

Aksi Kamisan as an Effort of Non-Governmental Organization in Constructing an Agenda for the Restoration of the Victims Rights of Past Gross Human Rights Violations: A Case Study of 1965-1966 Massacre in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT: This article described the restoration agenda prepared by non-governmental organizations, in particular the Victims Solidarity Network for Justice (JSKK) and the 1965/1966 Murder Victims Research Foundation (YPKP 65). This agenda was constructed in a series of activities and poster that uploaded to Instagram account of Aksi Kamisan, as an effort to encourage the Government to form special policies for victims of gross human rights violations in 1965. The research conducted in this article uses qualitative methods to produce descriptive data. By using the agenda setting as a conceptual basis, it was found that the Aksi Kamisan was one of the main aspects capable of constructing the restoration of the victims rights of past gross human rights violations as an institutional agenda. This is proven by the stipulation of a policy to handle past gross human rights violations through Presidential Decree No. 17 of 2022 concerning the Team for the Non-Judicial Resolution of Past Serious Human Rights Violations. This study contributes to showing that non-governmental organizations are able to optimize the use of social media which can encourage the formation of special policies for victims of past gross human rights violations, even though they cannot be fully accommodated.

KEYWORDS: Aksi Kamisan, Institutional Agenda Setting, Restoration of Victims Right of Past Serious Human Rights Violations, The 1965 Massacre, Presidential Decree No. 17 Year 2022

I. INTRODUCTION

Aksi Kamisan is an action that is carried out every Thursday in front of the State Palace by families and victims of human rights violations. This action was first carried out on January 18, 2007 ago. The implementation of the Aksi Kamisan took the form of a peaceful demonstration in silence accompanied by a black umbrella bearing demands to resolve cases of human rights violations. Basically, this action activity demands that the state resolve the gross human rights violations that have occurred in Indonesia. These human rights violations include; The 1965 Tragedy, Semanggi I and Semanggi II Tragedy, Trisakti, May 1998 Tragedy, the Tanjung Priok case, the murder case of human rights activist Munir, and other incidents of human rights violations. The targets for the implementation of Aksi Kamisan are four elements in the government that are considered to have the duty and authority to make changes. The four elements in question are the President as

the issuer of regulations in the form of Presidential Decrees, the House of People's Representatives (DPR) as an institution that formulates regulatory recommendations to the President, National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) as an investigative agency, and the Attorney General's Office as an investigative agency.

Initially, this action was initiated by three families of the victims of gross human rights violations, namely; (1) Maria Katarina Sumarsih, parents of Bernardus Realino Norma Irawan who was a victim of the Semanggi I Tragedy, (2) Suciwati, wife of the late Munir Said Thalib who died fighting for human rights, and (3) Bedjo Untung, a direct victim of the 1965 incident which represents the families and victims of the aftermath of the 1965 massacre. They are a part of the Victim Solidarity Network for Justice (JSKK), which was just formed two years after Aksi Kamisan has started. The longest-running case among several gross human rights violations raised in this action was the 1965 case of gross human rights violations. This case of gross human rights violations was the revenge of the killing of seven high-ranking Indonesian National Armed Forces Army (TNI AD) officers during the September 30 Movement (G30S) which was allegedly committed by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which then gave rise to the eradication movement against communist ideology in Indonesia. Victims of the eradication of communist ideology in Indonesia come in different versions, depending on the perspective and the amount of research conducted. The victims also come from diverse groups with different frameworks of motives, but the accusations are the same. In other words, they are affiliated to the PKI. However, the eradication is part of human rights violations and the victims who were tortured and killed are not necessarily related to the G30S rebel movement. Furthermore, the perpetrators of the massacres and arrests did not fully know what they were doing because they were only following orders from their superiors and/or did not want to be accused of being PKI. At that time, neither political prisoners nor victims of massacres should have received punishment because there was no evidence in court that they were all PKI members and involved in the rebellion movement.

