

Promoting Peacebuilding through Humanistic Learning in History Class

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Abstract: This study aims to construct a history-learning scheme using a humanistic approach to create peace in the Boyolali region. This study used a descriptive method within the Cresswell framework. This study's data sources were informants, consisting of fifteen participants. Data analysis applies an interactive model. The results showed that mass trauma related to past events, namely the 1965 Incident, still occurred in Boyolali, which is an indication of the ambivalence of society and has an impact on a less harmonious social situation. Reconciliation through education is necessary for creating a peaceful atmosphere. A history-learning scheme with a humanistic approach, constructed based on the phenomena and social conditions of the community, has succeeded in creating a proactive learning atmosphere to break hatred and spread the spirit of peace. In conclusion, history learning with a humanistic approach is relevant for creating a peaceful society, free of conflict and ambivalence, and able to think constructively about social development in the Boyolali region.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menyusun skema pembelajaran sejarah dengan pendekatan humanistik untuk menciptakan perdamaian di wilayah Boyolali. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif dalam kerangka Cresswell. Sumber data penelitian ini adalah informan yang terdiri dari lima belas partisipan. Analisis data menggunakan model interaktif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa trauma massal terkait peristiwa masa lalu yaitu Peristiwa 1965 masih terjadi di Boyolali yang merupakan indikasi ambivalensi masyarakat dan berdampak pada kurang harmonisnya situasi sosial. Rekonsiliasi melalui pendidikan diperlukan untuk menciptakan suasana damai. Skema pembelajaran sejarah dengan pendekatan humanistik yang dibangun berdasarkan fenomena dan kondisi sosial masyarakat berhasil menciptakan suasana pembelajaran yang proaktif untuk mematahkan kebencian dan menyebarkan semangat perdamaian. Kesimpulannya, pembelajaran sejarah dengan pendekatan humanistik relevan untuk mewujudkan masyarakat damai, bebas konflik dan ambivalensi, serta mampu berpikir konstruktif terhadap pembangunan sosial di wilayah Boyolali.

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INTRODUCTION

The study of history, especially regarding the 1965 Incident, has yet to find an ideal form (Agustin et al., 2017; Kusuma, 2015). The 1965 Incident is identical to the 30 September Movement (G30S), which killed six Army generals and one Army first officer, impacting the areas of the destruction of leftist groups (Suwirta, 2000). Two opinions state that they are still divided regarding learning the material. The first opinion states that the movement was by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) to seize power. In contrast, the second opinion states that the movement occurred because of the intervention of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), an American intelligence agency that interferes with Indonesian political life (Adam, 2007; Luhulima, 2006; Suparjan, 2016). Discussions regarding this material are still



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focused on factual aspects. At the same time, the impact of that incident, namely the social segregation between the ex-PKI and non-PKI communities, which continues to this day, has never been discussed further. This not only resulted in students' perspectives on the incident that tended to be wild, but also the idea of conflict resolution and a humanistic approach that made history lessons more useful did not enter the teacher's activities in the classroom.

The humanistic approach explains that every human being is unique and has an individual potential and internal drive to develop and determine his behavior. Humanism focuses on how individuals are influenced and guided by their intentions related to their own experiences. (Maslow, 1991). In this regard, everyone is free and tends to grow and develop to achieve self-actualization. It is further stated that human needs are multilevel, consisting of levels or needs for security, recognition, and self-actualization (Farmer, 1984; Maslow & Rogers, 1979). According to this theory, the purpose of learning is to humanize humans, meaning that each person's behavior is determined by the person himself or herself and understands humans to the environment and themselves. According to educators at this school, the subject matter preparation and presentation must follow students' feelings and concerns. The main goal of educators is to help students develop themselves, namely, helping individuals to recognize themselves as unique human beings and help them realize their potential (Dewey, 1986).

To resolve conflict, a humanistic approach to history learning must focus on the models, learning resources, and learning media used (Brady-Amoon, 2011). In this context, the humanistic approach is closer to the understanding that the teacher is a learning partner who does not justify historical truths to students but directs students to be able to freely express themselves to form their knowledge (Veugelers, 2011). This theory is applied to further understand conflict resolution in historical learning. This model can be effective if it is applied to a typical conflict society with a divided collective memory, such as in Boyolali. When discussing the events of 1965, the public will focus on ex-communists and non-communists who have had conflicts up to the level of killings and massacres. It has much to do with culturally inherited trauma (Halbwachs, 2020; Heryanto, 1999). For this, we need a learning scheme that puts a humanistic approach into an effort to reduce prejudice and

resentment against a group. Wineburg states that learning history can be useful for humanitarian and peacekeeping missions (Wineburg, 2018).

