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AGRARIAN CONFLICT BETWEEN THE LEFT ACTIVISTS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN KLATEN REGENCY 1950 - 1965

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ABSTRACT

This study aimed to understand the agrarian conflict between left activists and local government in Klaten Regency, Central Java, from 1950-1965. The research question posed is: Why did the left movement occur in Klaten Regency in the 1950-1965 period? The method used is the historical method, including source collection, source criticism, source selection, analysis/interpretation, and writing. Data collected through in-depth interviews with historical actors and written sources is carried out at the library. The approach used was hermeneutics which views every event from objective and intuitive circles. The output of this research is the reconstruction of the left movement in Klaten, which is divided into two parts: the background and activities of the left movement. In the background, it was found that the left movement in Klaten had grown at the beginning of the independence era, namely the anti-self-government movement. The growth of the left movement is supported by the chronic problems of land and poverty in Klaten. In the left movement, activities in the 1950s received a positive response and were seen as defending the interests of the poor and oppressed people. In the 1960s, the left movement intensified and tended to be violent.

KEYWORDS: Left movements, Klaten, land reform, Indonesian communist party, unilateral action

INTRODUCTION

The national tragedy in 1965 brought many victims to the people, both parties considered related to the 30 September Movement and their families. Soebandrio (2006, p. 118), one of Indonesia's national leaders, reflected on this incident in terms of the international constellation by explaining that the destruction of the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI/Indonesian Communist Party), which was followed by the killing of millions of people (Robinson, 2017; Robinson, 2018), had the support of international imperialism forces, especially the United States which claimed to be a democratic country. This mass killing is a form of destruction of the structure in a country (Indonesia), which has been very large since World War II.

The 1965 tragedy also left questions to be studied. One of the questions that researchers have been trying to find answers to is: Is it appropriate that the New Order government oppress them? The

question became the energy to research a regency in the southern part of Central Java, namely the Klaten regency. Klaten was chosen because it is one of the killing fields of "leftists" from the famous triangle area and Solo and Boyolali regencies (Robinson, 2017). In the three areas, thousands of people were killed, convicted, and detained in the name of the PKI Movement and its accomplices (Sandi, 2013). Especially for the Klaten Regency area, various places are believed to be the locations of mass killings, and although there are few left, there are still people who were previously detained, sentenced, even isolated on the Buru island (Kasemin, 2004, p. 44).

The issue of the appropriateness of leftist movement activists in Klaten to receive cruel treatment by the New Order government is described in two research questions:

1. What is the historical genetics of the left movement in Klaten?
2. How was the activity of the Klaten left movement in the 1950-1965 period?

Literature Review

Historical tracing begins to answer the two research questions with a theoretical review of the left movement. The term "left movement" is associated with the movement against injustice. Wardaya (2006, p. 194) explained the various "good" traditions by the leftist movement, for example, the tradition of organizing society (labor unions during the National Awakening era, organizing youth in the revolutionary era, then organizing farmers, women, artists, journalists), intellectual tradition by forming discussion groups, cultural groups, educational institutions, and the tradition of building a common front for the benefit of the wider community. It is a shame that many such traditions have died because they have been labeled "leftists" or "atheists." Without intending to refute, the view is more neutral and academic given by Kuntowijoyo (2008, p. 498), who explained that in Asia, Latin America, Africa, and even the Middle East, the motion the leftist movement became famous because their programs are relevant to aspirations for equity and social justice. Using class analysis, Left parties are often quite successful in formulating clear political articulations to attract sympathy and support. The social reality in the Third World in the form of a deep rich-poor gap, a repressive and authoritarian political system, or the barrenness of religions in responding to social changes have caused leftist movements to gather people's power successfully.

In Indonesia, left thinking has colored the views of almost all figures of the national movement. By adapting to the conditions of Indonesia, which were under colonialism, leftist thinking was used to criticize the capitalistic exploitation of the Dutch colonial government and its accomplices against the Indonesian people. One of the well-known activists and his relatively significant influence on the Indonesian left movement is Tan Malaka. Vickers (2005, p. 95) describes Tan Malaka as a Trotskyite by its leadership. He spread Communism throughout East Asia and the Southeast. He was back in Indonesia in 1942, founding the suffered forced laborers.