Victims of gross human rights violations in the 1965 incident were classified into three groups. First, the victims were targets who were civilians who were specially selected because they were considered members, sympathizers, or had links with the PKI. Second, victims are those who are considered to have links with the PKI but in fact are not part of the target group. Third, the victims were people accused of being involved in underbow PKI organizations such as Indonesian Women's Movement (Gerwani), People's Arts Institute (Lekra) and Indonesian Party (Partindo). Victims of gross human rights violations in the 1965 incident had a large number with at least 1,956 murder victims, at least 85,483 extermination victims, at least 11,500 slavery victims, at least 41,000 forced population displacement victims, and at least 41,000 victims of deprivation of liberty. at least 41,000 people, victims of torture at least 30,000 people, victims of sexual violence at least 35 people, victims of persecution at least 85,000 people, and victims of enforced disappearance of at least 361 people whose names are recorded and 32,413 people without details of names. The overall number of victims based on the results of this investigation touched at least 328,748 people who experienced violations of human rights (Komnas HAM, 2012).

Since the incident of the massacre and the arrest of PKI sympathizers at that time, a stigma began to form in society regarding the badness of the PKI through groupings and propaganda that were deliberately formed by the government at that time. This is in line with one of the previous studies by Munsir which found that the collective memory of the G30S incident became the basis for constructing the image of the PKI as the state opposition, so that efforts to purge and exterminate those affiliated with the PKI through military operations seemed justified by the Indonesian people to erase the traces of the PKI and communists as enemies of the state. This stigma is of course felt by community groups, including political prisoners, exiles, Chinese people, and families of victims who are accused of adhering to communist ideology — which until now has banned the development of ideology in Indonesia based on TAP MPRS Number XXV/MPRS/1966 (Munsir, 2016).

The stigma attached to this day should not be felt by victims, because basically there was no court decision regarding the right or wrong of those affiliated with the PKI at that time. Now the victims are old and the alleged perpetrators are also experiencing the same thing, not a few of them are also dead. Aksi Kamisan became an alternative forum for the victims of the 1965 incident to convey their aspirations. Even though the victims is elderly, this does not prevent the victim from being directly involved in voicing their rights through

this action. This is one of the strong reasons for raising the issue of gross human rights violations in the 1965 incident so that it gets the attention of the general public, so that this case can be resolved soon. This article is also intended to enrich research on cases of gross human rights violations in the 1965 incident in Indonesia, the sensitivity of the case itself resulting a minimal previous studies on this issue.

II. METHODOLOGY

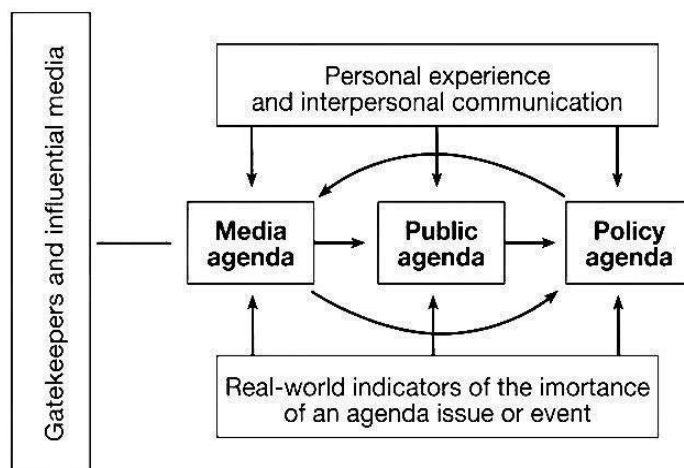
This article is a qualitative research that describes the non-governmental organization's agenda in the Aksi Kamisan. The data in this article were collected through literature studies, field observations and in-depth interviews. The interview data were obtained through direct interviews with the 1965/1966 Murder Victims Research Foundation (YPKP 65) and direct victims of the 1965 gross human rights violations. The data obtained was then analyzed in several stages. First, the data management stage was carried out by transcribing the interview audio into text. Second, the data memoing stage by coding the relevant data. Third, the presentation of data by including interview excerpts. Fourth, the data is interpreted to be discussed and conclusions drawn.