The application of a humanistic approach to history learning, especially for people in conflict, has not been widely studied. Searching literature sources related to this only found studies on historical learning using G30S 1965 incident material. For example, Agustin (2017) studied the development of infographic teaching materials for the 30 September Movement in Indonesian history learning. The results of this study were used to analyze the use of creative media in controversial historical materials. Another study conducted by Suparjan (2016) discussed the G30S incident as a controversial issue in history subjects, the results of which only emphasize that the G30S event is controversial and can be discussed critically in class. The results of these two studies clarify that a study of the humanistic approach to conflict-resolution-oriented history learning on the G30S material needs to be conducted to fill the gap in studies related to historical learning containing controversial issues.

Based on the above explanation, this study aimed to formulate a breakthrough in history learning by prioritizing a humanist approach for students, especially in an environment with a history of conflict such as Boyolali, which has a historical record of the 1965 incident. For this, we need an idea of historical education that is oriented toward conflict resolution, with a big mission to build a society that is pro-peace and nationalist, based on human values.

METHODS

This study used a descriptive design (Creswell, 2017). This method examines the status of a group of people, an object, a set of conditions, a system of thought, or an event. This method is suitable for use in social research and education because it can be used to extract comprehensive information from data sources that are dynamic, not rigid, and focus on the meaning of information rather than statistical data presented in the form of calculations. The reason for using this method in this study is that researchers need a dynamic method to collect all data obtained from information sources in the form of informants and documents on historical learning that have been conducted so far.

Data and Sources of Data

The research data were divided into two categories: primary and secondary. Primary data is data in the

form of information from interviews and observations in the form of field notes. Secondary data are from literature, books, popular papers, and journal articles. This study's data sources were informants, consisting of ten historical witnesses, six community leaders, and five history teachers in secondary schools, bringing the total number of informants to 26. The study also involved 15 students developing a learning scheme using a humanistic approach as research participants. In addition, the informants' data were supported by reading source books on the 1965 events that occurred in Boyolali and Central Java. Observations were made on the social situation in Boyolali and the history-learning environment.

Data Analysis

This research data analysis applied an interactive analytical model (Miles et al., 2014). According to qualitative research, this analysis model allows data analysis to be conducted when the researcher is in or after returning from the field. In this study, data analysis was performed simultaneously with the data-collection process. As stated by Miles and Huberman, the flow of analysis follows an interactive analysis model. In this research, the analysis process is carried out through four stages: a) data collection, data obtained from interviews, and observations recorded in field notes that consist of two parts: descriptive and reflective—understanding descriptive notes, namely natural notes (a) record of what was witnessed, heard, seen, and experienced by the researcher himself without any interpretation or opinion from the researcher on the phenomena he experienced). Reflective notes contained impressions, opinions, comments, and interpretations of the researchers' findings. In addition, it is a data collection plan material for the next stage; (b) after the data have been collected, data reduction is performed to determine the relevant data and focus on the data that leads to problem-solving, discovery, meaning, or answers to research questions. Next, we simplify, systematically compile, and describe important aspects and meanings of the findings. Only data findings or findings related to research problems are reduced in the data reduction process. Data that were unrelated to the research problem were discarded. In other words, data reduction is used for analysis that directs, categorizes, sharpens, discards unimportant, and organizes data. This will make it easier for researchers to conclude; (c) Presentation of data in the form of descriptive writing. The purpose of presenting data is to

combine the information to provide an overview of the situation. In this case, researchers do not experience difficulties in mastering information properly or thoroughly in certain aspects of the research results. Therefore, researchers must create specific narratives to facilitate mastery of the data or information. Furthermore, (d) conclusions are drawn during the research, as is the case with the data reduction process. After the data have been collected adequately, temporary conclusions can be obtained, and after the data are complete, conclusions can be obtained.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Historical Roots of Social Conflict in Boyolali, 1965

In the events of the 30 September Movement (G30S) 1965 in Jakarta, there were seven names of TNI-AD military officers who were victims of this incident (Adam, 2018). Political problems that occurred in Jakarta, which led to the massacre of the PKI, impacted other areas, including Boyolali and Central Java. The Grobogan Regency and Semarang Regency border Boyolali to the north. Karanganyar, Sragen, and Sukoharjo Regency are in the East Klaten Regency and the Special Region of Yogyakarta in the south, Magelang Regency and Semarang Regency in the west. Boyolali Regency has an area of 101,510.20 Ha consisting of 22,830.83 Ha of wetland and 78,679.37 Ha of dry land. Topographically, the Boyolali Regency is a lowland area with hills and mountains, located at an average altitude of 700 m above sea level. The highest point is 1,500 m in Selo District, and the lowest is 75 m in Banyudono District (Astuti & Musiyam, 2009).

