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**The Politicization of Psychology:
The Role of Psychologists in Indonesia's Detention
Camps during New Order Era**

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Contents

<i>List of Maps</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>List of Appendices</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>viii</i>
<i>Relevance to Development Studies</i>	<i>viii</i>
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Situating The Context of 1965 Conflict	1
1.2 Background of Study	3
1.3 Organization of the study	4
Chapter 2 Methodology and Data Collection Method	6
2.1 Methodology	6
2.2 Data Collection Methods	6
2.2.1 Scrutinizing Secondary Data	7
2.2.2 Oral History and Memoirs	8
2.2.3 Interviews	9
2.3 Challenges and Dilemma	10
Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework	11
3.1 Governmentality	11
3.1.1 Power and Governmentality	11
3.1.2 Three Aspects of Governmentality	12
3.1.3 Bio-power, Bio-politics, and Normalization	12
3.1.4 The Self as The Central Object of Study	13
3.2 Theorizing Role of Psy Discipline in Politics	14
3.3 Politics of Denial	15
3.4 Conclusion: Governmentality and Politicization of Psychology	16
Chapter 4 The Rationality of Government	18
4.1 The Political Economy of New Order Era	18
4.2 The Exercise of Sovereign and Disciplinary Power	19
4.3 Towards the Release of Prisoners	22
4.4 The Examination; Psychologists in Detention Camps	24
4.5 The Panopticon	25
Chapter 5 Creating A New Subject: Life of Prisoners	27

5.1 The Exception and The Prisoners' Experience	27
5.2 The Experience Under Normalization Process	28
5.3. Ex-Prisoners as The Dregs of Society	30
Chapter 6 “We Did Not Do It”: Psychologists and Politics of Denial	32
6.1 Dutch Psychologists	32
6.2 Indonesian Psychologists	34
Chapter 7 Conclusion	36
References	38
Appendices	42
Appendix 1: Ton Regtien's Collection from IISG	42
Appendix 2: Laws and Guidelines of Kopkamtib	46
Appendix 3: Documents and Articles from Saskia Wieringa	47

List of Maps

Map 4.1 The Geography of Imprisonment

List of Appendices

Appendix 1 Ton Regtien's Collection from IISG

Appendix 2 Laws and Guidelines of Kopkamtib

Appendix 3 Documents and Articles from Saskia Wieringa

List of Acronyms

Asintel	Asisten Intelijen dan Operasi (Assistant for Intelligence and Operation)
Asbintal	Asisten Pembinaan Mental (Assistant for Mental Guidance)
EPPS	Edward Personality Preferences Schedule
ET	Eks-Tapol (Ex-Political Prisoners)
G30S	Gerakan 30 September (30 September Movement)
IGGI	Inter-Governmental Group for Indonesia
Inrehab	Instalasi Rehabilitasi
Kopkamtib	Komando Operasi Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban (Command for the Restoration of Security and Order)
KUN-2	Katolieke Universiteit Nijmegen-2 (Catholic University of Nijmegen)
Nasakom	Nasionalisme, Agama, dan Komunisme (Nasionalism, Religion, and Communism)
NIP	Nederlands Institute van Psychologen (Dutch Association of Psychologists)
NOE	New Order Era
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party)
PUO	Programma voor Universitaire Ontwikkelingssamenwerking (Program for University Development)
Tapol	Tahanan Politik (Political Prisoners)
Tefaat	Tempat Pemanfaatan
UI	Universitas Indonesia (University of Indonesia)
UGM	Universitas Gajah Mada (Gajah Mada University)
Unpad	Universitas Pajajaran (Pajajaran University)
VUA-3	Vreij Universiteit Amsterdam-3

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Abstract

The study investigates the rationalities and implications of the use of psychology in Indonesia's detention camp during New Order Era. The historical event on 30 September 1965 led to mass arrest and killings of people who accused as communists. The tendency in complying capitalistic development agenda in Suharto regime resulted to long-term incarceration for the prisoners. Psychology was allegedly involved in this process. The study provides the perspectives of the actors; the government, the ex-prisoners, and the psychologists in the attempt to understand the complexity of psychologists' role in the program.

I applied Foucault's concept of governmentality to look at how experts' power/knowledge are critical in the implementation of development practices. The data was obtained through three data collection methods; secondary data, oral history, and interviews. The evidence shows that psychologists involved in the design of indoctrination programs and the development of psycho-tests for the political prisoners which later used as screening tests for particular groups in the society. Their involvement was used to control the prisoners and the population' mentality; gave a scientific legitimization for government's action internationally and domestically; and proved the politicization of science in executing the practice of government.

Relevance to Development Studies

The role of experts in development practices often taken for granted while their role is actually pivotal to drive the discourse of the people. As the holder of power/knowledge, the experts bring stronger legitimization with scientific justification that was perceived as 'the objective' or 'the truth'. Such power has been targeted by the government to accelerate the achievement of their goals. This study offers a case study of the use and abuse of specific discipline, psychology, that supported the Indonesian regime in the implementation of development practices which much influenced by The West.

Keywords

Governmentality, Role of Experts, Politicization of Psychology, Political Prisoners, New Order Era

Chapter 1 Introduction

The role of experts in politics is under-researched and usually taken for granted whereas their role is actually essential in policy making and implementation. Experts are involved in policy making and implementation to boost the legitimacy of the policy makers' decision (Ambrus et al. 2011). History noted numbers of practices in which experts use—or abuse—their power as knowledge producer by taking a role in cases of human rights violations. For instance, during the Holocaust, psychiatrists involved in diagnosing, detaining and executing people who considered 'different' from Germany society (Breggin 1993:133). Similar practices were done in numbers of countries, including USSR and China during cultural revolution (Szasz 1984; HRW 2002). The involvement of experts in politics not only a history but continue until now. The use of psychology in CIA's torture method (Ackerman 2015) and the role of anthropologists in the US invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq (Kassel 2015) are two recent examples of the importance of social scientists in politics.

I borrow the term 'psy discipline' from Howell's (2010) dissertation on psy discipline in international development and security study. What she means by psy discipline is subject to science wherein the psyche has become the object of study, including psychiatry, psychology, and its sub-disciplines. Howell stresses on the pivotal role of psy discipline in securing sovereignty of a state. Derived from Foucault's concept of governmentality, she argues that psy discipline is used as tools to control the population by dividing the population into categories of 'normal' and 'the disordered' which, then, justify the government's action for interventions towards 'the disordered' and surveillance over the population.

Following that logic, this paper tries to examine the role of psychologists in politics, specifically in Indonesia's detention camps during New Order Era (NOE). This issue has been taken for granted for years. Up to date, there is still very limited research regarding the involvement of psychology in the camp and its relation to Indonesia politics even though the abundant and various research on NOE and political prisoners. Exploring the role of psychologists is crucial to understand the practice of the expert in politics and its relation to the government's objectives situated in international and domestic context during the time. Psychologists, as experts who study people's mind and behaviour, the psyche, have a vital role to envision what is in the prisoners' mind and how the government could control prisoners' way of thinking. By comprehending the topic, I wish to contribute to development studies literature on understanding how psy discipline is being used (or abused) for specific development strategies and agendas.

