded Remembering	29
The Case of 1965 in East Java	34
A Note about the Method	37
Structure Of the Book	40
1 The Context of Remembering	47
The Village Under Colonial Capitalism	49
Plantation Life in South Malang	53
Workers of the Plantation	59
Under the Changing State: Japanese Occupation and Independence	62
Confronting Class Differentiation: The Left and Agrarian Reform	67
Rural Transformation under the New Order	71
Conclusion	76
2 Executing the Violence	81
Expansion of the Army's Power	86
Key Features of East Java's Military Operation	91
From Chaos to Extermination	96
When Local Acts Became Coordinated	99
Records of Detention	103
Military Operations in South Malang	106
Establishing the New Order	109
Conclusion	112
3 Embedded Remembering	117
Patronage in Memory Construction	119
Local Collaborators and Memory Work	126
Post-Violence Rural Development	139

Navigating Silence	147
Conclusion	150
4 Memory Landscapes	155
Indonesia's National Site of Memory: Lubang Buaya	158
Memory Landscapes in Donomulyo	160
Trisula Public Meeting Hall	160
The Trisula Monument (<i>Monumen Trisula</i>)	163
The Ngerendeng/Bhayangkara Monument	168
Kaliasri Public Cemetery	175
Mulyosari Mass Grave	178
Conclusion	182
5 Postmemory, Silence, and Trauma in Family Narratives	187
Memories of an Activist – The Family of Suparman	191
Memories of the Lost Land – The Family of Marwono	196
Escaping Lifetime Imprisonment – The Family of Baharjo	200
Memories of a Survivor – The Family of Jarso	204
Beyond Families	209
Conclusion	212
Conclusion	215
Embedded Remembering, Historiography, and National Reconciliation	
Insights on Methodology and Historiography in Indonesia	219
Insights on Reconciliation and Transitional Justice – Limitations of the Human Rights Approach	221
Index	225