In Boyolali, the PKI and other left-wing groups were strong in the regional parliament and at the grassroots level. Almost every village in Boyolali has a Gerwani branch with no less than 50 members in each branch. Then, Gerwani in Boyolali has 40 Melati Kindergarten schools. At least 500 people attended PKI rallies during the election campaign in Boyolali. Thus, Boyolali was indeed a PKI base. The strength of the PKI in Boyolali can also be seen from the fact that in 1967/1968 when the PKI decided to fight the clean-up operation launched by Suharto and the Army with armed struggle, South Boyolali was chosen as its base. South Boyolali has been a red-base area since 1948.

Political competition between the PKI and various other political groups, such as Masyumi, existed in Boyolali. However, this competition did not lead to clashes that claimed lives. Competition is expressed through debates in parliament or

shows strength during parades. What about the unilateral actions for land reform? Did they also happen in Boyolali? Pariyah says these land-grabbing actions have never happened, only at the concept level. The reason is, "The farmers themselves have not dared, so we do not force it, but we give it understanding." (Personal interview with Pariyah, 16 May 2020). Likewise, even though at the PKI level, the jargon was quite harsh, such as the jargon of "*ganyang* seven demons of the village," it was only at the level of words, or at best manifested through artistic performances, such as the Genjer-Genjer dance or drama, never to be put into practice directly. Meanwhile, the majority of landowners in Boyolali are hajj pilgrims and kiai. They did not work on the land themselves but by the cultivators.

Even though there is heated political rivalry in Boyolali, personal relations between people from different political sects seem fine. Even personal relationships with military personnel were fine. Pariyah, for example, recounted that her husband knew Warman Raharjo, a well-known Armed Forces officer in Boyolali. He recalled his friendship with one of the leaders of the Ansor Youth Movement, the youth wing of NU, who was also a member of the people's legislature.

Based on the explanation above, at least one can infer that the conditions in Boyolali before the G30S occurred were relatively peaceful. Although there is political competition, and sometimes clashes occur, these clashes never get serious and damage property, let alone take lives. These clashes only occurred in villages and not in cities. Personal relationships between people from various political streams are also relatively good. This relatively safe condition changed after G30S. Boyolali became a place for PKI people and those accused of being PKI were chased, tortured, harassed, and killed by the military and their former political competitors.

There were at least two PKI purge operations in Boyolali during the period 1965-1968. The first occurred in 1965-1966, and the residents called it Operation Kalong. This term does not appear to be an official term for Suharto or the Army. However, it is a name given by the local community to refer to the appearance and clothing worn by the operatives, which is associated with the shape of the Kalong. Maryono, a farmer who at that time lived in Banyudono, Boyolali, described, "The standard for bats is to wear a tie, wear a black shirt, wear a sarong, wear a dark t-shirt and usually cover the face but not only the mouth." (Personal interview with Maryono, 13 May 2020).

It was not just Banser or Ansor who engaged in hunting and slaughter. Likewise, it was not only PKI who was chased and killed. The PNI at that time was divided into two groups: the PNI led by Osa Maliki-Usep Ranuwihardja (Osa-Usep), who leaned to the right, and the PNI led by Ali Sastroamidjojo, SH - Ir. Surachman (Asu), who leans to the left, was also involved in the conflict. PNI Osa-Usep joined in chasing and killing members of the PKI and its affiliated organizations, such as Gerwani and Barisan Tani Indonesia (BTI) (Sanit, 2000).

The second operation, as mentioned above, was Operation Tritura in 1968, launched in South Boyolali to confront the armed struggle of the PKI. Meanwhile, the PKI launched an armed struggle more as an effort to defend itself from the purge of Suharto and the Army than as a pre-planned offensive (Boden, 2008). Those who survived the repressions of 1965-1966, not only from Boyolali but also from other areas in Java, including Jakarta, left their area and gathered in South Boyolali in 1966-1967 to take refuge while building resistance. This can be seen from the narrative of Muyatno, a member of the Indonesian Scholars Association (HSI), who had been Deputy Head of the Mining Directorate when Aris Munanto was Minister of the Mines. He was arrested and thrown into Salemba Prison, Jakarta, in November 1965 but was later released in April 1966.

The area of South Boyolali was chosen not only because it was a red base, which during the election had more than 80% of the PKI's votes in that area, but also for geographical reasons, where this area is difficult to reach. This area is also recommended by the Java CDB (Great Regional Committee). When Operation Tritura was launched, the PKI had not yet reached the stage of armed struggle; it was only at the stage of preparation and building a base. However, due to disciplinary actions, partly because they wanted revenge by their members outside the provisions of the PKI Base Project Committee or Kompro PKI, the Army smelled its efforts to prepare for armed struggle. Operation Tritura itself is a continuation of at least two previous operations that failed. The "South Boyolali Operation" was initially launched, which involved RPKAD. However, this operation encountered difficulties owing to the mountainous area of South Boyolali and many wild forests. Then, "Operation Combat Intelligence" was launched by the RPKAD. However, after evaluation, this operation is considered not to have achieved the expected target. After experiencing the two failures,

the Tritura operation was launched.