III. CASE STUDY

Agenda Setting as a Conceptual Basis

Agenda setting is a theory developed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in a study on the election of the President of the United States in 1968. This research is known as "Chapel Hill", in which 100 Chapel Hill residents think that the issue of presidential election is an important issue and in line with with the topic of coverage raised by local and national media. Through their studies, McCombs and Shaw determine the extent to which the influence of the media has on public opinion. The basic assumption of research on agenda setting is that the press and media do not reflect reality, but they filter and construct the desired reality. Then the concentration of the media on several issues or subjects indirectly makes the public assume that these issues are important issues (Dearing & Rogers, 1996). Based on the explanation of the agenda setting according to McCombs and Shaw, it can be argued that the agenda setting theory basically gives the understanding that the mass media has a big role to play in determining the agenda or topic of discussion of the people who are exposed to that information. Groups of people who are accustomed to receiving news through certain media will make the news their daily conversation material and can become new knowledge or even form a certain lifestyle. Dearing and Rogers explain the process of compiling the agenda setting into three parts including:

1. Setting the policy agenda or political agenda that describes the issues and policy objectives that come from politicians. The agenda model has a focus on how the policy-making agenda is influenced by other factors such as satisfactory activity support for a position through certain news, the possibilities of carrying out the expected activities, and the free will in action that the government may take.
2. Setting the media agenda which becomes the priority of the media in news content regarding issues and events. This agenda model has a focus on how the media agenda is influenced by other factors, such as the visibility of the number and level of news existence, the level of existence that comes from the relevance of news content to audience needs, and whether or not reporting of an event is enjoyable.
3. Setting a public agenda that focuses on focusing issues in public opinion and knowledge. This agenda model is also a traditional hypothesis that emphasizes how audiences are influenced by other factors such as audience familiarity with certain topics, relevance of audience needs to their personal lives, and enjoyment of news topics.



Picture 1. Agenda Setting Dearing and Rogers (1996)

Dearing and Rogers' research on the political agenda makes it clear that the public and the media are very important aspects for influencing the political agenda. Politicians have a close symbiotic relationship with the media. This relationship is because journalists or media reporters need direct access to convey news quickly and officially, so they need to work with policy makers to get new and accurate information. At the same time, policy makers need the media to cover their actions in promoting their policies. Although sometimes the requirements between the two elements do not match due to time differences.

The mass media often influences policy making through public opinion, this certainly explains that the media has an important role in the formation of a policy. There is a way to solve social problems by looking; (a) when problems arise; (b) approach solutions to problems; (c) in a favorable political climate. The relationship between issues, politics and politics in the decision-making process is not coincidental, but opportunistic. Political decision makers use the media to achieve their goals and to motivate desired public opinion — or what is called a media frame (Kingdon, 1984).

Furthermore, the policy agenda applied in this article is an institutional agenda or government agenda. Cobb and Elder explain that the agenda of an institution or government is a set of issues that specifically require active and serious consideration by policy makers. The agenda contains topics on the system agenda to attract the attention of officials. The agenda of this institution or government has its own characteristics because it is more specific and limited in number. This agenda can be new or old. The old issues are usually the issues that always come up in every government, such as salary increases, improvements to public facilities and budget allocations. Decision makers usually already recognize these problems, so alternative solutions to these problems already have a certain pattern (Dearing & Rogers, 1996). If we refer to the focus of the 1965 gross human rights violations case, this issue has been around for a long time.

Seeing the magnitude of the influence of mass media and the development of media which is now shifting to the use of social media, Instagram is one of the media that will be seen for its application in influencing policy decision making. The use of social media in the context of this article is based on the results of a survey conducted by the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII), that there are 210.03 million internet users in Indonesia in the 2021-2022 period. Then, according to the We Are Social report in January 2022, it shows that active users of social media in early 2022 amounted to 191 million people out of a total population of 273.5 million people. This indicates that more than half of Indonesia's population are active users of social media. According to the report, the percentage of social media most frequently used is WhatsApp with 88.7% users, Instagram with 84.8% users, and Facebook with 81.3% users (Mahdi, 2022).

