

## POST-EVENT POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN SEPTEMBER 30, 1965 MOVEMENT IN PENGLATAN VILLAGE, BULELENG DISTRICT, BALI PROVINCE

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### ABSTRACT

*In general, the objectives of this study are (1) to find out the background of the humanitarian tragedy after the September 30, 1965 Movement in the Village of Penglatan; (2) to analyze the process of humanitarian tragedy after the events of the September 30, 1965 Movement in the Village of Penglatan, (3) to analyze the implications of the humanitarian tragedy after the events of the September 30, 1965 Movement in the Village of Penglatan. This research methodologically uses a qualitative approach, the technique of determining informants with purposive sampling and informants continues to be developed with snowball techniques. In collecting data the researchers used: (1) Interviews; (2) Observation of participation In order to direct the observation of participation, the aspects to be observed are determined; (3) Analysis of document. The results of this study indicate that the background of the humanitarian tragedy after the events of the September 30th 1965 Movement in the Village of Penglatan is 1). The existence of political competition, the competition is rooted in competition between the PNI and PKI whose embryo began in 1955, (2) The process of humanitarian tragedy after the events of the September 30, 1965 Movement in Penglatan Village occurred a few weeks after the 1965 coup (Gestok, 1 October 1965), involving the party wing organizations of the PNI include GSNI, PETANI, LKN, GPM, GPD, as well as CSO organizations such as BTI, Lekra, and Pemuda Rakyat. (3) Implications of humanitarian tragedy after the events of the September 30, 1965 Movement for villages and families in the village of Penglatan were to have a broad impact on the families left behind, the most felt impact was the trauma of PKI sympathizers and administrators. Families lost the backbone of the family, and their impact was felt discriminated against, such as the existence of the ET code, which means former political prisoners*

*Keywords:* September 30 Movement, political violence

### INTRODUCTION

Bali is an area known as the island of the gods, a thousand temples, and the community is bound by the knots of Balinese culture between the villages of Pekraman, Subak, Sekeha and based on the Tri Hita Karana ideology. According to Wiana (2007: 125) Worship of God Almighty in the concept of Tri Hita Karana in addition to developing an attitude of life to preserve the welfare of nature also foster a harmonious relationship in community life in a community. Referring to the idea of Atmadja (2014) to realize harmonization in a society, there needs to be theological institutionalization. This idea rests on the thought that nature, human beings, God (Brahman) is an inseparable unity. In addition, the Balinese are also attached to the teachings of Tat Twam Asi (that is you). This concept gave birth to the jargon of Vasudhaiva Kutumbakham (all beings are brothers. This idea carries the implications of hurting other living beings as well as hurting one's own brother.

Balinese society is also bound by the teachings of Hinduism which is ahimsa or non-violence, which is a doctrine that forbids humans to commit violence against other creatures in their thoughts, speech and actions to bring about peace. Ahimsa is related to Tat Twam Asi who gave birth to the idea that we are brothers. Because we are brothers we must be compassionate which also means ahimsa towards all beings. Thus ahimsa is the essence of love and human nature (Sing, 2007: 89)

The Balinese cultural nodes based on Hinduism seem to be ignored due to political differences in the history of Balinese society. This can be seen from the political violence that occurred after the events of 30 September which took many victims. According to Galtung violence can be defined as the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual. The violence that occurred at that time took the form of physical violence to the loss of life and psychological violence, namely violence against the soul and spirit. According to Semelin (2003) this can be called invisible violence.

In the early days of PKI independence again emerged as a political force that should be taken into account with the return of the leaders who were detained in Boven Digul, the existence of the PKI was made possible by taking a moderate attitude by supporting the government to negotiate with the Netherlands. The PKI's expansion received a ration of members of Parliament from 2 to 35 people. The existence of the PKI could not be separated from the role of Nyoto, Aidit and Lukman who built and reorganized the PKI organization after the tattered impact of the eruption of the Madiun Event in 1948. They launched the New Djalan document to Win the Revolution. in the leadership of the new PKI, Aidit served as Secretary General, MH Lukman Deputy Secretary General, and Njoto Deputy Secretary General II (Julius Pour, 2010: 22).

