



Soe Tjen Marching

With original photography by Angus Nicholls

# The End of Silence

Accounts of the 1965 Genocide  
in Indonesia

# The End of Silence

*Accounts of the 1965 Genocide in Indonesia*

---

*Soe Tjen Marching*

*With original photography by Angus Nicholls*

Amsterdam University Press

Cover image: Ika Setiati (niece of Sriyono Wiwoho), holding photos of her lost parents  
(Asmoro Rahman Hadi and Rahayuni)

Photo: Angus Nicholls

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden

Lay-out: Crius Group, Hulshout

Amsterdam University Press English-language titles are distributed in the US and Canada by  
the University of Chicago Press.

ISBN 978 94 6298 390 8

e-ISBN 978 90 4853 436 4

DOI 10.5117/9789462983908

NUR 692

© Soe Tjen Marching / Amsterdam University Press B.V., Amsterdam 2017

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of  
this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted,  
in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise)  
without the written permission of both the copyright owner and the author of the book.

Every effort has been made to obtain permission to use all copyrighted illustrations  
reproduced in this book. Nonetheless, whosoever believes to have rights to this material is  
advised to contact the publisher.

Printed and bound by CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

# Table of Contents

Apology	13
Timeline: Indonesia, 1965-1967	15
The Mutation of Fear	17
<i>The Legacy of the Long-Dead Dictator</i>	
The Beginning	17
The Creation of Fearful Memories	18
The Genocide	20
Gerwani	25
Soeharto's Version of History	26
Who Was the Mastermind?	28
When the Victims Remain Evil	30
The International People's Tribunal 1965	32
Real History and Memory: The 'Reality' of Oral History	33

## Part 1 Accounts of the Victims: The Letter in the Sock

The Letter in the Sock	41
Leo Mulyono	42
<i>Working for My Oppressor</i>	
To Be Kept Safe	43
Dating in Prison	48
Being Transferred Again	49
Back to Yogya	51
Pramoedya Ananta Toer	53
My Story	53
Oei Hiem Hwie	55
<i>The Amazing Library</i>	
The Murder of the Generals	55
Buru	58
Pramoedya Ananta Toer	59
The Beauty of Buru	60
Building Houses	61

Development	62
Staying or Leaving?	63
Going Home	64
Something Weird	66
The Birth of the Library	67
Antonius Pudji Rahardjo	68
<i>The Commander and His Mistress</i>	
Moments before Gestok 1965	68
Back to Surabaya	70
21 Musi Street – Surabaya	71
Kalisosok	71
Nusakambangan	73
Buru	73
The Giant Galiuk in Savanajaya	74
13 March 1972	76
People from Overseas	77
General Soemitro's Visit	78
The Arrival of Families	79
Freedom	80
My Wife	80
After Buru	81

## Part 2 The Steel Women

Sri Muhayati	85
<i>Being Educated in Prison</i>	
Educating Myself in Prison	89
Christina Sumarmiyati	94
<i>The Horrific Torture and Rape</i>	
Our Children	102

### Part 3 The Accounts of the Siblings

Sriyono Wiwoho	107
<i>The Lunch Box My Brother Never Received</i>	
My Adik and I at School	110
Adi Rukun	113
<i>Beyond the Look of Silence</i>	
My Brother and I	115
<i>The Look of Silence</i>	117

### Part 4 The Accounts of the Children

Usmantri Sukardi	123
<i>My Childhood with Strangers</i>	
Meeting bapak Again	125
Iwan Kamah	128
<i>Annus Horibilis</i>	
1957-1965	129
<i>Annus Horribilis</i>	129
Again: China	131
Antara	132
Irina Dayasih	134
<i>The Biggest Traitor in Indonesia?</i>	
My mama	136
The Secret of My father	136
After That ...	138
Wayan Windra	142
<i>Bapak was Slaughtered in Front of Me</i>	
Kristianto Budi	148
<i>My Family's Dark Secret</i>	

Sari Marlina	152
<i>The Flight of My father</i>	
Sumatra	155
Sumatra: Again	156
The Prison	159
But Where Would Sabar Go?	161
Sari Marlina	161
Marriage	162
 Rito Aji	 163
<i>The Son of Pudji Rahardjo</i>	
The Revenge against the Sasongko Family	166
The Return of <i>bapak</i>	166
The Sex Business	167
Other Jobs	168
Now ...	169
 Soe Tjen Marching	 171
<i>The Secret of My Name</i>	
I Became Chinese	172
I Became Religious	172
There Were Times ...	174
This is What She Told Me ...	174
The Unexpected Visitor	179
The Story of When Your <i>Engkong</i> Was Imprisoned	179
Her Suspicions	180
I Was Born after His Release	181
What is in a Name?	182
Threats Were Always Near	183
As He Got Older, His Temperament Got Worse ...	183
Years Later ...	184
One Last Secret	185

## Part 5 The Accounts of the Grandchildren

Kusuma Wijaya	189
<i>The Day I Found Out about My Grandpa</i>	
Haidir Svj	195
<i>Born and Raised on Buru</i>	
The Time of Release	195
Growing up on Buru	196
The Argument	198
Savanajaya	198
Diah Wahyuningsih Rahayu	200
<i>My Grandfather's Earlobes</i>	
<i>My embah</i>	200
The History Lesson	203
Kiky	205
<i>The Eternal Fear</i>	
Epilogue	211
<i>The Corollary of Memory</i>	
Bibliography	215
Index	217