Instagram account of Aksi Kamisan as a Platform for Disseminating the Agenda for Restoring the Victim Rights of Serious Human Rights Violations in the 1965 Incident

Aksi Kamisan which is held every Thursday in front of the Presidential Palace was originally an activity initiated by the Victims Solidarity Network for Justice (JSKK) with assistance from the Commission for Missing Persons and Victims of Violence (KontraS) to encourage the resolution of cases of past gross human rights violations, specifically in Indonesia. This condition can be seen through the basis of JSKK who are victims and their families of victims of gross human rights violations. As for the Kamisan Action, it has its own way of encouraging the formation of public opinion, one of its activities is by staying silent in front of the Presidential Palace and carrying a black umbrella and banners criticizing the Government. This action which was carried out in front of the public at least attracted the attention of the people passing by on Jalan Medan Merdeka Utara, even though the attention that was given was only to see the writing on the action banner. When this research was taking place, precisely during the 741st Aksi Kamisan, there was one agenda that was echoed, the rejection of the Presidential Decree on the Non-Judicial Resolution of Past Serious Human Rights Violations. The agenda is contained in the poster uploaded on the Instagram account of Aksi Kamisan.



Picture 2. Poster of the 741st Aksi Kamisan
Research Documentation (2022)



Picture 3. Poster of the 745th Aksi Kamisan Source:
Source: Research Documentation (2022)



Picture 4. Poster of the 746th Aksi Kamisan
Source: Research Documentation (2022)

Rejection of Presidential Decree No. 17 of 2022 then continues with the 745th and 746th Aksi Kamisan if we look at the field documentation that at the time of the action there was a banner rejecting Presidential Decree No. 17 of 2022 which continues to unfold.



Picture 5. The 745th Aksi Kamisan
Source: Research Documentation (2022)



Picture 6. The 765th Aksi Kamisan
Source: Research Documentation (2022)

Based on the description as stated, the efforts made by JSKK and KontraS are one of the bridges to accommodate the aspirations of the victims of the 1965 incident in a participatory manner. This participatory practice can be seen through the aspirations of the victims represented by Mr. Bedjo Untung as the direct victim and the Chairperson of YPKP 65 who is also the JSKK Presidium, as well as the presence of Aki Effendi Saleh who can always be found during the Aksi Kamisan (both of whom were direct victims of the 1965 incident who were met during the Aksi Kamisan). What is accommodated in this bridge is the right to recovery and/or the needs of victims specifically as victims of gross human rights violations. This hope is generally included in the results of the release of responses and demands from victims of past gross human rights violations in general through letters addressed to the President and distributed to action participants. In a release letter when the 741st Aksi Kamisan took place, JSKK encouraged the Government to continue carrying out the legal process outside of reconciliation and rehabilitation efforts that would be provided through the implementation of policies in Presidential Decree No. 17 of 2022. The statement in the JSKK release letter is a manifestation of the latest public opinion, especially from among the victims. Opinions that are formed do not immediately appear on the surface, but reciprocate with a series of agendas contained in the Aksi Kamisan with ongoing policy developments.

The demands that initially hoped to resolve cases of past gross human rights violations through the court mechanism have now shifted specifically to reject recovery efforts which are limited to reconciliation and rehabilitation efforts without any legal process. Referring to one of the agenda-setting processes according to Dearing and Rogers (1996), the content of the agenda for rejecting Presidential Decree No. 17 of 2022 is one of the opinions of the victim community which is encouraged to become a public agenda and then try to expand it using the media as a means. Media in this context is the social media Instagram account owned by Aksi Kamisan which is used to disseminate the agenda of resolving past gross human rights violations through court

proceedings and rejection of Presidential Decree No. 17 of 2022. The agenda has a focus on issues that are relevant to the demands or expectations of the victims of the 1965 incident in particular and those who consider this issue important which can at least be seen from the number of participants in the action that day. In its implementation, the Aksi Kamisan also encouraged public opinion through discussions that took place after the silent action activities in front of the Presidential Palace. The discussion discussed the agenda raised by presenting several speakers who were asked for their comments.

