MUHAMMADIYAH AND THEIR PROTECTION ON FORMER PKI IN YOGYAKARTA'S PALACE (1965-1970)

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ABSTRACT

This article intends to explain Muhammadiyah's efforts to protect the former PKI involved in the 1965 incident in Yogyakarta. Previously, the socio-religious organization was known to have protected PKI sympathizers and members who survived military operations. After the arrests took place, the atmosphere in Yogyakarta was very worrying, especially the large number of neglected children, and discrimination often arose which could create divisions among the community. Meanwhile, in the midst of this stressful situation, Muhammadiyah is here to play a role in solving this phenomenon in a relatively new way and has not been carried out by any socio-religious organization. The problem raised from the research is why Muhammadiyah took the initiative to protect former PKI involvement in the west of the Yogyakarta Palace. Whereas before the incident of 65', Muhammadiyah was often involved in confrontations with the PKI. This research uses a historical methodology with an anthropological approach to Michel Foucalt's theory of power. The aim is to find out the process of Muhammadiyah social movement in the period 1965-1970 in Yogyakarta. While the novelty of this research is knowing the Muhammadiyah movement to resolve the post-G30S/PKI riots by using various efforts; (Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar practice), (Religious development and re-Islamization), (Recruiting former PKI in religious activities), and through (Muhammadiyah educational institutions).

KEYWORDS: Muhammadiyah, PKI, G30S, Keraton, Yogyakarta.

INTRODUCTION

After Indonesia proclaimed independence on August 17, 1945, various obstacles and challenges emerged that threatened the integrity of the nation and state. Threats come and go, both internal conflicts and external conflicts. In 1965 this condition was repeated again with the G30S PKI incident which has caused prolonged trauma to this day. The Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was later named as the mastermind most responsible for these sacrifices. The PKI is a political party that was included in the top 4 results of the first general election in Indonesia. In 1960 the PKI could be classified as the third major group after the PNI, and NU, after Masyumi was dissolved in 1960. The PKI announced its final membership of more than twenty million in 1955, (Ricklefs, 1989: 425).
Several studies have shown that the G30S PKI incident began with a coup that would be carried out by the PKI against President Sukarno who was terminally ill in September 1965. The peak of the incident occurred on September 30, 1965. A battalion of presidential palace guards (Cakrabirawa) led by Lieutenant Colonel Untung Samsuri and a battalion from the Brawijaya Division and Mass Organizations affiliated with the PKI (People's Youth) kidnapped and killed several high-ranking officers namely, (Ahmad Yani), (S. Parman), (MT Haryono), (DI Panjaitan), (R Soeprapto), (Sutoyo Siswodihardjo), and one First Lieutenant (Pierre Andreas Tendean). Apart from Pemuda Rakyat, Gerwani members also took part in the killings which were carried out at a shooting range near the Halim Airfield which is now known as "Buaya Crocodile". All the victims who had been kidnapped and killed were then put into a well that was no longer used. The events of the G30S PKI which led to the seven heroes of the revolution, caused President Sukarno to be urged by the people from the President "For Life" for allegedly being involved in the incident. Sukarno's downfall proved that the people still ruled freely, democracy continued to work well until Sukarno finally handed over his power to Suharto. This takeover is a conflict of ideological interests, competition between military factions, and the fragility of the nation's economy. As a result, people have difficulty meeting the basic needs of production so that it has an impact on very high levels of poverty and poverty, (Jurdi, 2010: 159).

The G30S PKI incident in the capital city of Jakarta also had an impact on conditions that occurred in the region, namely the clash of Communist forces with religious groups, including in Yogyakarta. This incident began with the death of two TNI AD officers, namely Brigadier General. Katamso Darmokusumo and Lt. Col. Sugiyono Mangunwiyoto. The two victims were kidnapped and killed on October 20-21, 1965. Meanwhile, on October 22, 1965, a re-burial was carried out which was witnessed by Brigadier General Surjosumpeno as the Commander of the Diponegoro Unit. The events of the deaths of these two things were a trigger for the people of Yogyakarta, especially the Muhammadiyah PKI people. This anger is not without cause but between the PKI and Muhammadiyah has unresolved grudges in the past. This is as stated by Mutiah Amini in her research entitled "Communists in the City of Santri: Local Politics of Kotagede in the 1950-1960s", narrating how the conflicts between Muhammadiyah and the PKI in Kotagede were due to fighting over time. In addition, leaflets were found in the Muhammadiyah magazine in the late 1960s which spread that Muhammadiyah members in the Godean area were beaten to death by PKI sympathizers around Yogyakarta (Remco Raben, 2011: 269).