## List of Photos

Photo A	Leo Mulyono in front of his home	50
Photo B	Oei Hiem Hwie in his library	66
Photo C	Pudji Rahardjo in his private library holding a book he wrote about Buru Island	81
Photo D	Sri Muhayati in front of the banner of Fopperham (Forum Pendidikan dan Perjuangan Hak Asasi Manusia, or the Human Rights Education and Advocacy Forum), a human rights organisation with which she has been involved	92
Photo E	Christina Sumarmiyati in her home	94



Photo F	Rahayuni, Sriyono Wiwoho's sister-in-law, who was raped and murdered for her involvement in Gerwani	108
Photo G	Asmoro Rahman Hadi, the brother of Sriyono Wiwoho, who was murdered for his involvement in Lekra	109
Photo H	Sriyono Wiwoho	111
Photo I	Adi Rukun	119
Photo J	Iwan Kamah	133
Photo K	Irina Dayasih at her apartment block in Jakarta	138
Photo L	Wayan Windra, holding a photo of his father in front of the spot where he was butchered and murdered in 1965	144
Photo M	Wayan Windra, Soe Tjen Marching, Adi Adnyana (an 85 year-old ex-Buru prisoner) and his wife at Adi Adnyana's residence in Bali	146
Photo N	Rito Aji at his home in Surabaya	169
Photo O	Kusuma Wijaya in Surabaya	193
Photo P	Haidir Svj in Yogya	197

## The End of Silence

# Asian History

The aim of the series is to offer a forum for writers of monographs and occasionally anthologies on Asian history. The Asian History series focuses on cultural and historical studies of politics and intellectual ideas and crosscuts the disciplines of history, political science, sociology and cultural studies.

## *Series Editor*

Hans Hägerdal, Linnaeus University, Sweden

## *Editorial Board Members*

Roger Greatrex, Lund University

Angela Schottenhammer, University of Salzburg

Deborah Sutton, Lancaster University

David Henley, Leiden University

# The End of Silence

*Accounts of the 1965 Genocide in Indonesia*

*Soe Tjen Marching*

---

*With original photography by Angus Nicholls*

Amsterdam University Press

Cover image: Ika Setiati (niece of Sriyono Wiwoho), holding photos of her lost parents  
(Asmoro Rahman Hadi and Rahayuni)

Photo: Angus Nicholls

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden

Lay-out: Crius Group, Hulshout

Amsterdam University Press English-language titles are distributed in the US and Canada by  
the University of Chicago Press.

ISBN 978 94 6298 390 8

e-ISBN 978 90 4853 436 4

DOI 10.5117/9789462983908

NUR 692

© Soe Tjen Marching / Amsterdam University Press B.V., Amsterdam 2017

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of  
this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted,  
in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise)  
without the written permission of both the copyright owner and the author of the book.

Every effort has been made to obtain permission to use all copyrighted illustrations  
reproduced in this book. Nonetheless, whosoever believes to have rights to this material is  
advised to contact the publisher.

Printed and bound by CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

*This book is about the memories of the 1965-1966 genocide in Indonesia.  
Because I am trying to prevent another genocide: the genocide of Memories.*



# Table of Contents

Apology	13
Timeline: Indonesia, 1965-1967	15
The Mutation of Fear	17
<i>The Legacy of the Long-Dead Dictator</i>	
The Beginning	17
The Creation of Fearful Memories	18
The Genocide	20
Gerwani	25
Soeharto's Version of History	26
Who Was the Mastermind?	28
When the Victims Remain Evil	30
The International People's Tribunal 1965	32
Real History and Memory: The 'Reality' of Oral History	33

## Part 1 Accounts of the Victims: The Letter in the Sock

The Letter in the Sock	41
Leo Mulyono	42
<i>Working for My Oppressor</i>	
To Be Kept Safe	43
Dating in Prison	48
Being Transferred Again	49
Back to Yogya	51
Pramoedya Ananta Toer	53
My Story	53
Oei Hiem Hwie	55
<i>The Amazing Library</i>	
The Murder of the Generals	55
Buru	58
Pramoedya Ananta Toer	59
The Beauty of Buru	60
Building Houses	61



Development	62
Staying or Leaving?	63
Going Home	64
Something Weird	66
The Birth of the Library	67
Antonius Pudji Rahardjo	68
<i>The Commander and His Mistress</i>	
Moments before Gestok 1965	68
Back to Surabaya	70
21 Musi Street – Surabaya	71
Kalisosok	71
Nusakambangan	73
Buru	73
The Giant Galiuk in Savanajaya	74
13 March 1972	76
People from Overseas	77
General Soemitro's Visit	78
The Arrival of Families	79
Freedom	80
My Wife	80
After Buru	81

## Part 2 The Steel Women

Sri Muhayati	85
<i>Being Educated in Prison</i>	
Educating Myself in Prison	89
Christina Sumarmiyati	94
<i>The Horrific Torture and Rape</i>	
Our Children	102