If we examine the agenda setting flow framework according to Dearing and Rogers, the formation of the media agenda in this event is the agenda formed through the social media of Aksi Kamisan and the implementation of the Aksi Kamisan itself. This arrangement was carried out by prioritizing the contents of a call to action poster upload that focused on the agenda for resolving cases of gross human rights violations in Indonesia. The mindset on how the agenda for solving gross human rights violations can meet the aspect of setting the media agenda is by looking at the size of the audience that follows the Aksi Kamisan Instagram account, which is around 82,700 followers. The agenda that was raised became a discourse that developed in society because the number of followers on the Aksi Kamisan Instagram account is certainly greater than the number of victims of gross human rights violations in Indonesia when referring to the number of victims who were recorded as receiving SKKP HAM, namely as many as 6,175 people. Furthermore, the efforts made by JSKK and KontraS through the Aksi Kamisan have formed a public agenda that reflects the importance of the victim's community's right to recovery as an issue that is relevant to the victim's personal life. In this case, the agenda for resolving cases of victims of gross human rights violations that were recorded as experienced by 6,175 people is of concern to at least 80,000 other people. Based on the flow of Dearing and Rogers' agenda setting, the discourse that develops in the victim community should be able to direct the formation of a policy agenda that can represent the issues that are developing – at least when Aksi Kamisan is taking place. Moreover, the implementation of the Aksi Kamisan which was in front of the Presidential Palace should not overlooked by public officials.

Along the way, the agenda echoed in the 741st Aksi Kamisan at least illustrates that public opinion and social media used to influence a policy have not been fully successful when referring to the concept according to Dearing and Rogers. This is based on the stipulation of Presidential Decree No. 17 of 2022 on August 26 2022, which is not in accordance with the wishes of victims to bring cases of past gross human rights violations to go to court. The enactment of this Presidential Decree is also one of the proofs of the Government's lack of transparency and attention to the aspirations of the victimized community groups who still rejected it until one day before the Presidential Decree was ratified, to be precise on August 25, 2022. The current agenda of rejection is a form of the dynamics that are happening when the public agenda cannot be fully accommodated in a policy, which in the end requires a reconstruction of the agendas that have been raised previously.

Restoring the rights of victims of gross human rights violations is part of public opinion and is certainly part of the rights that need to be given to the victims. On the one hand, the dynamics that have occurred have resulted in the agenda of resolving past gross human rights violations through the court mechanism still being pushed through but adjustments have been made to the policies that were formed and the demands that arose afterward. The shift in the agenda raised in the Aksi Kamisan then did not only focus on resolving past gross human rights violations to be brought to trial, but now also leads to the rejection of Presidential Decree No. 17 of 2022. Apart from that, looking at the concept of agenda setting according to Dearing and Rogers, the use of social media in this case is still not able to influence the policy agenda that is developing in the government even though it has represented the aspirations of victims of gross human rights violations, especially victims of the 1965 incident. The large number followers of the Aksi Kamisan Instagram account are still unable to give an impression for the Government to be able to review the policy. On the same hand, this failure is very possible because of the rejection of Presidential Decree No. 17 of 2022 is thought to be a new discourse whose echoes have not yet resonated in the ears of policy makers.

Seeing other perspectives through the elaboration of field findings with the agenda setting concept put forward by Cobb and Elder, the settlement of past gross human rights violations is actually a success in itself. The existence of serious considerations for policy makers to be able to accommodate the aspirations of victims of past gross human rights violations can be seen from the formation of new policies specifically for victims.

This explains that the resolution of cases of past gross human rights violations is included in the institutional agenda because of the attention paid by policy makers to this problem, which produce Presidential Decree No. 17 of 2022. The case of gross human rights violations in the 1965 incident became an important issue in the government because the time to resolve cases took so long, that the problems faced were seen as specific and familiar because they continued to roll in every post-reform government period. Thus, the stipulation of Presidential Decree No. 17 of 2022 is a form of alternative solutions that the Government can provide to resolve cases of past gross human rights violations.

IV. CONCLUSION

The resolution of the serious human rights violations in the 1965 incident which lasted for so long eventually formed an alternative movement, in this case Aksi Kamisan. Aksi Kamisan was present as a forum that accommodating the aspirations of the victims of past gross human rights violations in general, and victims of the 1965 incident in particular. In its development, Aksi Kamisan did not only prioritize action activities in front of the Presidential Palace. However, to expand the dissemination of the agenda for restoring the victim rights of past gross human rights violations, Aksi Kamisan uses social media Instagram to get the attention of the public and the government. The recovery agenda has finally received attention from the Government after at least 15 years of the Kamisan Action taking place consistently. The concern from the Government was later manifested in Presidential Decree No. 17 of 2022 concerning the Team for the Non-Judicial Resolution of Past Serious Human Rights Violations.

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