1.1 Situating The Context of 1965 Conflict

The imprisonment of political prisoners in Indonesia is inseparable to the biggest historical tragedy in 1965 while mass arrest and killings of people who were accused as affiliated with Indonesian Communist Party (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*; later will be addressed as PKI). Approximately a million people were killed, and 580.000 prisoners were detained in detention camps across Indonesia

(Van der Kroef 1976:625). Although the exact numbers of victims are inconclusive¹, the major human rights abuse in 1965 onwards affects the country's social and political situation until now.

The international landscape of the historical event was The Cold War. As the world was divided into East and West bloc, which represent the economic system between capitalism and communism. Both parties were convinced that their system were the best to govern the state and tried to expand their influence by providing aids, intervention, and technological assistance (Leffler and Westad 2010:13). By the spirit of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, numbers of newly independent countries rejected to be part of the war and formed a non-alignment movement (*ibid.*: 289). Yet, the dominant idea of development and modernity forced them to cooperate with those powers in the political economy business of aids and trade. Some of them were attracted to the strong state of Soviet, some were gravitated towards the development funds of The US and its allies, while others tried to maintain their independence while gaining benefits from both powers.

Indonesia was one of the leading countries who supported the idea of non-aligned movement but it started to lean towards The Eastern bloc in the early the 1960s. Confrontation with Malaysia in 1963 paved the way for the withdrawal of Indonesia from UN which further weakened the relationship between Indonesia and the Western bloc. Meanwhile, the influence of the eastern bloc, particularly China, strengthened by increasing numbers of joint projects with Indonesia, such as Jakarta-Peking Axis (Crouch 1978:67). Sukarno, the first president of Indonesia, a Marxist himself, proposed a political concept named *Nasakom* which stands for Nationalism, Religion, and Communism as the social-political principles. Huge sympathy towards communism in the Indonesian public also seen in the rise of PKI² in the general election in 1955 as PKI placed in the fourth largest party in Indonesia. This also indicated PKI as the third biggest communist party in the world after Russia and China.

Due to the growing influence of communism, the Indonesian military, which strongly supported by The US to defeat its powerful domination, as argued Crouch (1978) and Heryanto (2006). They tried numbers of way to influence Sukarno, but the result was insignificant. The tension between the military and PKI reached its peak on 30 September/1 October 1965 when a small group of soldiers named 30 September Movement (G30S) killed six army generals. PKI was allegedly accused as the mastermind behind the killings as an attempted coup (Roosa 2006: XV). The rumor said that G30S was backed up by PKI to do the operation. They kidnapped and tortured the generals before threw their bodies into a well called *Lubang Buaya*. The accusation was without any empirical evidence but it was widely accepted by the public. It provoked people's anger towards PKI and its affiliated mass organizations. Hence, PKI members and sympathizers were arrested, tortured, and killed mainly by the nationalists and

¹ The number of people killed in this conflict is still dubious. According to Amnesty International, there are approximately a million people killed. Meanwhile, General Sarwo Edhie, a leading operation general, mentioned that there were at least 3 million people massacred in this operation (Roosa 2006).

² Henk Sneevliet from The Netherlands founded PKI in 1914. However, in 1948, there was a bloodbath lead by PKI to rebel against Islamic religious leaders, known as *Madiun* Affairs. After the rebellion, PKI was devastated as the leaders sentenced with death penalty. In 1951, D.N. Aidit, the head of PKI, came from Soviet and started to build the new PKI which gained a great success in 1955 (McVey, 2010)

Islamic organizations but under supervision from the army (Kammen and Zarkaria 2012:446).

During this chaotic situation, Sukarno ordered Suharto³ to maintain security and order and stabilize socio-political condition (Crouch 1978). Later, Suharto used the mandate as a legitimization for him to run the country for the next 32 years which also the beginning of the authoritarian military regime of NOE. In his presidency, Indonesia's political position leaned toward the western government. Indonesia agreed on putting international development goals imposed by western bodies as their national goals (Southwood and Flanagan 1983) and the preparation ground for launching these development agendas was crucial for the government.

1.2 Background of Study

As the New Order government aimed to achieve capitalistic development goals, they wanted to ensure that there was no disturbance in realizing their objective. In doing so, they had to put into account any potential threat to nation's stability and order, which in that era is communism. PKI promoted the idea of class consciousness, in which provoked the proletariats to question the role of a state in capitalist framework. This disturbance could impede development in capitalism sense in Indonesia (Amnesty International 1974). Therefore, Indonesian government put their best effort to abolish PKI and its mass organizations by banning the communist party and the ideology and established a specialized body to maintain security and order called Kopkamtib (*Komando Operasi Pemulihian Keamanan dan Ketertiban* or Command for the Restoration of Security and Order).

Suharto established Kopkamtib in 1966 and placed himself as the first commander of the body. Its power surpassed any military agencies in Indonesia which include intelligence and psychological operation. Southwood and Flanagan (1983:82) emphasize its pervasive role in maintaining security in Indonesia. Their job includes to filter the circulation of information (newspaper, books, movies, songs, and so on); create propaganda against communism; arbitrary arrest and prison management for the political prisoners. The two biggest detention camps, Buru Island and Plantungan, were also under their supervision and responsibility.

The Indonesian Government through Kopkamtib argued that the reason behind the establishment of the camps was humanitarian and for the good of prisoners themselves (Krisnadi 2001:X). Firstly, they argued that the camps could protect them from the angry and anti-communist society of Indonesia. Secondly, an indoctrination program could help them to re-embrace Pancasila as the ideology that is more accepted by society. Thirdly, the government sponsored and managed rehabilitation programs aimed at empowering them through agricultural and other development programs so they could learn new skills and be independent individuals who were able to meet their needs in life. In fact, the

³ Suharto was the commander for Kostrad (Army Strategic Command) which responsible to provide any support needed by other army bodies. He knocked out G30S and became the only living general who can lead military operation in that short period.

prison worked as forced labor in the camps, and they lived in a grave condition with the limited food supply and medical support.

In the attempt to convert prisoners' ideology to nationalism, several studies address to psychologists' involvement in the program. Research by Tanter (1991) and Lestaringsih (2011) mentioned some involvement of psychologists in Buru Island and Plantungan. Saskia Wieringa, an expert witness for International People's Tribunal 1965⁴, reaffirmed the role of psychologists and analyzed that psychologists played a role as 'the judges' and put prisoners into categorization that implicated to their life. Notwithstanding the reports on psychologists' involvement, officials denied their entanglement to the issue. The accused actors said they have no knowledge about what test-construction and any psychometric tools in the camps. This inconsistency probes further questions on the involvement of psychologists in NOE:

What were the rationalities and the implications of the psychologists' involvement in Indonesia's detention camps during NOE?

Sub-questions:

- How did the Indonesian government use the expertise of psychologists in the imprisonment of political prisoners help implementing the western development agenda during New Order Era?
- How did the experience living as prisoners constitute their subjectivity?
- How did the psychologists look at their role in dealing with prisoners' project?