The above certainly caused a fire for Muhammadiyah people, especially those in Yogyakarta. It did not stop there, Muhammadiyah finally declared a firm stance against the destruction of the PKI as a religious obligation that would be assisted by military forces. Senior leadership members orchestrate, seize, or even kill. As for materially, they often provided logistical support, and mass mobility and even Ansor units came from Jakarta to help destroy the PKI. This incident was an extraordinary show of togetherness because at that time NU and Muhammadiyah routinely denounced other people as infidels. Some members of the two organizations considered eliminating the other, after the PKI was conquered (Mark Woodward, 2011: 43).

Although the research above is a reference that is used as a source of writing, this research is not necessarily the same as what was written by Mark Woodward. The difference between this research and Mark Woodward is that it is spatial (regional). Mark Wood conducted his research around the Yogyakarta Kauman area, while this research was located in the west of the
Yogyakarta Palace, or in the Tamansari area and its surroundings. In addition to the spatial method used, this study also wants to examine more deeply the way Muhammadiyah protects the PKI. Because in Mark's research the phenomenon was not explained in detail how the organization protected the PKI after the 1965 incident in Yogyakarta. In addition, the research conducted by Mark Woodward was in 2011, while this research was carried out throughout 2020 to 2021. This indirectly can also help to find out the current concern of the people of Yogyakarta for the 65' incident, (Ibid, Mark Woordwaard, 2011). :45)

Towards the end of military operations at the end of 1970, killings, murders and crimes for alleged communists occurred everywhere after the G30S incident occurred, this happened because there was criticism from international law, therefore former PKI members were slightly involved but always under the supervision of the New Order era. Muhammadiyah tried to implement the movement under the Suharto government, this case study is seen from the incident of the construction of a Muslim house of worship called the Soko Tunggal Mosque (MST) in front of the Taman Sari entrance. The mosque was used by Muhammadiyah people as a means of normalizing people exposed to communism in the area, and inviting them to become Islam again. It is from this structure that in this study the terminology "Normalization" is used (Mc. Gregor, 2002: 39-72).

The attitude of Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta was gradually improving to become more moderate after almost decades of intense feud with the PKI. The people in the west of the Kraton area experienced severe discrimination after the New Order's policies governing religious adherents emerged in the mid-1970s, and prohibited atheism from growing in Indonesia, and if these regulations were not adhered to, they would be considered as PKI or enemies of the state. The problem is that the people in the west of the Palace are the PKI base and do not embrace religion, as was the case with the latest policy on religious ownership that was ratified by the New Order government. The people there were already close to the PKI so that they were identified with people who did not have a belief (atheism) (Ibid, McGregor, 2002: 39-72).

Muhammadiyah then responded to this phenomenon as a problem that must be resolved immediately. Finally, at that time Muhammadiyah carried out a distinctive movement of its organization, namely the renewal of the people. This movement resulted in the construction of a mosque which was used as a means of re-Islamizing the people west of the Yogyakarta Palace. In 1970 the construction of the Soko Tunggal Mosque which was authorized by Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX was finally completed. The mosque is located in front of the Taman Sari courtyard. For the efforts that have been made, Muhammadiyah has finally brought together almost all of the people in the surrounding area to return to Islam and have beliefs that can be recognized by the New Order government. The accusations that could corner someone into the PKI were finally able to be overcome. (Op.cit, Mark Woordwaard, 2011: 45)

Then what exactly is the motive and purpose of Muhammadiyah having the initiative to protect the former PKI around the Yogyakarta Palace. In fact, as we all know, Muhammadiyah and PKI were once two camps that confronted each other in Kotagede Yogyakarta, even based on some archives found, there were once victims of death on the part of Muhammadiya members caused by PKI sabotage in Godean Yogyakarta. As for the statement above, this article intends to discuss the process of the Muhammadiyah social movement in the 1965-1970 period in Yogyakarta by asking the following three questions; why Muhammadiyah has the initiative to save former PKI involvement, then how does the Muhammadiyah process save former PKI
involvement, and what is the impact of the existence of a protection movement against former PKI involvement in the Yogyakarta Palace.