The killings of PKI members and PKI sympathizers were motivated by violence between two major parties in Bali, namely PNI and PKI and the suspension of PKI activities and PKI affiliated organizations, as well as the detention of PKI supporters and compilation of PKI members and organizations his time. Opposition between the PKI and PNI occurred since the introduction of Guided Democracy which was reflected in mass actions such as political rallies, defiles and demonstrations managed by PKI / BTI and PNI / Peasants (Robinson, 1995: 269-270). These mass actions are accompanied by expressions which mutually insult between parties in political party speeches (Vickers, 1989: 169; H. Geertz, 1991: 180-182). In the places where most of the massacres had taken place there had been years of tension due to the land reform program that referred to the 1960 Agrarian Law, which was supported and implemented by the PKI and PKI front organizations. This happened in central Java, East Java, North Sumatra, and Bali (Jusuf Wanandi, 2014: 91)

The process of this humanitarian tragedy cannot be separated from the role of the state, especially the involvement of the Army in the killings that occurred by providing logistical support such as transportation, lists of people killed, training and even weapons, and encouragement to paramilitary groups as perpetrators of violence. in the field, but most of the killings are actually left to ordinary people (Frans Husken, 2003; Budi Susanto, 2003: 24)

The impact of the humanitarian tragedy after the September 30, 1965 Movement caused trauma in various aspects of life, especially those who came from families of victims of the tragedy. This event was a violation of Human Rights which was strengthened from the announcement of the National Human Rights Commission report on the 65 tragedy in Jakarta, July 23, 2012 (Baskara. T Wardaya, 2014: 2). This study can enrich the material that after the events of the 30 September 1965 humanitarian tragedy did not only occur in Java but also occurred in Buleleng Regency, especially at the village level where the background, process and implications are very interesting to study. With the existence of local historical material sources, it is hoped that the inculcation of historical historical values through an extrinsic educational process but also the achievement of intrinsic values that shape critical and rational intellectuals (Abdullah, 1996; Widja 1996)

## **METHOD**

This research uses a qualitative approach, the technique of determining the information using purposive sampling. The data collection technique uses in-depth interviews with figures directly involved in the humanitarian tragedy of PKI members in the village of Penglatan, and is strengthened by observing where the humanitarian tragedy occurred, and analyzing documents to strengthen the analysis of events. To guarantee the validity of the data, data triangulation is carried out. While the data analysis technique uses an interactive model that includes data reduction, data presentation, data interpretation, and drawing conclusions.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **1. Background of political violence after the events of the September 30, 1965 Movement in the Village of Penglatan**

Political violence and violent politics, which sometimes occur on a massive scale, appear to be the most dominant color during the New Order regime's political practices. The appearance of the political power of the New Order replaced the political regime Guided democracy on the Indonesian political stage was marked by an ongoing process of denial of humanitarian values, in the form of massacres of at least tens of thousands of people who were members of communist organizations during the 1965-1966 period. Nevertheless, the process of cleaning up the Communists in Bali and especially the villages in North Bali did not stop in those years, because psychological violence as a PKI child continued to be labeled to people who had joined in the PKI organization.

In more detail the background of the humanitarian tragedy in Penglatan Village, Buleleng District, Buleleng Regency can be detailed as follows:

#### **1. Political Competition**

According to an interview with Wayan Sedana, a PNI figure in Penglatan Village, the political competition in Penglatan Village occurred between PNI and PKI, which had a strong base in the grass. Competition between the two parties even began to occur when there were elections in 1955. Although the PNI was superior in gaining votes, the PKI also obtained votes that could not be underestimated.