As mentioned in the introduction, this paper aims to look into the involvement of psychologists in detention camps in NOE, which could not be separated from its international and security discourse around that time. However, the contribution and insight of this study can be reflected to see current international development practices that include experts, not only psychology but also other social and natural sciences, on the decision-making process. The study is a case study to shed light on the role of experts, its politicization of knowledge, controversy, practices, and implications, into perspective in international development study.

1.3 Organization of the study

The paper will be proceeded as follows. The first chapter is the introduction wherein I explain the background of study and bring up the research questions. Then in the second chapter, I describe my epistemological and methodological stance in approaching the research which will benefit the reader to grasp the scope and limitation of the study. I also elaborate techniques of data collections, challenges, and dilemmas I faced throughout the study process in this chapter. After finished with the technical details, I would like to invite readers to look at the concepts and theories I used in understanding this particular case in chapter three. Then, in chapter four, five, and six, I provide the findings and analysis of

⁴ International People's Tribunal 1965 (IPT 65) is an activists-led tribunal held on 10-14 November 2015 in The Hague, Netherlands. Here, activist-researchers and the victims of the tragedy presented their testimonies in front of selected judges. The primary objective was to prove that The state of Indonesia is the perpetrator of crimes against humanity regarding the conflict in 1965. The verdict of IPT 65 will be brought to UN human rights commission's meeting in Geneva. Further information: www.tribunal1965.org/

three relevant actors in the study, which are the government, the psychologists, and the prisoners, respectively. These chapters also dedicated to answering the sub-questions that I state above. Finally, in the last chapter, chapter seven, I synthesize the analysis to answer my main question of the study and further relate what happened in the past to current situation in Indonesia, especially in the process of dealing with conflict that occurred in 1965.

Chapter 2 Methodology and Data Collection Method

2.1 Methodology

In approaching this study, I apply Foucauldian post-structuralism that questions and criticizes the modernity which is usually indicated by established system and scientific-based action (Peet and Harwick 2015:223). Foucault argues that as the modern society highly appreciates reason, science often perceived as a way to attain the objective truth or the true way. Here, knowledge exercises its power over people as they define the essence of people and lead them to act accordingly. This kind of practice shows that science restricts individuals rather than emancipates. He proposes alternative techniques to analyzing power in society as the genealogy of power. His genealogy “is opposed to most modern methods of inquiry in that it claims to recognize no fixed essences or underlying laws, seeks discontinuities rather than great continuities in history, avoids searching for depth, and recalls forgotten dimensions of the past.” (ibid.: 231). By using this epistemology, I intend to investigate psychologists’ power in their role as experts in the 1965, how it relates it to government’s agenda, and how it constructs the subjectivity of prisoners’ as the object of normalization.

The nature of objective and questions of the study requires a rich data with an in-depth analysis that I can obtain through qualitative approach. One of major critique of this approach is the credibility of the data which is often seen as too subjective, thereby less valid or credible (O’Leary 2014:130). Therefore, to enhance the credibility and quality of the research, I use three types of data collection methods as part of triangulation process (Flick 2009:405). Moreover, the consultation of various sources is important in this study to underpin the reconstruction of the involvement of psychologists in detention camps which remain as unofficial and contested practice in NOE.

2.2 Data Collection Methods

The study employs three methods; the secondary data as the primary sources and complemented by oral history and interviews to fill the gaps of understanding this specific topic. The differentiation of oral history and interview is due to the purpose of the method itself. In oral history, the intention is to explore the subjectivity of the political prisoners by looking at their personal narrative as the main actor of the historical event. In the meantime, interview aims to look at the bigger picture of the topic; grasping all the relevant information in the construction of contested involvement of psychologists. This purpose led me to interview the experts; historians and psychologists, who are familiar with the topic. The explanation of each method are detailed in three sections below:

2.2.1 Scrutinizing Secondary Data

As stated by Mahmood et al. (2003:213) research in development studies does not only mean researching current issues, but it also means using existing information to produce new insights on past issues by identifying pattern, continuities and discontinuities of certain practices in the field. Intrigued by this idea, while also considering the advantage and restriction of secondary data, I choose to rely my primary source of secondary data.

The consideration of choosing secondary data are mainly based on practical reasons. First, the condition of the sources or the interviewees. Many of the people who could become primary sources of information were already too old or passed away as it happened approximately 50 years ago. Secondly, the topic itself remains as sensitive issue in Indonesia. Many actors that were part of the tragedy are doubtful or full of denial when talking about the conflict. This situation might halt me to attain the proper information from them. Thirdly, the number of works related to 1965 tragedy, its aftermath, and the practices of NOE have been extensively done and are publicly available both online and offline in many institutions in the Netherlands, which ease me to access and gain information from the collection.

I counted on the available works in Google Scholar, ISS-Erasmus University Library, and Leiden University Library to develop my understanding of socio-political condition, the prisoners' policy and conditions during that time. The majority of the work was written by non-Indonesian scholars with their perspectives on seeing the human rights case in Indonesia. To compensate the perspective, I picked up some official data such as law, decree, and press release, issued by the Indonesian government and Kopkamtib, from the library of Leiden University⁵. Besides research, I relied on the reports from human rights organizations that have huge concern on political prisoners' condition. There are two prominent publications; one was special report from Amnesty International and the other was regular bulletins from a UK-based NGO named Tapol.

In the construction on the psychologists' involvement, I counted on the Ton Regtien's collection⁶ from Institute of Social History, Amsterdam. Ton Regtien was a staff in Faculty of Psychology Groningen University. He was an activist, member of CPN (Communist Party Nederland) in the 1970s. His collection consists of articles of universities, local, and national newspapers (Groningen University, Nijmegen Catholic University, *Haagse Post*, etc.); press releases; and official reports on Dutch-Indonesian psychologists' cooperation on the screening process. Information that available in this resource mainly from Dutch perspectives that condemn Dutch involvement in Indonesia gross human rights violation.

One of the challenges of secondary data method is we have to be careful and critical of information needed in existing literature. Sometimes, the relevant information is hidden underneath the bountiful information or not rich enough for our analysis (O'Leary 2014:243). I faced the exact situation when conducting this study. Some of the information is not clear enough or simply does not exist which then lead me to employ the other methods; oral history and interview.

⁵ See Appendix 2 for details

⁶ See Appendix 1 for the list of collection

2.2.2 Oral History and Memoirs

Aside from using data from the perspectives of authorities, I found that using data from another actor who was the object of the project, the prisoners, is also relevant, particularly to answer the research question on prisoners' subjectivity. Oral history usually was done by interviewing people who experience a historical event in the past and exploring their subjective views on the event itself. Echoing what Thomson (1998:584) said, it "provides access to undocumented experience...opportunity to explore aspects of historical experience that are rarely recorded... Offer rich evidence about the subjective or personal meanings of past events", which is very useful to answer the question on their subjectivity throughout and after the imprisonment. Many scholars perceived the drawbacks of oral history lies in its reliance on limited memory of a human being with high possibility of distortion by memory loss or bias. In response to this, Thomson argues that the distortion of memory is not reducing the importance of the information, rather it can bring new meaning and interpretation that valuable for the researcher (ibid.: 588)

Although oral history is identical to interview, Hearman (2009:24), on Indonesian political prisoners' memoirs, said that it could be a useful source of information for historians to gain knowledge on what happened during the repressive regime of Suharto. She observed that after the fall of NOE in 1998, some prisoners wrote memoirs on their experience after mass arrest. The number are small compared to the total number of prisoners in the regime, but it gives a significant impact on learning the 1965 conflict and its aftermath.