**RESEARCH METHODS**

The research method used is the historical research method which consists of five stages. The first is the determination of the topic or theme. This process is very decisive for the smooth running of the research, usually the first stage will appear based on the intellectual closeness of the researcher. The second is heuristics or source search. This process is nothing but looking for research materials, in historical research usually the heuristic process is carried out in various ways, such as visiting historical places such as museums or spatial research that is being carried out, literature studies such as searching for data in libraries, archives, and so on. Third, Source Criticism/Verification, which is to verify the data that has been found. Usually this process is divided into two stages, namely external and internal verification. Fourth Interpretation, namely the process of researchers reinterpreting events that have occurred in the past based on information from sources that have been obtained. Fifth Historiography, this stage is the last step in historical research, which is to write down what has been studied based on the sources that have been obtained. In this research process, apart from conducting historical research methods, direct or participatory research steps are also carried out. Researchers visited several historical actors who were still alive and conducted interviews. In addition, researchers are also looking for some historical relics that are in accordance with the instructions from previous literature studies. Like most studies in the social sciences, humanities, this research uses a qualitative type of research. The descriptive narrative is the overall content presented in this study (Kuntowijoyo, 2005: 83).

Meanwhile, the approach or methodology in this study uses anthropological theory, especially the analysis of power proposed by Michel Foucault. The purpose and intent of this article discusses the process of the Muhammadiyah social movement in the 1965-1970 period in Yogyakarta. So in Michel Foucault's perspective, power can be defined as a tool to normalize individuals in society through discipline and norms, while Muhammadiyah was present to carry out social movements in the 1965-1970 range by helping the former PKI in Yogyakarta. This was done as Muhammadiyah's response to the New Order power system which tried to normalize individuals, especially to former PKI by using regulations prohibiting being atheist, (Haryatmoko, 2002: 14).

**RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

A. The Initiative to Save the Former PKI 1965, Sourced from the Teachings of K.H Ahmad Dahlan About the Practice of "Amar Makruf Nahi Munkar"

As the slogan is often known by the wider community, Muhammadiyah is a modern and reforming socio-religious organization. Growing and developing in urban communities makes this socio-religious organization increasingly believed by the wider public as a modern and open socio-religious organization. Even in the early days of Muhammadiyah being established, none of the colonial governments dared to oppose or even oppose Muhammadiyah. This is because the socio-
religious organization of Muhammadiyah is a sich or not at all related to the spirit of practical politics. Even in the spirit of the economy and other rational issues, they are not at all tied up (Budi Setiawan, 2010: 3).

The context of religion as a medium for solving social problems such as problems of poverty, ignorance, and underdevelopment is not as common as it is today. Because at that time religion was only understood as something ritual. Furthermore, the Muhammadiyah movement was born from the condition of the Indonesian Islamic community which is undergoing systematic decay with the loss of Islamic spiritualists in dealing with problems that occur in everyday life, such as poverty, oppression, ignorance, backwardness, and so on. From here, Muhammadiyah has more concern or concern for the empowerment of Indonesian Muslims who for hundreds of years experienced colonial marginalization in various fields of life by using Islamic spiritualists, namely through organic, institutional, and systematic Islamic movements, (Ibid, Budi Setiawan, 2010: 4).

The attitude of the founders or the founding fathers of Muhammadiyah is known to be adaptive to the current situation from the colonial period to the present. Especially what needs to be known is their tolerance attitude towards interfaith communities. The establishment of a formal education system is one of Muhammadiyah's efforts to overcome ignorance, while some opponents from the traditional stratum often protest against this policy. In fact, with modern education, Muhammadiyah also brings enlightenment in the midst of a society that is gloomy by the colonial system by instilling awareness as an egalitarian community and in the future it will bring about social change in the midst of society. (Ibid, Budi Setiawan, 2010: 5).

Muhammadiyah in the 1960s began to operate with a practical political system, this socio-religious organization gradually had a strategic role to control the people. This started when Muhammadiyah was under the leadership of Kiai Haji Ahmad Badawi from 1962 to 1968. Muhammadiyah's attachment to the political stage began with the organization's image being cornered. Considering the large number of active Muhammadiyah members in Masyumi who at that time were being targeted for destruction by the Old Order regime. This bad image seems to have been blown by the PKI on purpose; Muhammadiyah is accused of being anti-Pancasila, anti-NASAKOM, and heir to DI/TII. Facing such a reality, Muhammadiyah was finally forced to deal with practical political matters (Ibid, Budi Setiawan, 2010: 36).