One of Tan Malaka's thoughts is about the existence of the oppressor class and the oppressed class. The problem of the Indonesian people is not that the low value of labor and the high value of capital has triggered class conflicts between employers and workers since the Industrial Revolution in Europe. According to Tan Malaka, there are two oppressors in Indonesia: local feudalism and Western colonialism. Regarding local feudalism, Tan Malaka (2000, p. 67), in his writings published in 1926, explained that in Indonesia, the government is held by a king and his accomplices. His foolish son succeeded as the lord in the country. This hereditary rule "disappears" when a new "champion" comes to overthrow the old one, from making himself king as well.

The oppression was also carried out by the Western invaders, especially the Dutch. The Dutch industrial center is in Indonesia, while the trade and financial center are in the Netherlands. Bankers, industrialists, and merchants lived in the Netherlands, while workers and peasants lived in Indonesia. As a result, all Indonesian people live as laborers and farmers except the king and the nobles (Malaka, 2000). From this perspective, Tan Malaka concludes that the Indonesian people do not have the economic, social or intellectual factors to escape from economic and political slavery in the environment of Dutch imperialism".

The idea of the left movement underwent an important development after 1945. Indonesian independence made resistance to Western imperialism in a physical sense no longer relevant for national thought. The leftist thinking is more focused on dismantling the structural injustices that exist in Indonesian society itself. One of the figures who had a significant influence on the Indonesian left movement was Dipa Nusantara Aidit. His position as Chairman of the PKI CC made his thoughts the primary reference for the left movement, especially organizations affiliated with the PKI (Rina et al., 2021).

Furthermore, it is of the view that groups that structurally oppress most of their members in Indonesian society. The oppressive groups are landlords, loan sharks, bondage workers, middle class, bureaucratic capitalists, rich peasants, village bandits, and evil village rulers in rural areas. In coastal areas, the oppressor groups are boat owners or fishing masters. In agricultural areas, the typical exploitation pattern is renting out their land to poor farmers with a profit-sharing system. Another pattern used by landlords is by employing farm laborers (Aidit, 1964, p. 22). In order to deal with the exploiters, Aidit divided the strategies into two groups. The first is the mental attitude that leaders and members of the left movement need to have. This mental attitude is the spirit of 5 more: braver, more intelligent, more alert, more persistent, and more diligent (Aidit, 1964, p. 54). These five mental attitudes make leftist activists have high militancy in dismantling the oppression that occurred in the village.

The second is the method or method taken by leftist activists in dealing with the oppressors in the village. Furthermore, it divides the method of movement into two, namely the political and economic fields. In the political field, the left movement is directed at the formal rulers in the village environment. The method of movement adopted was to expose those in charge of the Undang Undang

Perjanjian Bagi Hasil (UUPBH/Production Sharing Agreement Act) and Undang Undang Pokok-Pokok Agraria (UUPA/Basic Agrarian Act) in village meetings (Aidit, 1964, p. 45). The left movement in the economic field is similar in pattern to the political one. The difference is the target of the movement, namely the landlord. If steps or methods that are more deliberative are deadlocked, Aidit recommends taking unilateral action. Setiawan (2003, p. 6) describes unilateral action as a last resort when dialogue and deliberation are deadlocked. In addition, unilateral action is an effort to ensure that the UUPBH and UUPA are implemented thoughtfully and prevent various deviations.

The Left Movement in Klaten in the 1950-1965 period is positioned as a movement based on Indonesian Marxism, which is politically affiliated with the Indonesian Communist Party and the Indonesian Socialist Party. The activists of the Klaten left movement are understood as historical figures who try to dismantle the structural poverty experienced by laborers and farmers without rice fields by opposing the exploitative behavior of various parties.

METHODOLOGY

This research will use the historical method. The stages of research include source collection, source criticism, source selection, analysis, interpretation, and reconstruction. Source collection is done in two ways, namely document study and depth interview. Data analysis was carried out using the history from within approach, developed in Indonesia by Satono Kartodirdjo. He explained that to be able to write history with a national perspective; historians must: (1) reveal the "history from within" in which the Indonesian nation itself plays the central role, (2) describe the factors or forces that influence it, whether economic, social, political or cultural, (3) reveal the activities of various groups of people, not only nobles or knights but also from the clergy or farmers and other groups (Mulyana & Darmiasti, 2009, p. 5). According to Nagazumi (1968), which summarizes the views of Smail (1961), one of the categories of autonomous history is the awareness of the existence of ethnic differences.