The strong PNI in Buleleng Swapraja was caused by several factors. First, the close PNI with Bung Karno whose genealogical name is very fragrant in the eyes of the people of Buleleng because it has parents from the maternal line who come from the banjar Agung Singaraja Package. Besides that, Bung Karno with his teachings especially Marhaenism and Pancasila had influenced the figures in Buleleng. Second, the sitting of PNI people in government makes it easy for PNI to deliver its programs to the public, and the similarity of the PNI program with the government. Third, the support of the people outside the government, especially former revolutionaries of the 1945 revolution, the fighters had a big influence on the PNI in winning the 1955 elections. The role of Ketut Widjana from Penataran, Singaraja, Nyoman gde Mangku from Jagaraga, Nengah Sari from Desa Sekumpul had a big hand in the PNI development process in Buleleng. Fourth, the PNI with the principle of sosiationalism and sociodemocracy aims to accommodate and fight for the interests of the people, without differentiating between tribes, religions, and coatings in society. Fifth, the election situation using liberal democracy, this system allows the public to be truly free to choose parties according to their aspirations. Sixth, community participation, especially in Buleleng Regency is quite high. This opened up opportunities for PNI to gain support. In the 1955 elections, 144,838 voters were registered in Buleleng, with 127,467 valid votes. So the political participation of the people of Buleleng in 1955 was 88% (Budiasih, 1992: 75-79)

According to Wayan Renten (interview on 22 August 2016) stated political competition at the central level was also reflected at the grassroots level, especially in the village of Penglatan. Each party hunter forms management at the branch level. For PNI, the management at the branch level was led by I Wayan Darpa, and the PKI was led by Mr Nurita. To strengthen the basis of each party's party consolidation in the form of party meetings, highlighting party symbols such as at PKI meetings they often sing PKI songs like *genjer*, while PNI uses symbols such as the great splendor of the PNI the head of a bull in a triangle on their farming equipment, this step was followed by the PKI by including the PKI symbols (sickle hammer) in the farming equipment of PKI members.

The nuances of political competition at the village level also cannot be separated from the political situation at the national level, with the spirit of the revolution that has not ended yet that President Sukarno continues to ignite has implications for the birth of the process of mass radicalism and political mobilization. Based on this situation, various political forces feel they have legitimacy in the context of carrying out revolutionary actions. They carry out the role of seeking mass support in the framework of Manipol. What then happened was not merely a hint of the increasing politicization and political mobilization and radicalism of the times. It is more unfortunate to also give birth to the process of living in a society, nation and state that accentuates social identity be it religion, ideology, ethnicity or groups. The implication that must then be accepted is that there are open ideological conflicts between political forces (Ignas Cleden, 1998: 30)

## **2. Economic Competition**

Political competition in the village of Penglatan involves the nationalist camp (PNI) and the communist camp (PKI) also reaching competition in the economic field. I Wayan Renten's narration gives a picture of PKI members who have economic activities such as trading, then PNI members do not want to shop for PKI members, and vice versa, and also during the harvest season PKI farmers (BTI) do not want to cooperate with farmers who are PNI parties proven by party symbols on their farming tools.

The rapid development of the PKI caused concern among the right, which was recognized by PNI leaders such as Wayan Darpa, Wayan Sedana, Wayan Renten, Gusti Putu Teken. It is calculated, if the general election takes place, the PKI will achieve a great victory, even the position of president can be captured by the PKI. So to prevent this from happening, the Army proposed a postponement of the General Election, and A.H Nasution proposed the idea of a president for life, so that PKI representatives could not take this position. This idea was proposed to Suwirjo (PNI Chairperson) who supported this idea. So it was proposed that Bung Karno be president for life through the stipulation of MPRS Number III / MPRS / 1963.

The development of the PKI in the villages including in the Village of Penglatan cannot be separated from the focus of the PKI working on the time of the peasants. As stated by Suar Suroso (2013: 210) that Aidit had to carry out research in villages with the same three practices namely working together, eating together and sleeping together. In his research Aidit in 1964 concluded that the importance of the peasants or villages in the revolution.

The program offered by the PKI central leadership coupled with the PKI movement to return to the village, has been able to increase PKI-based members as farmers. The program descended under a campaign to strengthen party cadres in large and small urban areas to go to villages, familiarize themselves with local conditions, and educate the peasants in peasant policies and programs, this program was also intended in order to overcome the lack the number of activists in the villages who understood the party's goals and were willing to realize them in the face of resistance from high-ranking village leaders. This was confirmed by the former head of the Penglatan PKI branch named Ketut Nurita that the participation of villagers in the PKI organization was due to the party programs offered and also because the government guaranteed freedom of party participation and the recognition of the PKI as a legitimate party in the village of Penglatan. This opinion was strengthened by Suar Suroso (2013: 195) that the PKI was recognized as a legitimate party based on Presidential Decree No. 123/1961. With the PKI having a large mass base in Penglatan, there were several large parties such as PNI, PKI and Partindo.