As Indonesian New Order government's effort to banish communism within the country was so extensive, many official documents were absence or highly restricted to be accessed. Only army-associated newspapers allowed to circulate within the country and every flow of information was controlled by the government. It is hard for me to find documents or information related to psychologists' work in the detention camps but I could find it in some memoirs. The memoirs are *Nyanyian Sunyi Seorang Bisu* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer (1995); *Dari Salemba ke Pulau Buru* by Kresno Saroso (2002); *Kesaksian tapol orde baru* by Prayitno, Santoso, and Buntoro (2003); and *Memoar Pulau Buru* by Hersri Setiawan (2004); and. Most of them I picked up from University of Indonesia library during my fieldwork.

The interview with the ex-prisoners as oral history was done during my field work in July 3rd to 29th, 2016. It is important to note that the issue of 1965 remains as a sensitive topic in Indonesia and, in fact, was boiling during my fieldwork visit. The current government promised to address the unsolved case of 1965 and held a national symposium and the result would be given to government as recommendation. However, some mass organizations opposed the idea and accused the government of being pro-communist and took protests while the national symposium happened. The situation heated up since the authority confiscated leftish books and arrested those who wore PKI symbols. I thought it must be hard to find someone who is willing to reveal their identity as ex-prisoners because it could harm them and their family. Surprisingly, after contacted them by the help of my personal social network, they just agreed to meet and share their experiences with me.

I interviewed two ex-prisoners in two different times and place. Let me refer them as Ex-Prisoner 1 (EP1) and Ex-Prisoner 2 (EP2)⁷. EP1 had a high position in his district before the tragedy happened. He was a fugitive for years because he was a Sukarno loyalist. He got caught in 1971 and detained in Salemba Prison, Jakarta for a couple of years. Meanwhile, EP2 was a Sukarno loyalist who worked as a civil servant in Sulawesi. He spent 12 years in custody, moving from one prison to another prison. His bravery and persistency in advocating victims' rights make him become the leader of a victim organization in Jakarta. My interview with them led me to meet my third interviewee, EP3. He is 96 years old, a former army employee when the tragedy happened. He was detained in Salemba prison for seven years. All of them are Sukarno loyalists not communists, yet they were incarcerated for years. Besides them, I also managed to contact another ex-prisoner who was detained on Buru Island. He had a slight memory of psychologists' visit to Buru Island whom I refer as EP4. Because of limited time in Indonesia, I couldn't meet him in person and did an e-mail interview instead on August 2nd, 2016.

2.2.3 Interviews

As I have explained the interview of ex-prisoners above, this section purposefully made to explain how I approach other interviewees, in this respect, the experts. Following Flick (2009:166), the expert interview is beneficial if our aim is an exploration of a topic or gaining complementary insights of other methods. He proposes to apply semi-structured interview with more flexible structures in informal setting.

To start the study, I talked to Saskia Wieringa, a Dutch scholar who has done numbers of research on 1965 in Indonesia. In her testimony in IPT65, she said that psychologists were involved as 'the judges' to determine whether the time of release of the prisoners. I had the interview in The Hague on June 3rd, 2016. In this occasion, she gave some documents that she used for IPT65 related to the topic⁸. This interview also gave me a baseline information about the involvement of psychologists in Indonesian politics at that time. In addition, I interviewed two historians, Dr. Agus Suwignyo and Dr. Hilmar Farid. Dr. Suwignyo is a lecturer of Gajah Mada University who also supervised a master thesis on psychologists' role in the camps. The interview was in June 2016. Another historian was Mr. Hilmar Farid, a prominent scholar on the 1965 topic. He presented the possibility of University of Nijmegen's involvement in the interrogation process for political prisoners based on Regtien's collection in the commemoration of the 40 years of the 1965 tragedy in 2005. The interview was done during my field work in July 2016.

The contested discourse on the involvement of the psychologists prompted me to attain information from the alleged party. Due to limited time and networks, I only managed to interview two senior psychologists from University of Indonesia, Prof. SWS and Dra. DK. Prof SWS was the fourth dean of the faculty and was the participant of KUN-2 Project, the joint project wherein the Dutch and Indonesian university was allegedly built partnership for the development of psycho-tests. Dra. DK, on the other hand, is senior psychologist who dealt

⁷ Some of them have publicly announced their identity as ex-prisoners. But I choose to keep their name anonymous for a precaution of their personal and family safety.

⁸ See Appendix 3 for details

with ex-prisoners after the release towards the end of the 1970s. She also had a personal experience with the screening process for the civil servants across the countries during NOE.

2.3 Challenges and Dilemma

First of all, this study discussing a very sensitive issue in Indonesia. Conducting a study like this would trigger uneasiness or doubt from the interviewees. Another point of the dilemma is my background as psychology-graduate from one of the university mentioned in the research puts me in an uneasy position. The study involves some notable names not only in the psychology discipline. I realize this research could be used as justification to blame other unexplored actors in the process, the psychologists, who were involved in this project. It might affect my future relationship with my interviewees specifically from the Faculty of Psychology.

The biggest challenge while doing this study is the number of sources available. The prisoners' project was part of intelligence service body which obviously not openly access for public. That is also my reason for using secondary data available while also looking for any lead for further clarity in this vague picture. The archives put me in another challenge since the majority of them was written in Dutch. Being a non-Dutch speaker, it was hard for me to comprehend the articles although I could gather the idea on the content of the articles. To be more precise in grasping what the articles are about, I used an online translator and asked some Indonesian historians friend to assist me in reading those archives. Another challenge is on approaching the relevant informants of the study because two of them could not be reached therefore I had to change the strategy to gain the information that I need.

Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework

This chapter discusses governmentality as the overarching framework for analyzing the practices of government in NOE. I chose Foucault's concept of governmentality an apt critical perspective to answer the research questions as stated in chapter one. Foucault's theory has been subjected of critiques for its lack of theory of state (Lemke 2007) and Eurocentric perspective (Howell 2008:85). However, governmentality looks at practice of government as continuum that stretched from technology of state to the construction self. Furthermore, it pinpoints the practice of government that is wrapped by rationality, strategies, and modern technologies. Therefore, Foucault's concept of governmentality is the most suitable concept to analyze the power/knowledge of experts and its application in the political setting.

3.1 Governmentality

3.1.1 Power and Governmentality

As explain in chapter two, Foucault criticizes the work of power in modern society and perceived it as restricting the freedom of the subject. In governmentality, Foucault invites us to delve into power in all level of society, beyond the institution of power which we refer as government. He even argues that the government itself is the product of the discourse instead of the one who produce it. His definition of power does not refer to those that is possessed by certain people or institution but rather dispersed and omnipresent. "Power is defined as 'actions on others' actions': that is, it presupposes rather than annuls their capacities as agents" (Gordon 1991:5). In this sense, power is not necessarily a bad thing as usually portrayed in classical notion of power, rather it is ubiquitous, exercises to oneself, others, groups, or even institutions.