After the G30S incident broke out in Yogyakarta, Muhammadiyah as a socio-religious organization certainly reacted like other Islamic social organizations. Even some Muhammadiyah cases involved torture and murder of PKI people. However, based on research that has been carried out on Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta, the issue of violence that leads to murder does often occur but it is only driven by factors outside the Muhammadiyah organization. This research actually shows that Muhammadiyah is protecting former PKI members in the western vicinity of the Yogyakarta Palace. Efforts to protect former PKI members around the palace were deemed necessary because the actual situation was very worrying. Allegations that cannot be proven true often occur and harm local residents. Especially when the New Order government issued a new policy governing religious ownership emerged in the mid-1970s. The policy prohibits the flow of atheism from growing in Indonesia. If this regulation is not adhered to, the person concerned will be considered as a PKI or an enemy of the state (Ibid, Mark Woodward, 2011: 43).

Muhammadiyah responded to this situation by trying to re-Islamize residents who at that time did not yet have faith. This was considered very strategic considering that at that time there
were many slanders that led to violence. This action is in line with the orientation of the Muhammadiyah social movement in the KH era. Ahmad Dahlan related to how to eradicate poverty and misery of the ummah. Organizationally, Muhammadiyah also has an active concern for people's empowerment and alleviation of poverty and misery of the ummah by establishing the Poor House and the Omemoem Misery Assistance Section (PKO). One of the former PKI survivors and their families will be assisted by Muhammadiyah through these agencies (*Ibid*, Mark Woodward, 2011: 48).

Based on the view oriented towards modern social movements and reforms held by Muhammadiyah, the initiative to save former PKI members around the west of the Palace was realized. Help for fellow ummah must be done because according to the orientation of the socio-religious movement Muhammadiyah is an organization that must practice Islamic teachings which read "Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar" or enforce what is right and forbid what is wrong. Of course, any form of violence, even the potential for murder, is an extraordinary mistake in Islam. Islam as a religion does not teach such behavior, so if Muhammadiyah is silent when it sees such a phenomenon, it is certain that it cannot practice this teaching and is a sin. Thus the initiative to protect the former PKI is a good step taken by Muhammadiyah as a modern and reforming socio-religious organization. (*Archive of interviews with Muhammadiyah historical actors, namely, Mrs. Yatiman Sjafei, in Kotagede, in 2019: 10:00 am*).

B. Steps and Methods of Muhammadiyah in Rescuing the Former PKI 1965 in Yogyakarta, After Military Operations Stopped in 1969

Muhammadiyah carried out a movement that was aimed at helping or rescuing former PKI involvement in 1965 in the western region of the Yogyakarta Palace. Apart from that at several points in Yogyakarta Muhammadiyah also carried out the same movement. PKO (Penolong Kesengsaraan Oemoem), is one of the agencies used to solve the most actual problems. Not only poverty and ignorance but also this body pays attention to social problems such as helping people who are in serious problems. If it is drawn on past events, Muhammadiyah has a dark history with the PKI. Several conflicts often occurred, not only verbal conflicts but also physical conflicts with the motive of sabotage carried out by the PKI against Muhammadiyah followers. As recorded in Suara Muhammadiyah archives; physical conflict carried out by sabotage befell its members in the Godean area of Yogyakarta. This incident occurred after the G30S passed. The Muhammadiyah community believes that the death of M. Moechri in a tragic way, namely the beatings were carried out by PKI henchmen. In addition to the beating that killed M. Moechri, several Muhammadiyah Youths Batch 66’ are known to have been attacked by gangs of dark-eyed youths. Among the dark-eyed youths, it is indicated that they are involved in the infiltration of the PKI political guerrillas, Pemuda Rakyat and CGMI. The Muhammadiyah youth who were seriously injured as a result of this incident consisted of youth organizations, WE and KAPPI, (*Suara Muhammadijah, 1966: 22*).