The Tritura Operation involved the deployment of a sizeable military force. Additionally, this operation involves civilian units. Banser, for example, was involved in this operation but disguised himself as the *hansip* to comply with the contents of Operational Order 02/5/1968, which allowed the use of assistance from the South Boyolali *hansip/wanra*. Ahmad, the former Commander of Banser Branch Banyudono, Boyolali, stated that Banser members were indeed ordered to participate in Operation Tritura, but dressed as security guards. In the order he received, it was stipulated that every village in the Boyolali Regency had to distribute ten Banser people. At that time, he served as the Commander of the *Hansip Team*, with the operation members Mabud, Karyono, and Muh Samsuri, Syamhadi, Trimo, Romi (personal interview with Ahmad, 18 May 2020).

The existence of civilian involvement in the clean-up operation in Boyolali, especially in the Kalong Operation, could lead to the assumption that what was happening was a spontaneous horizontal conflict between the PKI or communist groups and non-communists. When examined further, this assumption turned out to be incorrect. Even though there was competition between communist and non-communist groups, as stated above, in Boyolali, this competition never led to serious conflicts and claimed lives. Competition between various civil political groups has been common in Indonesia. Without a deliberate and systematic effort to provoke and mobilize the masses, it is almost impossible to make a drastic change in the atmosphere of political competition from what was originally a mediocre act of massacres and heinous killings. In 1965, the Army appeared to have taken advantage of this rivalry and turned it into a massacre of the PKI. Banser, in particular, had cooperation with AD before the G30S. In Banyuwangi, Banser was once organized as a People's Defense Organization (OPR) by the Commander of the Banyuwangi Korem, Colonel Sumadi, and received military training from the Army Para Command Regiment (RPKAD).

The Ideals of Political Reconciliation: Reconstruction of National Identity

Based on the existing literature, at least five scenarios of events offered by the state, researchers, and national and international media explain how political violence occurred in 1965 (McGregor, 2013; Melvin, 2018). Questions that are sought to

be answered include the following: what are the motives behind the violence, who is the mastermind, what is the pretext, and who and how many victims fell? The first narrative was written by historians Ismail Saleh and Nugroho Notosusanto, who also became the government's version of the narrative. This narrative attempts to say that the General's assassination was completely planned and executed by the PKI and its sympathizers. The killings that followed were attempts by the state to secure sovereignty from the dangerous PKI group. Second, the coup attempt resulted from the Army's internal enmity. Third, General Suharto was the person behind the coup who influenced or manipulated the General's assassination for his benefit. Fourth, President Sukarno encouraged groups that wanted to carry out a revolution against the state. Fifth, foreign intelligence operations also contributed to the political violence of 1965. Apart from these five opinions, several others combine the five scenarios above. Anderson and McVey put forward a different view that mentions the events of the night of 1 October 1965 as separate phenomena from the mass killings that followed (Anderson & McVey, 2009).

The narrative of the 1965 tragedy continued to develop after the end of the Suharto military regime. The emergence of new social researchers who are not part of the Cold War era allows more critical alternative narratives to emerge (Roosa, 2008). This narrative emerged, especially after the New Order regime was overthrown, and survivors began to dare about their experiences without fear of imprisonment. In this era, the official historical narrative of the government was discussed and questioned. The musician from Yogyakarta satirizes the screening of films during the New Order era in a song called *Cinema, Knives Fold*, where one of the lyrics reads, "We wear the flag as a uniform when we are brought to the cinema at nine o'clock." Just like the continuation of the lyrics of this song, through a spectacle, the government can create an image of a ghost called communism, "The cinema seats are full of lice, Climbs from the bench into the pocket, then sneaks into the books, then squirms into a ghost." Marianna Liz identifies art initiatives that present alternative narratives, including those of leftist artists recently released from exile. One of them is the work of the *dalang* Ki Tristuti Rachmadi, who used to be a member of Lekra, who was detained in 1965 and only released in 1979 (Putri, 2020).

In social reconciliation, the dispute between the NU and the PKI is a horizontal social conflict.

The clash was between two social forces with different beliefs and opposing ideologies. However, they lived as neighbors because there was a natural reconciliation process among themselves based on prevailing traditions and social norms. Even as a social responsibility, PKI victims, such as widows and orphans, including people who were wrongly arrested, were all supported by the NU community and the pesantren where they were located. This reconciliation step has occurred since the Madiun Incident. NU congregations made various attempts to support the families of ex-PKI and even PKI people who had declared a return to Islamic teaching. With that awareness, they sympathized with NU, which, from the very beginning, protected and served them when they were in a state of existential crisis and under severe threats and repression. Meanwhile, they experienced prolonged trauma since the purge of the PKI remnants began. They need protection and security because they are only family members, children, and grandchildren. They did not participate in provocations or rebellions. Given that the conflict between NU and the PKI was essentially a social conflict, social reconciliation would be easier to carry out, even by the people involved in the conflict itself. This pattern went smoothly and well so that social reintegration could reoccur after a prolonged conflict that claimed many victims.