Governmentality firstly introduced by Foucault (2008) in his observation on how European society transformed from dominated by religious dogma in Middle Ages to the modern, rational, liberal society after the 16th century. The French Revolution was a critical event which affects the high appreciation of individual freedom in European society. They start to leave religious dogma as their code of conduct and stress more on the importance of reason. This logic determines the relationship between the state and the population since it cannot step in too far to ones' life. In the meantime, the state obliged to pursue its objective by controlling the conduct of the population. They cannot enforce their will towards the population for it is a violation of individual freedom. The state must take a detour, using the same ground as the society by employing reason in its practices. Foucault refers it as 'art of government' or 'conduct of conduct' or 'regimes of practices' because in this attempt, the state ought to adopt various calculated strategies, techniques, and tools in governing the population (Dean 2010:18). The use of rationality and science shows experts plays a key role as the knowledge producer, especially those from medical and social sciences, that take human as the object of study (Howell 2008).

In this study, I would look at the rationality of the government after an exceptional event happened in Indonesia. ‘The exception’ is a single and sudden event that brings a pervasive implication to many sectors of life which referred as ‘the exception’, for instance the 9/11 (Neal 2006). Under such condition, anything could be done to regain population welfare or well-being. This extraordinary situation enables the authority to impose extraordinary law or action towards the population to reduce risks. Dillon (2008) argues that the government uses the risks as mechanism to face the unpredictable contingency for human security and further determine their conduct towards the situation, including direct and violent intervention.

3.1.2 Three Aspects of Governmentality

The underlying point of governmentality located in government’s rationality in modern society. Dean (2010:28) further identifies three aspects to unpack governmentality. Firstly, he stresses on political economy and population as the target in modern governmentality. After all, the government’s objective is the advancement and prosperity of the population’s life which is usually translated as the rapid growth of the economy. The principles of the economy not only work fiscally but also permeates in other aspects of life, socially and politically. In this sense, the government expects—and is expected—to exert minimum effort and gain maximum benefit for the good of the population.

The government does not work alone in pursuing their objective. They need to direct the population in pursuing the same objective. Remember, the role of government in liberal society is limited by individual freedom. Rather they have to guide them, consciously or unconsciously, to follow their lead. This entails the second aspect of modern governmentality, which is the practice of sovereign and disciplinary power. “Sovereign power is exercised through the juridical and executive arms of the state” (ibid.: 29) whereas disciplinary power practices through normalization process which entails bio-power and bio-politics (Howell 2008:94). The disciplinary power needs a mechanism that is responsible for maintaining the practice of government namely the apparatus of security which marks the third aspect of governmentality.

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault points out three elements of disciplinary power, which are hierarchical observation from security apparatus, normalizing judgement by establishing certain standard for the population, and examination to ensure that the normalization process is going as planned (Welch 2009). He, then, illustrates disciplinary power as Panopticon, a system where people behave according to the norm as they assumed the authority watch over them. The actual presence of the authority does not matter here as long as the population conforms to the norm.

3.1.3 Bio-power, Bio-politics, and Normalization

Since the modern liberal society does not use religion as the code of conduct anymore, they depend on science to determine what should or should not do in life. For instance, when someone diagnoses for diabetes by the doctor, he will look after his diet, such as, reducing his intake of dessert or sweet snacks (Dean 2010:20). Here, the subject, being aware of his medical condition acknowledged by the doctor, regulate himself for not taking certain kind of food for his own

good. The doctor, in Foucault's lenses, becomes the expert who owns the power to put the body of the subject into the category of the healthy or unhealthy. The subject, realizing the danger of his habit to eat sugary snacks, change his subject accordingly to prevent severe conditions in his body. Of course, he has his full rights and freedom for keep eating sweet food but it will not be good for himself. This exercise of such power using biological condition as determinant for one's conduct is what Foucault termed as bio-power.

Derived from similar logic, the state also used the power/knowledge through scientific justification of experts in their practices. Science has become state's technology of power in shaping the population to behave in particular manner which also known as bio-politics. Bio-politics requires more complex process, strategies, and technologies since it targets the population. They need discipline enforced by apparatuses of security in the process of 'normalization'; adjusting the deviants to what perceived as 'normal' by social norms (Simons 2013).

3.1.4 The Self as The Central Object of Study

At last, the one who affected the most by the discourse and regime of practice of the state is the subject itself. Back to the example of person with diabetes, labels deployed by doctor determine his action as well as his subjectivity. He constructs his identity as diabetes patient which determine not only his behavior but also how he sees himself, his self-esteem, and further his relations to others. His attempt to apply new techniques to behave according to labels imposed on him known as technology of self (Simons 2013:313).

Put a broader context of that example, state's intervention towards its population, especially those who considered as 'deviants' or disorders, would alter ones' subjectivity of his or herself with or without them noticing it (Oksala 2013:322). The disciplinary power over individuals manufactures the way they look at themselves, hence their identity (Bevir 1999:349). Bevir adds that identity is a fluid and constructed rather than a fixed state. They attach those labels and judgement to themselves and perceived it as part of them which lead them to behave accordingly.

The bio-political paradigm in modern world, Agamben argues, "is responsible for some of the worst atrocities of the twentieth century, including the Nazi concentration camps" (Finlayson 2010:98). Those in concentration camps or prison are people who stripped from their political and social means in the world, living in a world simply in their biological nature (eat, sleep, reproduce). They are excluded from society because its differences or un conformity to social norms. People who are forcibly being reduced to such life is what he called as *homo sacre* and the lifestyle is understood as bare life (ibid.: 100). The concept is highly relevant in analyzing the political prisoners' life and their subjectivity in this study.

3.2 Theorizing Role of Psy Discipline in Politics

One of Foucault's main critiques on science located in the categorization of people which turns them from 'a subject' who can exercise his agency into 'an object' that characterized by passivity and docility. As I mention earlier, medical and social science is the target of such critique. He put the example of psychiatry and mental illness in numbers of his works, such as *History and Madness* and *Madness and Civilization* (Howell 2008). Psychiatry, in this sense, using their positivistic approach, categorize people as patients of mental illness then confine the patients for unknown period. The release would be based on patients' capabilities to act normal, 'blaming' their biological feature, their mind, as the reason of their confinement. This is, of course, an extreme case which helps us to understand the concept easier. Nevertheless, similar practices happen in our everyday life using softer form of science. Psychology, a study of human psyche, focusing on people's mind and behavior, contributes to the same practice as psychiatry. To some extent, psychology, particularly clinical psychology, works in a similar way as psychiatry, but rather than using medical approach, their base their arguments from observation of ones' pattern of behavior and psychological tests. The sub-disciplines of psychology are enormous, dispersed in almost every aspect of human life, such as criminal psychology, educational psychology, military psychology, political psychology, and so on. In spite of different field of work, the work of psychology to analyze and categorize people applied in all context. These practices might be good for someone to know his condition, but to the extent that he takes it as information according to one perspective rather than narrowly define himself as such. Foucault argues that the implication would be more serious if the state takes further action to use this biological-based science as their tools in politics (*ibid.*). In this section, I would like to points out the involvement of psy disciplines in politics which earlier termed as therapeutic state.