But according to another opinion, the clashes that occurred between Muhammadiyah had never caused such a serious problem before. These confrontations were usually carried out by the PKI, which was often an obstacle to Muhammadiyah's activities in Yogyakarta, for example when people who wanted to read the Koran were stopped from joining. Although psychologically there is competition between the Pemuda Rakyat group and the Pemuda Muhammadiyah group, between
the two there has never been a physical clash or acts of violence (Baskara T. Wardaya, 2011: 103). Even so, Muhammadiyah continues to practice the qualities of goodness and uphold the practice of Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar. This can be seen when the situation and situation heated up after the G30S incident in Yogyakarta. The death of two high-ranking TNI officers, namely Brigadier General. Katamso Darmokusumo and Lieutenant Colonel Soegiyono Mangunwiyoto caused the PKI to ignite the anger of the masses against the PKI, several points of the PKI's base in Yogyakarta became the target of mobs and officers carrying out military operations. The arrests of people affiliated with the PKI that were accompanied by violence were common in Yogyakarta. Several witnesses interviewed (who did not wish to be named) revealed that the violence they often experienced was carried out by the army. Some of the interviewees' friends even experienced torture which often resulted in physical injury that caused disability. (Source: archive of interviews with former Pemuda Rakjat historical actors, namely, Mr. Mulyadi, in Kotagede, in 2019: 21:00, WIB).

Slander and irresponsible accusations often become wild balls that get out of hand. In some examples of cases that are sometimes confusing, the accusation of being a PKI is very scary, even a thief is better off claiming to be a thief than being shouted at as a PKI, because if he admits to being a thief then his life will be calmer than the person being shouted at by the PKI. The PKI connotation became something very dangerous. Sometimes this wild ball situation is used by irresponsible people. Many people who do not know anything are slandered into PKI because of someone's interests, especially when the New Order policy enforced that citizens must have a religion that has been recognized by the state, otherwise the consequences will be considered as PKI and labeled as enemies of the state. The large number of people around the West of the Yogyakarta Palace who were once affiliated with the PKI was feared to be adversely affected by this policy, especially since the area was believed to be an Abangan area which was then linked to the PKI base (Hidayah, 2007: 58-59).

Seeing this appalling condition, Muhammadiyah finally carried out a social movement that was reformist so that people who were in a position at risk of being affected by the New Order's policies could be saved. However, in the view of some residents in the western region of the Palace, they have a different opinion on religious social organizations such as Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah is often mixed with radical religious groups. Considering that several religious-based social organizations in Indonesia were involved in the massacre of PKI people. According to Mark Woordward, for many people around the west of the Palace, being a devout Muslim is unacceptable because they associate Islam with murder. However, Muhammadiyah can take a very clever approach to organizing some of the masses who accuse Muhammadiyah of that. Based on the fact that Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta is a religion-based social organization that is not at all directly involved in the massacre of the PKI (Op.cit, Mark Woordwaard, 2011: 47).

This was stated by McGregor, why Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta was not involved in the massacre of the PKI, because Yogyakarta is different from other regions in Indonesia because Yogyakarta is the only area that is still based on strong traditional values to maintain its power and authority significantly. This is a consequence of the IX Hamengkubuwono principle which ruled from 1939-1988. He supported the revolution in Indonesia, beyond the interests of his own kingdom. The step of Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX who is not affiliated with any political party is considered a strategic step in regulating his nation, therefore the masses in the Yogyakarta
environment can be considered more controllable, especially during the massacre season against the PKI in 1965, McGregor (2002: 39).

Meanwhile, according to LIPI researcher Wahyudi Akmaliah, Muhammadiyah was not involved in the PKI massacre due to two interrelated factors. As for geography and economic capital, it is relatively difficult to find Muhammadiyah involvement for two reasons. First, Muhammadiyah grew and grew in urban areas, and second, the profession of most modernist Islamic groups is trading. These two things seem to have distanced Muhammadiyah from land conflicts in villages in almost all of Java since the PKI campaigned for agrarian reform in 1960, (Source: Wahyudi Akmaliah. (2017, November 14). Muhammadiyah's involvement in the 1965 Massacre. Tirto.id. https://tirto.id/keterlibatan-muhammadiyah-dalam-pembantaian-1965-cz3m).

