

- Bar-Tal, D., Bennink, G., 2011. The Nature of Reconciliation as an Outcome and as a Process, in: *From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 11–38. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195166439.003.0002>
- Bar-Tal, D., Chernyak-Hai, L., Schori, N., Gundar, A., 2009. A Sense of Self-Perceived Collective Victimhood in Intractable Conflicts. *Int. Rev. Red Cross* 91, 229–258. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1816383109990221>
- BBC Indonesia, 2016. Perlukah negara Indonesia meminta maaf terkait peristiwa 1965? [WWW Document]. BBC News Indones. URL https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2016/04/160428_trensosial_mintamaaf (accessed 11.3.21).
- Braeuchler, B., 2009. *Reconciling Indonesia: Grassroots agency for peace*, 1st Edition. ed. Routledge, London.
- Brounéus, K., 2003. *Reconciliation: Theory and Practice for Development Cooperation*. Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA).
- Brounéus, K., 2008. Analyzing Reconciliation: A Structured Method for Measuring National Reconciliation Initiatives. *Peace Confl. J. Peace Psychol.* 14, 291–313. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10781910802017354>
- Byung-Ook, A., 2009. *Truth and Reconciliation Activities of the Past Three Years*. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Republic of Korea, Seoul.
- Conroe, A., 2018. The Efficacy of “Dangerous” Knowledge: “Children of Victims” in Indonesia After 1965, in: McGregor, K., Melvin, J., Pohlman, A. (Eds.), *The Indonesian Genocide of 1965: Causes, Dynamics and Legacies*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Genocide. Springer International Publishing, Cham, pp. 199–214. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71455-4_10
- Djakababa, Y., 2017. *Demi Rekonsiliasi, Memahami Sejarah Tragedi 1965 Harus Menyeluruh* [WWW Document]. The Conversation. URL <http://theconversation.com/demi-rekonsiliasi-memahami-sejarah-tragedi-1965-harus-menyeluruh-84569> (accessed 11.23.21).
- Finnemore, M., Sikkink, K., 1998. International Norm Dynamics and Political Change. *Int. Organ.* 52, 887–917.
- Galtung, J., 1969. Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *J. Peace Res.* 6, 167–191.

- Document]. *tirto.id*. URL <https://tirto.id/ikhtiar-kebenaran-dan-rekonsiliasi-kasus-65-di-solo-dan-palu-dczY> (accessed 11.30.21).
- Hara, Abubakar E., 2001. The Difficult Journey of Democratization in Indonesia. *Contemp. Southeast Asia* 23, 307–326.
- Hearman, V., 2013. Under Duress: Suppressing and Recovering Memories of the Indonesian Sixties. *Soc. Transform. J. Glob. South* 1, 5–25. <https://doi.org/10.13185/ST2013.01102>
- Hearman, V., 2018. The 1965–1966 Violence, Religious Conversions and the Changing Relationship Between the Left and Indonesia's Churches, in: McGregor, K., Melvin, J., Pohlman, A. (Eds.), *The Indonesian Genocide of 1965: Causes, Dynamics and Legacies*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Genocide. Springer International Publishing, Cham, pp. 179–195. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71455-4_9
- Heriyanto, D., 2016. Q&A: 1965 and National Reconciliation [WWW Document]. *Jkt. Post*. URL <https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2016/04/22/qa-1965-and-national-reconciliation.html> (accessed 11.18.21).
- Institute for Economics and Peace, 2018. *Positive Peace Report 2018: Analysing the Factors That Sustain Peace*. Sydney.
- Joon, K.H., 2013. Truth Commissions in South Korea: Lessons Learned [WWW Document]. *Middle East Inst.* URL <https://www.mei.edu/publications/truth-commissions-south-korea-lessons-learned> (accessed 11.12.20).
- Keck, M.E., Sikkink, K., 2014. *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y.
- Khiem, D. & Kim Sung-soo, 2008. Crimes, Concealment and South Korea's Truth and Reconciliation Commission [WWW Document]. *Asia-Pac. J. Jpn. Focus*. URL <https://apjpf.org/-Do-Khiem/2848/article.html> (accessed 11.3.21).
- Kim, H.J., 2012. Local, National, and International Determinants of Truth Commission: The South Korean Experience. *Hum. Rights Q.* 34, 726–750.
- Kun-woong, P., Eun-yong, Chung, 2006. *Massacre at the Bridge of No Gun Ri*. Sai Comics, Seoul.
- Lederach, J.P., 1997. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington, DC.
- Lederach, J.P., 1999. *The Journey Toward Reconciliation*. Herald Press, Scottdale.