The concept of therapeutic state firstly introduced by Szasz (1984), an American psychiatrist, and echoed by Polksky in 1993. It was a reaction to the use of psychiatry and mental illness discourse in politics. He explains how some government used medical and psychiatric justification to the alienated people. The psychiatric justification led to categorization between 'normal people' and 'mental health patients' who are mad therefore need to be treated in an asylum. They often portrayed as dangerous for society. In a number of cases, these people were not those who psychiatrically suffer from mental disorder but those who are misbehaved, including those who against the government's will. He mentioned a relevant example of the use of psychiatry in USSR. They employed the same reason to confine the rebels to the asylum. Since there is no sufficient evidence to put them under law enforcement, the government, using legitimization from psychiatry, accused rebels as manifesting mental illness observed through their daily conduct. This scientific justification replaced sentence from formal legal system to put the rebels to incarceration of the asylum. This practice, he argued, is as excruciating as put them into prison. They received same treatment as the mental health patients which claimed as "spiritual murder...a variant of the gas chamber, and even more cruel" by Solzhenitsyn (in Szasz 1984:216). Polksky (1993) replicates Szasz's idea but put it in wider context. In his term, therapeutic state does not narrowly define in psychiatric context but on the relationship between the majority and the minority of the population. Since society are

divided into majority and minority, any attitude or behavior outside the norm are seen as wrong or bad, thereby deserves (coercive) intervention.

Howell (2008) contextualize the politicization of psy discipline in international relation and security studies. She argues that psy discipline who based their work on the psyche brings great contribution to security and sovereignty of state. Likewise, she used Foucault's concept of governmentality as the underlying theory of her analysis. In her example on prisoners in Guantanamo Bay, she expounds that the framing over Guantanamo Bay's inmates is that they are they are dangerous for the society and the core cause located in inmates' mind. "The terrorists are like the mentally ill because their mind-set is unfathomable, because they are outside of reason, because they are outside of 'civilization'" (Butler, as cited in Howell 2008:125). In this fearful society with high suspicion towards 'the terrorist', psy discipline, she argues, enacts as the protector of society as they could identify the potentially troubling persons and normalize their views through brainwash.

Concerning Howell's work, I want to explore one sub-discipline of psychology which I believe was used throughout the detention process in Indonesia during NOE. As Indonesia was under military regime at that time, I argue that military psychology⁹ also plays an important role in the normalization process of the deviants, to put it more explicitly, the communists. Watson (1978) says that before 1960s, the object of study for this sub-discipline was related to technical work of the military, such as screening for candidates, training skills for the army, and selection process for weapon holding. But then during the Cold War, the study expanded to paramilitary psychology, emphasized on studies that underpin the work of intelligence as they were crucial for winning the psy war. This entails study for "counter-insurgency, political motivations of guerillas, and social-psychological effects of economic underdevelopment and its relation to conflicts" (ibid.: 24). Considering the secretive nature of intelligence service, psychology involvement as a discipline often invisible. They have infiltrated under the body of intelligence, hence hard to prove their direct involvement. In some cases, the military admits the backup of science, but mostly denied their part. This aspect becomes Watson's major critique of the cooperation of military and psychology because the quality and how the science is used (or abuse) is questionable.

3.3 Politics of Denial

Denial is a common practice for states with such atrocity happened in their history and it is not only coming from the government, but also other stakeholders (society and experts). Political psychologists, Milburn and Conrad (1991) assert that denial contains deeper meaning. Psychoanalytically, it is a defense mechanism to forget or distort agonizing reality which influences our perception and attitude on things related to the event or even to political issues. The distorted reality, then, constructs new narrative which we believe as The Reality. "Nations,

⁹ Throughout research process I received feedback to include criminal psychology into consideration while writing this section. However, observing from the socio-political context (Indonesia under military regime and the paramilitary practices around the world), I choose to stick to my prior assumption that military psychology was presence in prison and camps management.

in fact, operate on the basis of such shared reconstructions of reality in much time. It is both revealed in politics and supported and maintained by it" (ibid.: 3). Such strategy often used by government in creating the new narrative of what happened in the past, including those whose history of genocide. The implications are two-fold. It could "protect nations from shame and guilt, and to serve political purposes" (ibid.: 188) but it also leaves deep trauma that entails many negative consequences amongst society itself.

3.4 Conclusion: Governmentality and Politicization of Psychology

Governmentality emphasis on the rationality of governmental practices in modern liberal era (Dean 2010; Lemke 2001). Driven by political economy factor, the government exercises its sovereign and disciplinary power over population so they could pursue their objective for the advancement of people's life by providing guidance of population's conduct. Those who against the conduct of conduct would be subjected as the deviants and separated through bio-political process. They need to undergo normalization program to be accepted by society. The program is followed by three elements; hierarchical observation by security apparatus, normalizing judgement, and examination by experts (Welch 2009).

This study looks the event of 30 September as an extraordinary event which usually referred as 'the exception' (Neal 2006). When exceptional event happens, the government tracks the possible risks and do extraordinary actions to face unpredictable contingency. The management of human by using modern rationalities entails what is known as bio-political of security or bio-political paradigm, according to Agamben (De Larrinaga and Doucet 2008). This practice usually followed by exclusion of the deviants or the disorders. They are captivated in the camp which reduces their life into a basic life without giving them sense of meaning in this social and political world, in another word, living a bare life (Finlayson 2010). The situation may affect how the deviants look at themselves; their identity, self-worth, and self-esteem.

In governmentality, the experts play an important role in producing knowledge and give interpretation on what happening in the world and perceived it as the objective truth. They give meaning, categorize, and label people which ease the government to impose intervention to normalize their behavior (Dean 2010). Within security settings, psychologists and psychiatrists whose expertise in human mind and behavior plays a pivotal role in understanding the mind of prisoners. According to therapeutic state (Szasz 1984), psychiatry gives legitimization for the incarceration and intervention towards the inmates. These people often do not suffer from mental illness but oppose the government as happened in USSR and Holocaust. Likewise, Howell (2010) claims that the psy discipline is symbolized as the protector of the society as they are keeping the dangerous deviants away and alter them into 'better member of society' after series of brainwash projects.

Denial of such politicization is a common practice which implies to greater meaning that is hiding behind the denial. Furthermore, the study discusses an event that has been regarded as sensitive issues for more than 50 years. The denial of the actors in spite of the abundance data shall give insights for understanding the role of psychologists in prisoners' detention camp during NOE.

Chapter 4-6

Findings and Analysis

The following chapters aim to answer the research questions by looking from different actors' perspectives. In chapter 4, we look through government perspectives on how they use experts in incarceration program within the concept of governmentality. Chapter 5, I include prisoners' stories about the involvement of psychologists during imprisonment period, including indoctrination programs, psychologists' visits, and psycho-tests and how it affects their identity. In the last chapter of findings and analysis, I present the view of the psychologists regarding their involvement in the incarceration project. The chapter consists of two sections of Dutch and Indonesian psychologists' perspective.