Apart from that, Muhammadiyah continued to carry out movements that were considered to be able to resolve this problem carefully. The first method taken by Muhammadiyah in rescuing the former PKI in Yogyakarta was by using the construction of the Soko Tunggal Mosque which is located west of the Yogyakarta Palace, precisely in front of the entrance to the historical tourist attraction Water Castle Taman Sari or located in the Yogyakarta Sultanate Palace complex, Jl. Park 1, No. 318, Kraton District, Yogyakarta. The construction of the mosque which was completed and inaugurated by Hamengkubuwono IX in the 1970s was one of Muhammadiyah's means to strategically utilize the process of rescuing the former PKI. Most of the re-Islamization was carried out in the mosque. Since then, none of the local residents will be labeled as PKI because they do not have the trust that has been established by the state. (Op.cit, Mark Woodward, 2011: 48)

In addition, in the Kotagede area of Yogyakarta, Muhammadiyah empowered its women's organization called Aisyiyah as a medium to save former PKI women in the Yogyakarta area from various unpleasant behaviors. According to Siti Syamsiatun (2014: 159), there is a testimony of one of the leaders of Nasyiahtul Aisyiyah in Kotagede that they and the women's group Nasyiahtul Aisyiyah accepted former PKI political prisoners and their children (daughters) to join the Nasyiahtul Aisyiyah organization under the banner of Muhammadiyah Islam. Among the many former PKI (Gerwani) it would be uncomfortable to join organizations outside Nasyiahtul Aisyiyah such as HMI, IMM, or PII, as well as because none of the three student organizations would voluntarily accept them, because these organizations The people above were heavily involved in political matters, including their efforts to demand the banning of the PKI and Gerwani. On the other hand, Nasyiahtul Aisyiyah did not discriminate against former Gerwani, in fact in the 1970s many daughters of former Gerwani sympathizers fled from the massacre and took refuge under the auspices of Nasyiahtul Aisyiyah, (Siti Syamsiatun, 2014: 35-40).

Another method used by Muhammadiyah in order to save the former PKI was also found in the Jogokariyan area of Yogyakarta. Interviews obtained with historical witness Ust. Jazir, ASP stated that after the military operation took place in 1970, many of the former PKI were fostered by Muhammadiyah. If they are detained and exiled to areas outside Java and have children who are still in school, Muhammadiyah will send the children to Muhammadiyah educational institutions. Some also often maintain the integrity of the nation and state, especially in practicing the values of the lessons taught by Islam. (Source: archive of interviews with witnesses of Muhammadiyah history, namely, Mr. Ustadz Jazir, ASP, at the Jogokariyan Mosque complex,
C. The Impact of the Muhammadiyah Social Movement on the Former PKI and in Yogyakarta in 1970

The impact that has been made by the Muhammadiyah social movement on the rescue mission of the former PKI in Yogyakarta, among others, consists of four forms. First, the movement carried out by Muhammadiyah related to re-Islamization in the western region of the Yogyakarta Palace has resulted in the population of the area being predominantly Muslim. This is marked by the construction of a Muslim worship facility, namely the Soko Tunggal Mosque which was built in the 1970s. However, this mosque is closely associated with the political process of its construction. Besides being inaugurated by the owner of the palace at the time, Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX, it turned out that this mosque was donated by state funds, which at that time was led by the New Order president Suharto, (Op.cit, Mark Woordward, 2011: 50).

However, some residents in the area believe that the initiative to build the Soko Tunggal mosque emerged from the desire of the residents to find it difficult to find a place of worship. Apart from that, the construction of the Soko Tunggal mosque was the impact of the Muhammadiyah movement at that time in saving the former PKI who was very high in the region. In addition to the construction of the Soko Tunggal mosque, and the re-Islamization of the population around the west of the Yogyakarta Palace, further impacts caused by the Muhammadiyah social movement in the 1965-1970 period, especially the mission of rescuing the former PKI in Yogyakarta, among others, were the increasing number of petitions submitted to the palace and the government of the Special Region of Yogyakarta from Muhammadiyah to free up abandoned land to become a Muhammadiyah school. (Source: Hamim Thohari. (2016, June 13). Soko Tunggal Palace Mosque, Unique Mosque in Yogyakarta with Only One Pole. Tribunnews. https://www.tribunnews.com/travel /2016/06/13/masjid- Keraton-soko-single-mas jid-unik-di-yogyakarta -that-only-have-one-pole?page=2).