In political reconciliation since the end of the New Order, many former political prisoners (Tapol) have been released, and they have started writing memoirs containing their defense that they are innocent and even blaming the TNI and the New Order regime in general. Not even a few accused NU, especially the Ansor, was being butchers. At that time, the former political prisoners joined the pro-democracy forces against the New Order, so their voices began to be heard by activists.

To realize this step of reconciliation, President Abdurrahman Wahid proposed the repeal of the MPR TAP and continued with an apology to the PKI families who were victims of the 1965 incident. This proposal was strongly challenged by both the parliament itself and especially by Muslims, including politicians. Only NGOs supported this idea. When the idea was rejected, the president did not try to push parliament to revoke the TAP MPR. This was to show to the international community and the PKI itself that the majority of this nation, including Muslims, still balked at the presence of the PKI. Likewise, the apology and reconciliation efforts

were opposed by some communities, including Muslims. However, strangely, former Lekra activist Pramodya Ananta Toer rejected Abdurrahman Wahid's apology and rejected reconciliation efforts, which he considered not serious by saying: "I consider Gus Dur's apology and his idea of reconciliation only Chit Chat. It is easy to apologize. I do not need any small talk."

International circles and NGOs do not understand and even ignore the political reconciliation process that has been going on so far: (a) There has been a friendship and even association between the victims of the generals who were killed in 1965, and the families of PKI leaders; (b) As did the Kiai NU figures, several TNI generals also cared for and protected the children of PKI leaders who were educated up to college; (c) The former political prisoners of the PKI have been given the right to vote politically so that they can participate in the General Elections on a regular basis; (d) The rights and freedom of speech including teaching up to university and writing in the media have been granted to them; and (e) They even have the right to be elected, so it can be seen that children descended from the PKI can become members of the DPR, the leadership of the parliament can become governors, regents and many others.

Treating the victims of the 1965 incident is the same as treating other Indonesian citizens, namely by fully restoring their civil rights and citizenship, such as the right to receive a pension, including their right to vote and be elected in General Elections. Eliminate and revoke all forms of discriminatory laws and regulations, such as the stigma on Identity Cards, the 1981 Minister of Home Affairs Regulation that prohibits the victims of the 1965 Incident and their families from becoming civil servants, soldiers, teachers, puppeteers, notaries, lawyers, Da'i, pastors, and several other professions. Provide compensation within reasonable and proportional limits. The provision of rehabilitation is the key to solving basic problems related to the nation's efforts to escape the trauma of the 1965 Tragedy. In relation to the provision of rehabilitation for the victims of 1965, it is interesting to quote the opinion of M. Imam Aziz, Program Coordinator of Syarikat NU, who said as follows: Changing perceptions and the attitude of the Indonesian people regarding the humanitarian tragedy that occurred in 1965. In general, the Indonesian people, especially the NU community, still understand the 1965 tragedy as a form of heroism (heroism), where the "right" fights

the “wrong,” with victory on the “right” side.

In general, the attitude of the people continues to question the PKI as the perpetrator of the 1 October 1965 coup, justifying and condoning the process of killing, stigmatizing, and eliminating civil/political rights, providing a common place for NU and the victims of the 1965 tragedy to meet and share with each other to achieve reconciliation, creating a common space to forgive each other the past, and not to repeat similar events in the future. Urge the state to immediately rehabilitate the victims of the 1965 tragedy through a constitutional process by encouraging all parties, especially those involved in past conflicts, to press the state for rehabilitation demands jointly.

The most important elements in reconciliation are the spirit of unity and forgiveness in the corridors of the *ukhuwwah* trilogy, namely, *ukhuwwah Islamiyyah* (brotherhood of fellow Muslims), *ukhuwwah wathaniyyah* (brotherhood of countrymen), and *ukhuwwah insaniyyah* (brotherhood of fellow human beings). Therefore, the 33rd Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Congress was held in Jombang, East Java, to discuss reconciliation issues. It recommended the following: Encourage various reconciliation efforts that occur socially, culturally, and religiously in society. This community-based reconciliation is the backbone of true and long-term reconciliation: Appreciates the government’s commitment to resolving past human rights violations most feasibly and beneficially for Indonesia. Efforts to overcome this burden must always consider the nation’s interests.