Besides history from within, this research uses a hermeneutic approach developed by Schleiermacher (1998) and Dilthey (1996; Palmer, 1969). From this point of view, every historical event is studied from two perspectives, namely grammatical understanding and intuitive understanding. The hermeneutics approach allows the left movement in Klaten to be placed as a series of meaningful actions and contains the subjective intentions of the actors or historical actors.

The Root of Agrarian Conflict

One of the chronic problems in Klaten is agrarian. Since the Giyanti agreement in 1755, Klaten Regency has become part of the Surakarta Kasunanan Kingdom, which in the Dutch colonial system of government was categorized as a *vorstenlanden* area. Like other *vorstenlanden* areas in Java, Kasunanan Surakarta was an agrarian kingdom that relied on agriculture as the basis of life for almost the entire population. When Western entrepreneurs entered rural Java, Klaten Regency became one of the areas that became objects. As part of the kingdom's territory, private entrepreneurs do not rent directly to the people but make contracts with the nobles who own the *apanage* (Padmo, 2002, p. 14).

The contract pattern through the nobles who owned the land meant that the peasants did not benefit from the entry of Western companies into their territory. The companies have intensively utilized hundreds of thousands of hectares of land in the mountains to cultivate hard crops such as tea, rubber, and coffee by involving people in the surrounding villages. If the workforce is not available in the surrounding village, then the workforce must be brought in from villages 7-10 kilometers away periodically. For decades, it is not uncommon for rural residents to be forced to carry out obligatory work, born, live, and die in coffee plantations. Farmers in fertile rice fields are forced to grow sugarcane, tobacco, and indigo in compulsory labor called government, in addition to mandatory work for traditional rulers (Galloway, 2005; Padmo, 2002).

One of the sources of people's suffering during land leasing by Western plantation companies is the glebagan system, a land management system where farmers and sugarcane plantation companies cultivate the land alternately (Soepeno & Bindarti, 2017; Tauchid, 2009). The glebagan system reduced the farmers' arable land by half because Western companies planted cash crops, such as tobacco, sugarcane, or indigo. If taken on average, in the Klaten area, where the land is very fertile, the farmers' arable land is only 1/3 of a hectare or less. In the infertile part, it is slightly wider (Tauchid, 2009).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there was an essential change in agrarian policy; among others, the people were given the right to use hereditary. However, economically the policy does not make the people more prosperous. On the contrary, the people are getting poorer, and few are relinquishing the right to use forever given by Sunan. Padmo (2002, p. 44) creates a table as follows:

Table 1: Number of Farmers Owning Rice Fields in Five Districts

village	Farmer Land Owner	Percentage	Landless Farmer	Percentage
Mlese	281	26.76	769	73.24
Lumbungkerep	276	17.46	1.305	82.54
Kraguman	183	46.45	211	53.55
Cucukan	203	24.73	618	75.27
Semawung	203	27.32	540	71.46

From the table above, it can be understood that in Klaten Regency, there has been a polarization of agricultural land ownership. On the one hand, many farmers are without land, and on the other hand, few farmers have extensive lands. This situation makes Klaten Regency an area that has great potential for conflicts over agricultural land ownership.

The structural poverty of the Surakarta Sunanate community in general and the Klaten Regency, in particular, became a potential to foster the left movement during the independence period. One of the Left movements in the early days of independence was the opposition to the power of the Surakarta

Sunanate in the form of the Anti-Swapraja Movement. The movement was spearheaded by the Left, led by Tan Malaka. He wrote a draft economic program for the proletariat in Indonesia, namely:

1. They are distributing vacant land to landless and poor farmers by providing financial support to cultivate the land.
2. Abolishing the remnants of feudal and private lands and distributing the latter to the poor peasants (Malaka, 2000: 121).

The influence of the Anti-Swapraja Movement is increasingly widespread. Initially, the main target was the central government of the royal palace, such as the kidnapping and murder of the Regent of the Surakarta Sunanate, KRMH Sosrodiningrat, on 17 October 1945. In the following years, the influence of the Anti-Swapraja Movement expanded to the district level. This influence can be seen in the kidnappings and murders of regents, such as what happened in Klaten (RT Pringgonogoro) and Boyolali (KRT Reksonegoro). To overcome the increasingly uncontrollable situation, the central government then ended the Special Region of Surakarta on 16 June 1946 (Soejatno & Anderson, 1974). It replaced it with the status of the Surakarta Residency.