The recruitment and education of PKI activists at the village level was intended to win the trust of the peasants. The movement back to the village experienced several obstacles including economic backwardness and a low level of education that required hard work in order to instill the party's ideology. Activists who have received cadre education are given instructions not to carry out any movement without in-depth preparation, so to carry out an action campaign, the proposal must first be discussed and approved in advance by party organizations at the village level, then ask for agreement on farmer organizations on a national scale ( BTI). Even though the procedure for an action is quite strict and long, what is important is if the trust of farmers can already be created future actions will certainly be successful. However, tensions due to party differences were felt in the village of Penglatan, a picture put forward by I Wayan Renten, former village secretary of Penglatan, who informed that each party member, both PNI and PKI, provided themselves with sharp weapons such as swords and did not forget to equip themselves with invulnerability.

## **2. The process of political violence after the events of the September 30, 1965 Movement in the Village of Penglatan**

Based on interviews with informants after the Gestok incident (September 31, 1965 Movement), the situation was actually not as severe as in Jakarta as a barometer of national politics. The situation changed when there were instructions from Army officials. The *Morrow Morrow* (end to its roots) policy began in October 1965. This was preceded by the statement of General Abdul Haris Nasution after the funeral of the Generals who were killed on October 1, 1965 that the PKI had to be rooted out to its roots and that the PKI was a mastermind from the G30 S which began on October 1, 1965 by the Armed Forces military daily and the permitted *Yudha* news was published October 8, 1965.

On October 17, 1965, troops of the Army Command under the leadership of Colonel Sarwo Edhie Wibowo were ordered to leave for Central Java to clear up the division of troops in the province due to the distrust of most Diponegoro Division members towards the center. The extermination of the Communists and their allies began in Central Java and quickly spread to East Java and other provinces. Most of the news that came in approved the Army, who started massacres of the Indonesian people a few months later, but in many places, including in Bali, the Army did not work alone but was assisted by anti-Communist youth groups who were executors in the field, including in the village of Penglatan

The army played an important role in supporting the beginning of the massacre, with the unity of the RPKAD landing in Bali on 7-8 December 1965, spreading black lists of PKI members who had to be killed. The Army also embraced and trained militia gangs, young civilians called shields to master the basic techniques of slaughter. but the Balinese outstripped their instructors by attacking PKI members with fierce fierceness. This opinion was justified by Suryawan (2007) who described the military encouraging youth groups to take an active role in the process of this massacre. The most violent group is the Tameng Marhaenis (PNI). According to the PNI figures Penglatan this group targeted PKI members' houses at night, dressed in black and veils, marked houses, and burned houses, consisting of 10-15 people, the target was that not only PKI in one village could also target PKI members outside the village.

There is a different reality in the process of the slaughter of PKI members in Penglatan Village, especially Banjar Kajan and Banjar Kelodan. Specifically for the Kelodan banjar of PKI members who were killed as many as three people, in contrast to the Banjar Kajan who killed as many as 17 people, including Caklik, Loka, Loso, Genah, Amulet, while the Kelodan banjar number of victims was only three people, namely Nyoman Swica, Ketut Koyan, Men Seed. Especially for the case of men Seeds was forced to be killed because he had Black Magic knowledge. Men Biji collided with PNI leader I Dayuh who works as a shaman in Penglatan Village. According to the informant who was interviewed I Dayuh taught the science of the right stream but was taught smelled of Islam, because in the learning process that was taught to his students using Arabic letters. He once fought a war against the power of science with Men Biji who was said to be able to change his form into rangda. According to I Wayan Renten, the battle between Bape Dayuh and Men Biji was won by Bape Dayuh. It is said that the nails of the incarnation of Men Biji were successfully cut. The angry period looked for Men Biji in the house of the Dauh Tukad banjar, under his pillow a very long belt was found. Furthermore Men Biji was paraded around the banjar adat, and was killed in the Banjar Adat Kelodan cemetery by PNI's Tameng troops. Nyoman Swica, Ketut Koyan were killed by Sibang, Neca, and Merta.