- McGregor, K., Melvin, J., Pohlman, A., 2018. New Interpretations of the Causes, Dynamics and Legacies of the Indonesian Genocide, in: McGregor, K., Melvin, J., Pohlman, A. (Eds.), *The Indonesian Genocide of 1965: Causes, Dynamics and Legacies*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Genocide. Springer International Publishing, Cham, pp. 1–26. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71455-4_1
- Nursahid, A., 2016. Rekonsiliasi di Persimpangan Jalan [WWW Document]. PUSAD Paramadina. URL <https://www.paramadina-pusad.or.id/rekonsiliasi-di-persimpangan-jalan/> (accessed 11.29.21).
- Oppenheimer, J., 2012. Jagal - The Act of Killing (full movie). Final Cut for Real.
- Park, M.-L., 2018. Towards a Universal Model of Reconciliation: The Case of the Jeju 4.3 Incident. *J. Korean Relig.* 9, 105–130. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26594683>
- Pohlman, A., 2018. Two Women’s Testimonies of Sexual Violence During the 1965–1966 Indonesian Massacres, in: McGregor, K., Melvin, J., Pohlman, A. (Eds.), *The Indonesian Genocide of 1965: Causes, Dynamics and Legacies*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Genocide. Springer International Publishing, Cham, pp. 115–132. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71455-4_6
- Robinson, G.B., 2018. *The Killing Season: A History of the Indonesian Massacres, 1965-66, Human Rights and Crimes against Humanity*. Princeton University Press, Oxford.
- Roosa, J., 2006. *Pretext for Mass Murder: The September 30th Movement and Suharto’s Coup d’Etat in Indonesia*. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.
- Sang-Hun, C., 2009. South Korea Admits Civilian Killings During War. *N. Y. Times*.
- Sen, K., 2015. Death of a film legacy: remembering Indonesia’s Bachtiar Siagian [WWW Document]. *The Conversation*. URL <http://theconversation.com/death-of-a-film-legacy-remembering-indonesias-bachtiar-siagian-48444> (accessed 2.19.21).
- Seung-Hee, J., 2013. War Trauma, Memories, and Truths: Truth and Reconciliation in South Korea Between the Present and Future of the Korean Wars, in: *Truth and Reconciliation in South Korea: Between the Present and Future of the Korean Wars*. Routledge, New York.
- Silberstein, B.K., 2014. South Korea’s Own History Problem [WWW Document]. *The Diplomat*. URL <https://thediplomat.com/2014/08/south-koreas-own-history-problem/> (accessed 10.7.20).
- Skaar, E., Gloppen, S., Suhrke, A. (Eds.), 2005. *Roads to reconciliation*. Lexington Books, Lanham, Md.

Suh, J.-J., 2013. *Truth and Reconciliation in South Korea: Between the Present and Future of the Korean Wars*, 1st ed. Routledge, New York.

The Jakarta Post, 2019. AGO plans massive raid on left-wing literature - Fri, January 25 2019 - The Jakarta Post [WWW Document]. Jkt. Post. URL <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2019/01/25/ago-plans-massive-raid-left-wing-literature.html> (accessed 2.19.21).

Wahid, A., 2018. Counterrevolution in a Revolutionary Campus: How Did the “1965 Event” Affect an Indonesian Public University?, in: McGregor, K., Melvin, J., Pohlman, A. (Eds.), *The Indonesian Genocide of 1965: Causes, Dynamics and Legacies*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Genocide. Springer International Publishing, Cham, pp. 157–178. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71455-4_8

Wahyuningroem, S.L., 2018. Working from the Margins: Initiatives for Truth and Reconciliation for Victims of the 1965 Mass Violence in Solo and Palu, in: McGregor, K., Melvin, J., Pohlman, A. (Eds.), *The Indonesian Genocide of 1965: Causes, Dynamics and Legacies*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Genocide. Springer International Publishing, Cham, pp. 335–356. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71455-4_17

Wardaya, B.T., 2016. Backgrounder: what we know about Indonesia’s 1965 “anti-communist” purge [WWW Document]. The Conversation. URL <http://theconversation.com/backgrounder-what-we-know-about-indonesias-1965-anti-communist-purge-66338> (accessed 10.7.20).