Chapter 4 The Rationality of Government

The chapter aims to look at the practice of government that imposed to the prisoners by using the psychologists' expertise. While looking at the main objective of the chapter, I include the socio-political context to bring more comprehensive understanding about the streams of development projects within the country that made the government eager to shape people's conduct.

4.1 The Political Economy of New Order Era

Political economy lies as fundamental element in governmentality (Foucault 2008:13-16). It aims to acquire prosperity and advancement of the nation that drives the state to practice its strategies and technologies in pursuing those goals. This section presents Indonesia's political economy shortly after Suharto came into power; its goals and approach. I would argue that the adopted capitalist scheme in governing the state caused the suppression of PKI and its substrutures in Indonesia.

After the attempted coup, Indonesia encountered with a chaotic socio-political situation within the country. Sukarno who still bestowed as president gained less popularity amongst the people. A severe monetary crisis and the suspicion of the remaining leftish party members within the presidential cabinet triggered massive protests towards the government. In March 1966, Suharto replaced Sukarno with a promise to fix the economy and eradicate the communist's influence in the cabinet.

Under Suharto regime, Indonesia faced a significant change in the direction of foreign policy. Despite the free and active principles that they overtly had, the actual view on foreign affairs was changing from leaning towards the Eastern Bloc to the West. Indonesia started to incorporate the UN development goals as national objective which led Indonesia to focus on "national economic growth, rapid industrialization, agrarian reform, and agro-industrialization and privileging the role of the state in the management of economic development" (Berger 2003:423). Consequently, Indonesia received huge amount of foreign aids and investments from the Western bodies. A specialized consortium was founded to assist Indonesia in pursuing their development goals in 1967, namely the IGGI or Inter-Governmental Group for Indonesia. The members were four international organizations, such as IMF, World Bank, and UN; and ten countries, including The US, the UK, and the Netherlands (Fealy 1995:13). IGGI had invested around US\$2.8 billion and an immense number of transaction in minerals and plantation products worth US\$6 billion. This cooperation stabilized the economic growth that supports many infrastructures and agrarian development projects in Indonesia (Hill 1996:78).

The assistance is nothing without geopolitical interest of the Western government in Indonesia. For the US particularly, the location of Indonesia was vital to maintain its dominance in the region especially because of the rise of communists struggle in Vietnam and Cambodia. The strategy was they grew stronger influence to the neighboring countries by providing them with military training and equipment (Caldwell 1975:23). Indonesia also has high potency of natural

resources; oil and minerals and plantation products that attract foreign investment in the country. Hill (1996:15) said that the investments and economic co-operation with the donors brought mutual profit for the donors and Indonesia itself as shown by the recovery of Indonesian economy in 1966 to 1968 that reached average growth of 6.6 percent.

Under this capitalists' influence, the Indonesian government saw the remaining and widespread communists influence as a major obstacle for development. The leftists tend to criticize the foreign capital and agitated the lower class to revolt, which would impede the national development (Amnesty International 1974:27). To silenced them, the government worked within two strategies; First, exercised its sovereign power by banning PKI and Marxist-Leninist ideology and conducted mass arrest to those who affiliated with the party. Then, used its disciplinary power by shaping people's perception of the communists, bio-politically divided the population, and create what Foucault termed as 'new regime of surveillance' (Heller 1996:81). The strategies of government which entailed bio-political process to achieve the objective will be detailed in next section.

4.2 The Exercise of Sovereign and Disciplinary Power

The first strategy imposed by the state was creating the perception of risk in security. Dillon (2008:320) asserts that "risk is simply the commodification of exposure to contingency calculated through the generalized measure of probability". Risk shall determine the government's conduct of conduct to ensure security including the use of law enforcement and violence. In this context, the government portrayed communists as potential risk for national and human security, stability, and order. The brutal tragedy of 30 September was installed as benchmark of PKI cruelty. They were depicted as a manipulative, dangerous, and evil being. The propaganda of atheism and anti-Pancasila¹⁰, also worked to split the religious and nationalist of Indonesian society against the PKI. This further strengthens by the prior negative sentiment towards the PKI that had been piled up since years before. Such discourse justified the government's direct intervention through mass detention and torture for the suspected communists.

In the meantime, the disciplinary power was also exercised in the form of conducting the population to look at PKI as someone who misbehaved hence in need of mental guidance. Here, the government separated the communists based on their feature, the psyche, which was seen as wrong and need to be reoriented through normalization. Such bio-political practice is similar to Szasz's USSR case (1984) and Howell's Guantanamo Bay (2008) in which the detainees were not kept due to medically mental problem but based on their misbehavior. Further, they use the expertise of psychiatry, or in this case psychologists, to justify their intervention. The involvement of experts here is crucial because as experts, they possess the power/knowledge of the prisoners' state of mind. It would create the image of modern-or even a fair and just process-on dealing with the prisoners' problem. In doing so, the government relied on the work of military psychology who had been part of Kopkamtib's structure.

¹⁰ Pancasila is fundamental principles of Indonesia that consist of five principles. The NOE portrayed Pancasila as sacred and perfect guidance country's code of conduct.

Disciplinary power works under three elements; the hierarchical observation; normalizing judgement; and examination (Simons 2013:305). The first element was done by the help of Kopkamtib as the security apparatus. Kopkamtib served as a specialized body that monitored and controlled the stability and order within the country. Their power was ubiquitous and pervaded every aspect of Indonesian's life, including the police, the press, the mass organizations, and work (Southwood and Flanagan 1975:85). They also were responsible for the life of thousands of political prisoners in Indonesia under prison management.

Realizing that PKI as one of the biggest party in Indonesia, a tremendous amount of people killed and detained were inevitable. The statistics are varied and come from different institutions. Van der Kroef (1976:625) noted there were 78.000 prisoners by the end of 1965 according to an official report. Meanwhile, Kopkamtib decree in 1968 wrote that there were "63.894 prisoners and expected to be expanded up to 30%". In addition, Amnesty International (1974) wrote 100.000 political prisoners with approximately a thousand women prisoners, claimed it as the biggest prison in the world. The immense number of people make it less possible for them to conduct trials. Hence, they issued law that classified the prisoners which further determined the type of treatments prisoners would receive. According to Kopkamtib guideline no. PELAK-002/KOPKAM/10/1968, issued in October 1968, the three classifications¹¹ based on their (suspected) affiliation with the coup were:

- *Category A*: proven to be directly involved in the 30 September Movement. The suspects were put on extraordinary military trial and sentenced minimum 15 years and maximum death penalty. However, the progress of the tribunal was slow. Kammen and Zakaria (2012:461) noted that within ten years "only about one in four of the detainees had been tried."
- *Category B*: directly involved but without sufficient evidence. They were kept in captivity due to security reason. The authority argued if they discharge them, another coup will follow. Hence, they had to ensure that these prisoners had shifted their ideology before bring them back to society. This entailed several programs for the prisoners, such as indoctrination program, religious education and mental guidance, the utilization of their productive skills, and followed by socialization for the locals around the location of the prisoners.
- *Category C*: indirectly involved with insufficient evidence. This category addressed for anyone who had a prior connection with PKI and its substrutures, even a slight connection considered as potentially threatening nation's stability and order. No wonder, the number of C-category were the biggest amongst other. They underwent psychological tests, brainwashing, and took an oath of allegiance to Pancasila and Republic of Indonesia. In 1975, the government issued a Presidential decree of the breakdown for C category (Birks 2006:16). C1 was for prisoners involved in *Madiun affairs*¹²; C2 was members of PKI affiliated organizations; and C3 for PKI sympa-

¹¹ Further elaboration, see in Kopkamtib 1972.