The success of overthrowing the aristocratic power of the Surakarta Sunanate made the left movement more confident in defending the interests of the lower-rank people. On 26 April 1948, Even the government signed Law No. 13, entitled the Law on Amendments to *Vorstenlandsch Grondhuurreglement*. The law shows that the government of the Republic of Indonesia has a passion for the welfare of the people, especially farmers. On the other hand, the government also sees that the *Vorstenlandsch Grondhuurreglement* contains many injustices for farmers.

The confidence of leftist movement activists in Surakarta in general and the district, in particular, was evident from the outbreak of the *Badan Tekstil Negara* (BTN/State Textile Agency) labor strike in Delanggu on 19 May 1948 (Sugiyama, 2011). In order to carry out negotiations and negotiations with the BTN directors, workers and farmers unite in the *Lembaga Buruh Tani* (LBT/Farmers' Worker Organization). In a press release published in the *Suara Ibukota* newspaper, 21 May 1948, and quoted in the Archives of the Ministry of Information No. 242 explained that (1) This action was not only carried out by *Sarikat Buruh Perkebunan RI* (Sarbupri/Indonesian Plantation Workers Union) and BTI because many small farmers also worked for BTN companies (Wahyudi & Yunus, 2001). The fate of them and the members of Sarbupri is the same. This time, the workers and peasants faced one employer. (2) The dispute between Sarbupri and the BTN Board of Directors has been going on for a long time, namely seven months, during which time the employer did not show his goodwill. (3) The wages of workers permitted by BTN are Rp. 2 a day with 200 grams of rice coupon he had to buy Rp. 1.5/kg. Compared to the wages of farm laborers outside the plantation of Rp. 10.- to Rp.15.-, then the wages of BTN are very unattractive to the people (Ikaningtyas, 2013).

The strike ended on 17 June 1948, marked by order from the Central Bureau of SOBSI to Sarbupri and BTI in Delanggu so that starting on Sunday, 18 July 1948 at 07.00, all laborers and farmworkers in the area worked as usual. The length of time required to settle labor disputes with BTN, apart from the demands deemed quite heavy to be met, by both BTN and the Minister of Prosperity, also because strikes have developed into political commodities. Finally, Prime Minister Moh. Hatta intervened so that the dispute could be resolved. The settlement occurs after an agreement is reached, among others, regarding (a) the Provision of clothing materials to monthly employees and workers, permanent daily workers, permanent wholesale workers, casual workers, and tenant farmers. (b) Distribution of rice to employees, monthly workers, daily workers, and wholesalers. (c) Provision of the same wages as workers in private companies stipulates that part of the wages are rice and partly in money. If the rice supply does not allow wages to be paid with rice, wages are fully paid in money (Ikaningtyas, 2013; Wahyudi & Yunus, 2001).

Conflict in the 1950S

Successfully fighting for their fate through 19 May – 17 June 1948 gave new hope for poor farmers to change their fate. This success cannot be denied thanks to the help and support of leftist movement activists, both those who belong to social organizations and political parties. Therefore, it is natural that in the 1950s, many activists from Klaten Regency were affiliated with the national left movement, both as members and sympathizers. In the 1955 General Election, for the Klaten Regency constituency, the Indonesian Communist Party won 204,869, while the PNI: 109,667 and Masjumi: 48,530 (Vries, 1955).

The PKI's victory, which was almost double that of the PNI, clearly showed that most of the population of the Klaten Regency had high hopes for it. The domination of the Left in the Klaten Regency is not only on national political issues but also on social and cultural activities at the local level. Youth, student, and arts organizations affiliated with the PKI also multiplied in almost all areas of the Klaten Regency. All districts have branches from *Pemuda Rakyat* (PR/Youth People), *Lembaga Kesenian Rakyat* (LEKRA/People's Arts Institute), *Ikatan Pemuda Pelajar Indonesia* (IPPI/the Indonesian Student Youth Association), *Barisan Tani Indonesia* (BTI/the Indonesian Farmers Front), and *Gerakan Wanita Indonesia* (Gerwani/the Indonesian Women's Movement) (Pradana, 2016). Through verbal communication between friends and neighbors, students and youth are recruited to become members of the organization and are actively involved in various social and cultural activities. Mulyono (2014), who once served as chairman of the IPPI in Wedi District, explained that the recruitment of members was carried out using *person to person* system to be invited to join the meeting. Through participation in these meetings, naturally, those interested and willing to be actively involved in various IPPI activities will be filtered out, and those who are not.