Reconciliation implies restoration for the recovery of individual relationships and social structures damaged by prolonged experiences of violence and the consequences of the politics of memory and distortion of truth. Therefore, reconciliation is necessary for the nation in the future. In Indonesia, the focus of this reconciliation based on cases of human rights violations may be long, but in the context of the tragedy of the 1965-1966 mass killings, perhaps this form of reconciliation seems to be the most complicated and challenging. Reconciliation is when two or more conflicting groups are brought together; therefore, it shows that there are victims and perpetrators. This determines the point of no returns. A victim refers to people who, individually or as a group, suffer harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss, or actual deprivation of their basic rights. Included in the term victim, as far as deemed appropriate, are the families or people who are directly or indirectly

under the care of the victims who have experienced suffering. Victims have the right to restitution, compensation, and rehabilitation. This is especially true for victims of gross violations of their human rights. The reconciliation action between the ex-PKI and NU in Boyolali was not recorded in any writing or documents, so it was found through interviews with ex-PKI people and contemporaries of the reconciliation incident.

The reconciliation process is motivated by the causes of events that cannot be generalized if they are taught in official history books. These causes are classified into three categories: struggle for the material base, influence of supralocal forces, and conflicts of values or ideology. At the center of the Boyolali PKI, namely, in the Ngemplak area, unilateral action led to different reactions in different sub-districts. The attitude of the kyai and NU leaders was the same towards communists at that time. This difference in attitude partially explains the inconsistency between the two parties, namely the difference between the fiqh and Sufism orientations. This investigation showed that kyai, who were more fiqh oritarian and involved in political activities at that time, tended to show a strong attitude towards the PKI. In contrast, kyai who were Sufism-oriented and appreciative of local culture were more likely to be protective when they were being pursued. In Boyolali itself, relatively many kyai are Sufism-oriented and appreciative of local culture because when PKI people are being chased during these events, they tend to be protectors so that PKI people are not imprisoned or imprisoned.

The parties to the conflict also differed in each sub-district. The PKI conflict took place, which dragged NU into the incident, but the incident was relatively safe because it did not detain the killings. GP Ansor was involved in the arrest of people with PKI, which caused the PKI to be cornered. Later, it was considered a group that was used as a tool by the Army. Reconciliation activities between NU-PKI in Boyolali and social activities succeeded in bringing ex-Gerwani people, who were chairmen of Ibu Yasinan, and recitation. Relatively many ex-PKI or suspected PKI people have reverted to embracing Islam by following NU’s teachings, so many NU pioneers were formerly ex-PKI. Many mosques and prayer rooms were built because an increasing number of PKI converted to Islam. Because the heads of the PKI Boyolali Power Center who were previously elected were PKI people who were caught, disappeared, or expelled, the successor *lurah* was an NU person

who later protected the PKI people. It is well known that people who are considered PKI have difficulty interacting, so NU people embrace them to interact with each other, especially in socio-religious activities and mutual assistance in village development. Currently, this harmonization has begun to appear culturally. Although structurally and politically, the conflicts that have occurred cannot be completely healed, there is a desire to change the situation for the better by building a spirit of peace both politically and socio-culturally in the people autonomous society.

Humanistic Approach in History Education to Initiate Reconciliation

There is much encouragement from various circles to continue to reconcile both culturally and structurally. The government, parties to the conflict in the past, and other elements of society have agreed that past events that shackled and created hatred or revenge must be eliminated, which is the first condition before a society can carry out development. Based on the data and information obtained, researchers have succeeded in formulating a way of reconciliation through the realm of education, especially in history subjects

that directly teach material about the 1965 incident, which gave birth to a bloody conflict between communists and Muslims in Boyolali. The idea of reconciliation through the realm of education is applied with a humanist approach, utilizing film media and prioritizing discussion methods and discourse criticism in films. This model is projected to be able to initiate the unification of post-conflict societies and restore the identity of people who are pro-peace and nationalist. Below is the historical learning model that was developed.

The teacher determines that the learning strategy stems from the learning objectives. Determining these goals is very important and is related to the next step in determining the approach, method, and technique used before the teacher chooses or determines which strategy will be applied or used in the learning process (Maslow & Rogers, 1979; Mustaqim, 2017; Veugelers, 2011). The steps to determine the strategy to be used are as follows: (1) Identify the characteristics of the learning material to be delivered. Before determining the learning objectives, the teacher should recognize the characteristics of the subject matter that will be delivered to students; (2) Determine learning objectives. Learning objectives