Several letters of application were submitted to the Bantul district government, who requested the land of the former Los Japan to be used as the construction of the Muhammadiyah Teacher Education School (SPG) buildings in Piyungan, Yogyakarta, (Source: DPAD Archives, Special Region of Yogyakarta). The second and subsequent applications also appeared in the 1970s, such as a letter of application for the land of the former Los Tobacco located in Bantul Regency with the aim of the applicant establishing an expansion of Muhammadiyah schools in Bantul Regency. The request for the expansion of Muhammadiyah schools is the impact of Muhammadiyah's efforts to save children affected by the G30S incident. Especially for his parents who were involved in the PKI case. As explained above, for children who are still in school and affected by the 1965 incident, they will be sent to Muhammadiyah educational institutions. Therefore, Muhammadiyah seeks to build several further educational institutions at various points in Yogyakarta. Lastly, Muhammadiyah also unconsciously entered the world of practical politics in the 1960s. This was due to the PKI's political rivalry in Sukarno's Old Order era. The PKI accused Muhammadiyah of being the heir to Masyumi and was often associated with the DI/TII subversive events in the 1950s. Based on these accusations, Muhammadiyah took the initiative to enter directly into practical politics so that all accusations and slander committed by the PKI could
be fortified with concrete evidence that Muhammadiyah did for the state, (Source: DIY government archive code number: OG. No. 12/1969).

As for when Muhammadiyah entered practical politics, at that time the organization was being led by Kiai Haji Ahmad Badawi. The image of Muhammadiyah during Badawi's leadership seemed to be in a corner, considering the large number of Muhammadiyah members who were active in Masyumi, who at that time were being targeted for destruction by the Old Order regime. This bad image seems to have been blown by the PKI on purpose; Muhammadiyah is accused of being anti-Pancasila, anti-NASAKOM, and heir to DI/TII. Facing such a reality, Muhammadiyah was finally forced to deal with practical political matters. Muhammadiyah itself is less flexible in adapting and interacting with the political system built by the Old Order. Finally, Muhammadiyah took a policy to be involved in state affairs. However, the reality shows that Muhammadiyah is only able to put a brake on the pace of communist influence which does not prioritize religious values and national morality. Such was the impact of the Muhammadiyah social movement in rescuing the former PKI in Yogyakarta. It can be seen how Muhammadiyah shows a polite attitude and applies the teachings of Amar, Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar in carrying out its duties as a religious-based social organization. Even though Muhammadiyah participates directly in political movements, it practically does not make this organization an organization that takes personal interests from its organization, but rather the interests of the ummah and others (Op.cit, Budi Setiawan, 2010: 36).

CONCLUSION

Muhammadiyah's initiative in rescuing the former PKI in Yogyakarta is a step that fits perfectly with the Muhammadiyah school of thought during the KH era. Ahmad Dahlan. The prestige of Muhammadiyah as a modern and reforming socio-religious organization has been carried out well. As the thinking applied by KH. Ahmad Dahlan, that Muhammadiyah must uphold the practice of Amar Mak'ruf Nahi Munkar. Enforce the good and forbid the bad. Thus, the first finding is why Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta tends to save the former PKI from various harmful threats, because Muhammadiyah feels that the arrest that led to the torture of the former PKI in the western region of the palace and Yogyakarta in general is a wrong step for the government to resolve.

Practically, the rescue of former or suspected PKI in the Yogyakarta area is very diverse. Findings found that there were three ways to put it into practice, among others, first, by using the practice of re-Islamizing and building a mosque called the Soko Tunggal Mosque, secondly, by using the organizational system of Muhammadiyah women, namely Nasyiatul Aisyiyah, which was used as a protection organization for women who were ex-PKI (during this time), that's GERWANI) in Kotagede, and thirdly there are those who use the charity movement for children affected by the 1965 incident by sending these children to educational institutions owned by Muhammadiyah.

While the last one is the impact caused by this event, among others, based on the findings that have been obtained, namely, the first is the practice of re-Islamization and the construction of mosques as a means of worship. This move had an impact on the condition of the population in the western region of the Yogyakarta Palace embracing Islam because previously it was close to
the PKI so that it was identified with atheism, which strongly opposed the New Order's policy of regulating religious ownership in the mid-1970s. Second, there are increasing reports of submissions from Muhammadiyah to the local government and the Yogyakarta sultanate to get some abandoned land. The goal is to use the land into school buildings, among which the children affected by the 1965 incident will be part of the school's students. Third, with the PKI's behavior that cornered Muhammadiyah as the heir to DI/TII and anti-Pancasila, Muhammadiyah was involved in practical politics. Even during the leadership of Kiai Haji Ahmad Badawi, Sukarno made Muhammadiyah a personal advisor to the President.

REFERENCE


History Doer Interview

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<td>Hj. Yatiman Sjafei</td>
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