Besides IPPI, the organization that is overgrowing in Klaten Regency is PR. The focus of the PR movement is socio-political. PR carries out various activities to assist community development in the social sector, such as pioneering community service work in the village, maintaining security, and the

like. At the village level, PR is the pioneer of youth activities, such as sports. For example, Kadilan (2014) said that in Tlogowatu, although the PR flag was not used, the driving force for football in the village was PR.

Moreover, the village head at that time was a party activist (PKI). Another main activity is in the political field. Every month, PR regularly holds meetings at the village level. Various information, from CC to CSS PKI, national and local issues, and developments in the situation at the district and sub-district levels were discussed in the meeting. PR is like a place for political education because various community issues are discussed and taken action.

Another organization with a relatively large number of members is BTI. The organization increases farmers' knowledge, productivity, and welfare (Suwarno, 2014). Increased knowledge is carried out by counseling about suitable soil and plants, caring for plants, making manure or compost, and various knowledge about agriculture. Even Jemakir Kahono explained that BTI was also given knowledge about health and medicinal plants. Through the development of their knowledge, farmers will be encouraged to increase their productivity.

Increasing knowledge and productivity does not automatically increase the level of farmers' prosperity. One of them is the system of leasing land to sugar factories. Under Decree No. 863 dated 31 July 1948, the village became the party that negotiated and determined the rental price for the land to the sugar factory. The game between the sugar factory and the village leaders often harms farmers economically. On the other hand, Village officials enjoy various financial benefits. Seeing the situation, BTI moved to defend the farmers.

Conflict in the 1960S

During this period, leftist activity in Klaten increased, both in quantity and quality. In terms of targets, leftist activities can be grouped into three groups, namely plantation companies, community groups which Aidit calls "village devils," and government leaders, particularly the Regent of Klaten, M. Pratikto. To plantation companies, leftist movement activists demand the involvement of land-owning farmers in land lease negotiations so that they get a fair price. The main problem in leasing agricultural land by factories or plantation companies is the lack of farmers who own rice fields. Like during the colonial era, a lease agreement was made between the factory and the village administrator. In the new system, plantation companies permanently rent land in an area and only cultivate it again after harvesting. Another problem raised by leftist activists is the low price of rent when compared to the harvest when the farmers grow it themselves. Differences and conflicts of interest between leftist movement activists and the authorities are not infrequently colored by violence. Padmo (2002, pp. 111-114) notes the violence that arises, among others, burning tobacco storage, destruction of sugar cane crops, and the refusal to give the land to plant rosella.

Apart from plantation companies, the Left also targets the "village devils" group, especially the wealthy farmers. The most famous move is unilateral action. At least some problems are the targets of

unilateral action by leftist movement activists, namely *absentee* land or land whose owners are outside the local district, rice cultivation with a profit-sharing system, and land mortgages. Padmo (2002, pp. 121-122) tried to formulate a pattern of unilateral action in Klaten, starting with the sub-districts in the border area: Prambanan in the west and Wonosari in the east. The two sub-districts are located relatively far from the city of Klaten, but in terms of communication, they are easily accessible. The unilateral Action movement expanded to the Jogonalan, Wedi, and Gantiwarno sub-districts from the border sub-districts.

The activities of the Klaten kirin movement in the 1960s became increasingly violent. The violence arose because the deliberations were deadlocked, primarily related to implementing various laws and government regulations promulgated in 1960. Leftist activists demanded that these regulations be implemented purely and consistently, but various parties in Klaten were seen as impeding them.

One of the demands of the Left is the enforcement of UUPBH, which regulates the distribution of the results of land between owners and tenants are fair. However, in Klaten, there were distortions and deviations made by Regent M. Pratikto. On 10 October 1960, the Regent issued a decree No. 8/SK/4/60 which contains, among other things, (1) the amount of the profit-sharing ratio between cultivators and landowners for rice plants is one to one from the net result, (2) for non-rice plant income, the ratio of income between cultivators and landowners is two to one of the net result (Pratikto, 1960). With the issuance of the decree, the Regent of Klaten maintains the profit-sharing agreement system that has been passed down from generation to generation in the area and is not willing to make changes to defend the fate of smallholders.