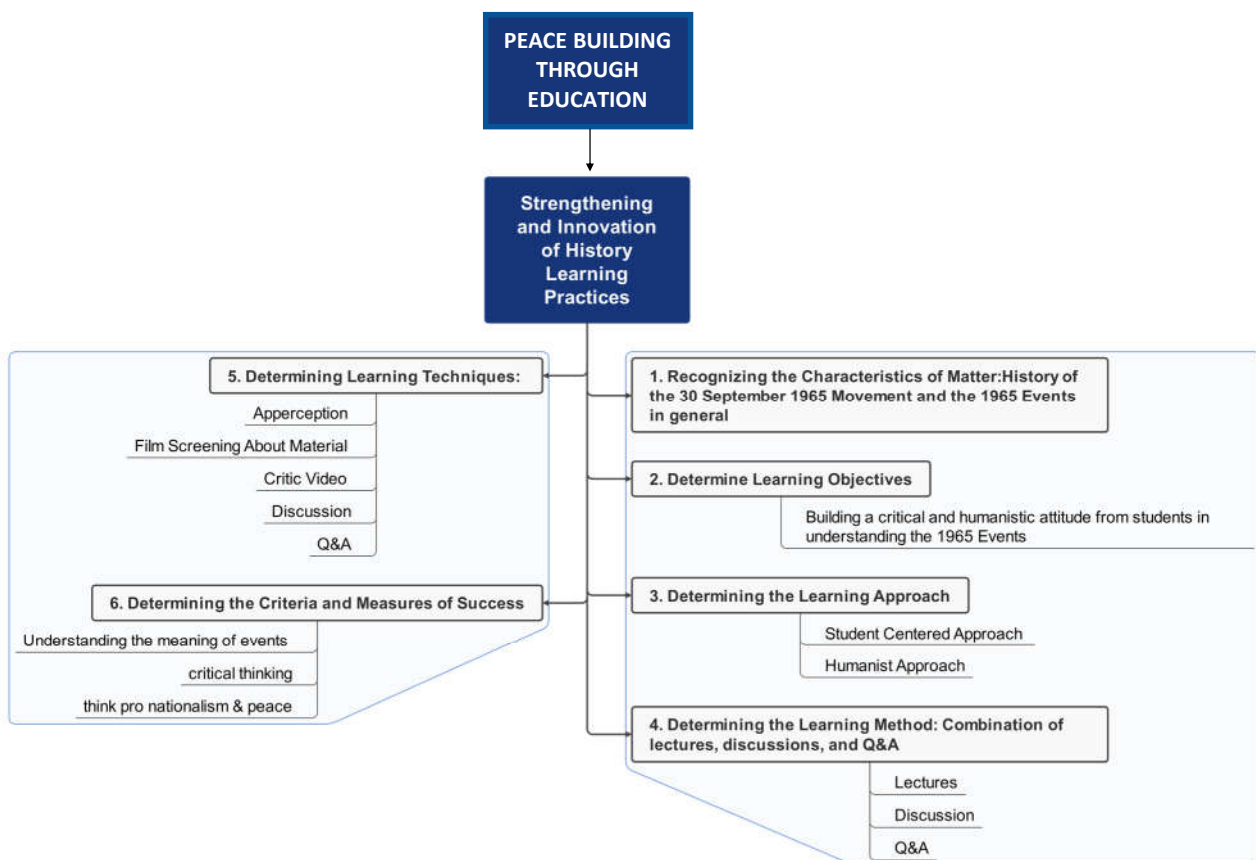


Figure 1. The Model of Peacebuilding Through Education

can be formulated based on the characteristics of the learning materials. The characteristics of learning materials help determine the direction and objectives of learning. These characteristics determine the elements that form the basis of learning objectives; (3) Determine the learning approach. Determining the learning approach is the first step to be performed before determining the strategy to be applied. Teachers must be careful in determining whether a teacher-centered or student-centered approach will be applied; (4) Determine the learning method. This method can be used to implement a strategy. The learning method used was entirely dependent on the teacher. This is determined based on learning resources, teacher and student abilities, learning media, learning materials, available time, class conditions, and the environment. (5) Determine learning techniques. Technically, the learning activities to be carried out can be broadly described as follows: (1) the teacher conveys the learning objectives; (2) the teacher gives a general description of the events of 1965; (3) the teacher divides the students into several discussion groups; (4) the teacher asks several questions that can stimulate students to find problems in the material to be studied by students; and (5) the teacher presents a documentary film for students to criticize using the video criticism method.

The steps of the video critique are as follows: (a) Selection of documentaries that are truly relevant to learning objectives, (b) Before the screening of the film, the teacher explains to students to critically review the film, (c) The teacher shows the movie, (d) Hold group discussions and create a "critic's corner" about the film, (d) The teacher provides the opportunity to ask questions and discuss them in groups by giving them freedom to use other learning resources, books (outside textbooks), and internet resources, (e) The students concluded, assisted by the teacher, (f) The teacher gives directions to access e-learning to use the learning resources provided by the teacher in e-learning. Independent Learning and Enrichment, (g) The teacher assigned individual assignments for e-learning (Gürsel-Bilgin, 2020).

(6) Determine the criteria and measures of success. The criteria for the success of this learning process become a benchmark to determine the success of the learning process. "The 1965 incident" is the ability of students to find problems and build hypotheses. In other words, finding irregularities in the 1965 events helps answer hypotheses, draw conclusions, and understand the values contained

in the material being studied. In addition, the main objectives to be achieved by applying the political model of peace in education are (a) understanding the meaning of events, (b) critical thinking, and (c) thinking about pro-nationalism and peace.