The Banjar Adat cemetery is also the place of execution for PKI members from Silangjana Village, 9 people, but the Penglatan village officials do not know the identity of these people, apart from Silangjana there are three victims of PKI members from Tenaon consisting of Konod, Garwa, Sriya. The people from Tenaon Village were psychologically very depressed, saying "the first and last time driving a car because death is certain to pick up".

The PNI Armed Forces in black uniforms have a big part in the effort to eradicate the PKI people both in Penglatan Village and other villages, in collaboration with PNI shield members from Penarungan Village, Jinangdalem, Alasanger. in carrying out their duties PNI's Tameng members use codes that can only be understood by their members, such as the use of the Mawar code, which must be replied to Sandat, the Sack must be answered by the Buckets, the Attack is answered Silently. If the password is correct then the person invited to face it is a friend of the PNI Shield, if wrong means that is the enemy. Each member of the PNI Tameng has been divided into their respective duties, some are lurking, carrying gas oil, some are excusing houses that are PKI members, while residents of the house resign themselves to surrender, some are executed on the spot, taken to village graves brought to the graves of other villages such as in Banjar Adat Kelodan and there are taken to the grave of pain in Yeh Taluh.

There were only 3 PKI members in Banjar Kelodan killed because of the compassion from PNI members who were still bound by blood ties such as siblings, memisis, nephews, and a single father. Most PKI members in Kelodan were secured in the homes of PKI branch management to get protection until they were safe, in this case there was a debt of gratitude from PKI members who had not been killed to PNI officials

For the Banjar Kajan PKI members who were killed as many as 17 people, they were categorized as PKI sympathizers, PKI officials, and people who were accused of being PKI members. according to I Wayan Sedana, they were killed apart from differences in party ideology because of personal sentiments, PKI members in Banjar Kajan were executed in the Banjar Kajan seme, in contrast to kelodan residents who were still bound by a sense of kinship. For banjar dauk Tukad who died were Swindra, Swenten, Windra, Budana. The murder of a PKI leader named Swindra was very cruel, according to the narrative of I Wayan Sedana, a PNI activist who told me that I Wayan Windra's body was dragged on the highway from South Banyuning to South Banyuning Crossroad, his body bleeding to his breath.

### **3. Implications of humanitarian tragedy after the events of the September 30, 1965 Movement for villages and families in the village of Penglatan**

#### **1. Deep Trauma**

The humanitarian tragedy that occurred in the village of Penglatan had a broad impact on the families left behind, the most felt impact was a sense of trauma, many of the families asked by researchers did not want to tell how the story of the murder incident against their families who had been sympathizers and administrators of the PKI. Families lost the backbone of the family, and felt its impact economically.

The family who was left behind also received social sanctions from the community in the village environment, they were labeled as descendants of the PKI, each of their activities always received supervision from the community apparatus, village officials and the authorities. In the post-G 30 September 1965 administrative services, they also received discriminatory treatment, such as the existence of the ET code, which means ex-political prisoners, and they cannot apply for employment in government agencies. Litsus: Special Research, a selection process to examine proposed legislative candidates political parties. Applied in the new order period to avoid candidates affiliated with communist ideals and to ensure that candidates have a monoloyalty character. In the end the lists were used to get rid of figures who were at odds with the government and hegemony the critical attitude of DPR members.

## 2. Seek spiritual peace

The deep trauma experienced by the people after the cleansing of PKI members caused them to seek peace through spiritual teachings such as attending religious programs with sources such as Bhagawad Githa, Arjuna Wiwaha, Ramayana, Sucita. In their development they received guidance from Buddhism. This spiritual guidance was able to attract the interests of former PKI members to convert to Buddhism. Together with residents from Alasangka Village, Petangkap who has the same fate diligently listens to sermons on the sidelines of the pesantian at night, so that people who are less sympathetic to this spiritual group are called night PKI.

## 3. Poverty

After the G30 S / PKI (gestok) rebellion, many PKI members and sympathizers were killed as a result of the crackdown, this situation was also experienced by family members who were members of the megeguritan group, due to membership in the PKI and Partindo. They lost their parents, siblings, work which had implications for the social economy. Family members who are left behind must bear a heavy economic burden. Indeed, they experienced the economic crisis before the G30 S / PKI and continued into the early 1970

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