Deviations by the Regent also occurred in the implementation of UUPA. Article 10 paragraph 1 of the UUPA stipulates the basic principles of land ownership, namely: "Every person and legal entity that has a right to agricultural land is in principle obliged to work or cultivate it themselves actively, by preventing extortion methods." Further regulation on the obligation to "actively work on or work on it yourself" is carried out by the government through Government Regulation no. 224 of 1961 (Soekarno, 1961). Article 3, paragraph 1 of the regulation stipulates that landowners who reside outside the sub-district are obligated to transfer their land rights to another person in the sub-district.

The Regent of Klaten, M. Pratikto, did not use the priority scale as stated in PP no. 224 of 1961. He transferred the ownership of the agricultural land to the brothers of the old owner. It was explained that the Klaten Region Land Reform Committee prioritizes farmers who have family relationships with former owners rather than the order of priority as stipulated by law. The reason underlying the policy of the Klaten Regency Land Reform Committee in carrying out redistribution of excess land due to *absentee* land status is that the holders of rights to arable land in the past had a heavy burden. Farmers who held land rights during the colonial period, in addition to having the right to reap the results of the land they worked on, also had obligations to plantation companies or villages. The obligations of arable land rights holders to plantations include working several days a week without being paid (Padmo, 2000, p. 89).

Regent M. Pratikto's actions in making different policies from, not to say contradicting, the central government caused unrest in the community, especially leftist movement activists who tried to enforce the PBH Law and UUPA. From this point of view, the unilateral actions carried out by leftist activists are understandable because it is almost impossible to expect local governments to be willing to implement the laws enacted by the central government. In other words, unilateral action is the resistance of leftist movement activists against the policy of the Klaten Regency Level II Government, which refuses to implement the policies of the central government.

Conclusion

The plight of farmers concerned, especially land ownership, is the potential for growth and development of the left movement. This potential flourished when Indonesia achieved independence. The attitude and behavior of the Kasunanan leaders who wanted to maintain feudalism led to the anti-self-government movement spearheaded by one of the leftist figures in Indonesia, namely Tan Malaka. The movement expanded and culminated with the Special Region of Surakarta's collapse and the political power loss of the Kasunanan.

The influence of the left movement in the Surakarta Residency in general and Klaten Regency, in particular, grew more potent when the Indonesian capital moved to Yogyakarta. The Surakarta area became the basis of opposition groups, especially the Left. The workers' strike at the State Textile Agency (BTN) based in Delanggu on 19 May 1948 became evidence of the strong influence of leftist movement activists in Klaten. The Sarbupri and BTI carried out the strike. They later merged into the LBT to face BTN and the Ministry of Prosperity.

The influence of the Left in the 1950s grew to be stronger, and the PKI won the 1955 General Election, which gained 204,869 votes. That number is greater than the PNI and Masyumi. The strong influence on society cannot be separated from the many activities and achievements of the left movement in Klaten, which can be directly felt by residents, especially from the poor. High commitment to defending the poor made them sympathize and voluntarily join in various activities held by the left movement, both as sympathizers and members. Sympathy is not only obtained from farmers and workers. Many students and the young generation of the village also joined leftist mass organizations, such as IPPI and Pemuda Rakyat.

Entering in the 1960s, left movement activity in Klaten increased. This increase was mainly due to the UUPBH and UUPA. Both laws are in favor of the rural poor, especially farmers without rice fields. Therefore, the leftist movement in Klaten took steps to oversee its implementation so that distortions and deviations did not occur in the field.

The Regent of Klaten, M. Pratikto, took various policies that were not only against the spirit contained in the two laws but also violated various articles contained in them. On the other hand, leftist activists in Klaten chose to continue to defend the interests of the poor and oppressed in the village, even though the risk was hefty. Leftist movement activists carried out various unilateral actions to aim that farmers

without rice fields could have their fields and the cultivators could get a fair share. Not a few unilateral actions achieve success, but many also fail.

The Left Movement in Klaten in the 1960s was controversial. On the one hand, various parties in power, both politically and economically, feel disturbed and disturbed by the actions of leftist movement activists who violate various regional regulations and harm their interests. On the other hand, groups of poor peasants who are structurally oppressed and neglected view the actions of the Left as a good thing and save their lives. The controversy became part of the historical memory that will not be erased by the massacre in 1965.

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