The 1965 incident was a learning material that was full of value as the basis for forming a national character. The values that need to be raised are humanity, honesty, and justice. The events of 1965 brought very deep wounds to the families of the revolutionary heroes and victims of the aftermath of the 1965 events, especially to those accused of being the PKI (Soekarno supporters, nationalists, and religious people), including the PKI itself, who received outside treatment humanity fairy.

This can be seen in the mass killings of people accused of being PKI and PKI members themselves without trial. The victims were blasphemed and massacred using the hands of the people and military. The process of ostracism in society is felt throughout life by descendants or those who are considered PKI or ex-PKI. In this case, it is not certain that those who were ostracized were descendants, members of the PKI, or even involved in the events of 1965.

This exclusion also has a long-lasting impact, ranging from psychological and social factors to getting a job. From this experience, values can be taken to help build students' attitudes and ways of thinking so that they are sensitive and aware of the importance of humanity, honesty, and justice. Have social sensitivity to changes that occur around them. In addition, it is also instilled in students that the state must be built on the basis of humanity and civilized justice to build a strong basic foundation as a healthy country in governance, politics, society, thinking, acting, and acting to create a prosperous society. The following are some techniques that can be used to deliver value education on "The 1965 Event." (1) Using Movies to Awake Affective Realms. According to the researcher, film is an effective medium in helping to cultivate students' sensitivity, which can encourage them to have a caring, honest, fair, and humane attitude (2) Select scenes from films that match the values they want to build. Teachers must be observant in determining scenes or even statements in a film to be used as an incentive to increase students' sensitivity to the 1965 events. In this case, the sensitivity to the question is the sensitivity of the heart.

Based on the above description, several main meanings can be interpreted as follows. First, teachers need to pay attention to the selection of appro-

appropriate learning strategies and methods for controversial historical material, with the aim of students having a critical attitude and thinking systematically and logically in addressing the problems that arise. First, teachers need to pay attention to selecting appropriate learning strategies and methods for controversial historical material with the aim of students having a critical attitude and thinking systematically and logically in addressing the problems that arise. Second, teachers should use various relevant learning resources outside textbooks, considering that textbooks are insufficient to help students build critical thinking skills. Third, teachers should use supporting media to facilitate students' understanding of the material and help them think critically. This is related to students' diverse learning styles (visual, audio, kinesthetic), with the representation of each student's learning style making it easier for students to build critical thinking skills and construct these events. Fourth, value education must be explored from the "1965 incident" to foster students' sensitivity to social care, a sense of humanity, justice, and honesty, as the foundation for building a healthy country. The sensitivity of this student can be stimulated or built by observing and criticizing films about the events of 1965, witnesses and perpetrators of 1965 history, documentary films on the persecution of PKI people (including people accused or accused of being PKI), and films related to the restoration of mass graves of victims of Indonesia's 1965 events.

Additionally, applying a humanistic approach to learning can make the learning process more measurable. Teachers use existing indicators of humanitarian attitudes to create an objective historical way of thinking. Students also need additional material about the social conflict that occurred in 1965 and took place in Boyolali, making history learning contextual. This idea can break the chain of revenge; students can understand their past more academically, not because of the doctrine conveyed, so history looks like a public lie. However, students will receive a balanced, multidimensional narrative from various points of view so that they become accustomed to thinking. Open (Moore & Shantall, 2003). Simultaneously, it explains the theoretical and practical ideas of peace politics in education, which are carried out using an inquiry model and a humanist approach. Both can be the

right and reliable combination to build social harmonization among students. Furthermore, it underlies reconstructing social identity and nationalism in Boyolali's post-conflict community. Hopefully, this model can be applied to learning activities as an alternative method for teachers with a broad sociocultural impact.

CONCLUSION

The social conflicts in Boyolali during 1965 spawned hatred and grudges that had not yet been cut off. The regeneration of hatred and revenge continues verbally. This significant problem must be immediately resolved. Conflict resolution through education can be achieved with prerequisites: a common desire to end the conflict, an awareness of peace, and national values are put forward. To date, these three things have only been fulfilled by the Boyolali community in general, namely the desire to end grudges and hatred related to events that occurred in the past. The problem of awareness about peace and national values that has been put forward cannot be fulfilled, considering that education carried out in the community, especially concerning teaching history, still does not contain conflict resolution objectives. The humanistic approach applied in history learning has been proven to make learning interactive and students democratically educated to build their understanding and awareness of the past so that history learning is no longer a doctrine of power but an arena for developing democratic knowledge. The application of a humanistic approach through films has proven to be acceptable to students and can complete the prerequisites for peacebuilding in Boyolali; students accept the values of nationalism as the foundation of the state so that hostilities must end. In addition, students are taught the values of peace and humanity that must be held firmly to build a democratic society and uphold the values of life.

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