¹² Conflict between PKI and NU (biggest Islamic organization in Indonesia) called *Madiun Affairs*. The conflict led to bloodshed between two parties. Indonesians refer it as rebellious act of PKI which address PKI as group of people who wanted to banish religion (particularly Islam) in Indonesia.

thizers including those who had attended PKI events. Initially, the government promised to discharge the C-category but many of them 'upgraded' to B-category without prior notice.

The great number of detainees caused the overcapacity prison, especially in most populated island, Java. The authority started to think another way to manage prisoners, specifically B prisoners, by transferring them to a remote island in Southern Molucca, the Buru Island. The official launched Buru Island in 1969 which gradually resided by approximately 10.000 male inmates. Later, they established Plantungan as the rehabilitation center for female prisoners. Plantungan was an ex-leprosy hospital during the Dutch colonial era in East Java. Some of the prisoners were intellectuals and Gerwani¹³ members but others did not have any affiliation with politics (Lestariningsih 2011:133). These two camps were the biggest camps out of hundreds of them across Indonesia (see picture 4.1):

Map 4.1 The Geography of Imprisonment

the geography of imprisonment

This map is an attempt to indicate the vast scale of political imprisonment in present-day Indonesia. It lists the known places of detention region by region, gives some figures for the number of detainees held in each and the date of each arrest. Obviously, this is only a partial list, and it is not possible to list all the names. Places of detention are not listed, and the Government's policy of secret imprisonment is not mentioned.

We have not been able to arrive at total figures for the number of detainees, equally we have not included releases which have taken place sporadically since 1970, but, though important, have not altered the essential size or urgency of the problem. The figures given are, therefore, probably lower than they were in 1970, when these events - East Kalimantan and Nasau-Banggai are two examples.

WEST KALIMANTAN
2,316 arrested prisoners (September 1970)
2,000+ arrested prisoners (September 1970)
500+ arrested prisoners (August 1971)
Perseus (400 arrested prisoners - August 1971)
165 arrested communists (August 1971)
Tukung - 1,000+ arrested (September 1971)
540 new arrests in August 1972

EAST KALIMANTAN
601 arrested prisoners (September 1970)
700 arrested prisoners (April 1971)
1,000+ arrested communists (September 1971)
Sumberpitu, Camp Dem, Camp Palengkung (200 in 1972)
Bantul (over 100 in 1972); prison labour used as build-up

SOUTH KALIMANTAN
373 arrested prisoners (September 1970)
Rendjani prison (1972)

WEST SULAWESI
1,600 arrested prisoners (September 1970)

CENTRAL JAVA
26 arrested prisoners (September 1970)

MALIKI
1,866 arrested prisoners (September 1970)
Caram island: 126 'implicated communists' arrested
Totemic: prisoners reported (1970)
Batu Island: 1,000+ arrested prisoners deported to
Island (1969)
Batu Island: 1,000+ arrested prisoners deported to
Island (1969)

WEST JAVA
15,086 arrested prisoners (September 1970)
23 detention camp still in existence in December 1972
Dusunrejo, Camp Dem, Camp Palengkung (1,000+ prisoners)
(1970) 1,200 - 18,000 detainees (1971)

Sumatra
1,000+ arrested prisoners (September 1970)
Sukarno Prison - 2,000 (1970)
Bukit Duri (West Sumatra) - 71 (1971)

ATJHEH
1,000+ arrested prisoners (September 1970)

NORTH KALIMANTAN
4,653 arrested prisoners (September 1970)
Perseus (1,000+ arrested communists - August 1971)
In another enclosure (1,000+)

SIBERUT AND NIAS ISLANDS - under consideration as potential 'secreting areas' (like Flores) 1970-72

CENTRAL JAVA
15,086 arrested prisoners (September 1970)
23 detention camp still in existence in December 1972
Dusunrejo, Camp Dem, Camp Palengkung (1,000+ prisoners)
(1970) 1,200 - 18,000 detainees (1971)

WEST IRIAN
Political detainees reported to be removed to special prison in Central Java (1972)

(picture is taken from Amnesty International 1974:17)

The hierarchical observation of Kopkamtib was extended in the prison structure. The structure also indicated the works of military psychologists which had been part of camps since its inception. Krisnadi (2001:98) mapped the structure of prison authorities in Buru Island that showed some parts of military psychology. They were division of intelligence operation (Asintel/Ops, abbreviation of *Asisten Intelijen dan Operasi*); and division of mental guidance (Asbintal, abbreviation of *Asisten Pembinaan Mental*). The first division was responsible for surveilling the activities of prisoners and preventing them in spreading out communism ideology. Their tasks included screening tests and the management of prison officers. The second was responsible for the design of effective indoctrination programs that ensure shifted the ideology of prisoners. In doing so, they consulted their work to religious leaders and psychologists.

¹³ Gerwani was the most progressive women organization that affiliated with PKI. After the coup, the image of Gerwani was completely destroyed. The narrative built on Gerwani was they are group of evil and sex-hungry women.

The second element of disciplinary power is normalizing judgement. Simons (2013:205) explains that at this stage the society's behavior is standardized; one shall conform to social norms to be accepted in the society. Any violation of social norms will be regarded by punishment. In the context of NOE, the general norm was not criticizing or against the government. Otherwise, one would be labelled as communists with the consequences follow. The war on communism was promoted everywhere, including school and media as well as symbolized in museums, diorama, and statues (Heryanto 2006). As a result, the fear of being involved in political activity emerged. They did not want to be labelled as communists by joining political parties or organizations (Wieringa 2004). The space for expressing individual freedom as the promise of liberal society was restricted in every sector. Everyone felt like someone was observing their daily activities although the security body was not present. This situation best described in the concept of Panopticon that happened hitherto. I will explain it later with more concrete example on how Indonesia society turned into docile bodies in the last section. I intend to contextualize the concept to Indonesian society after the release of prisoners.

Meanwhile, let's look at how the third element of disciplinary power, examination, worked in this repressive regime. The examination utilized the psychometric tools. The government then applied the results as legitimization of the remaining (latent) danger of communism and further surveillance after the release of prisoners. In the next section, I will investigate how the examination process works towards the releasement of prisoners situated in the Indonesia's socio-political context at that time.

4.3 Towards the Release of Prisoners

Fealy (1995) argues that the release of prisoners' was not driven by the government's good intention as they publicly claimed. Instead, it was due to political economy interests and the growing global denunciation on human rights violations in Indonesia. The criticism on prisoners' condition had raised since 1973 but at that time Indonesia was in an economically stable condition. They gained huge monetary aids from the consortium. The oil boom and the export of natural resources added state funds which consequently reduced their dependency to the international bodies. Hence, they ignored the criticism. The Western government, on the other hand, remained silent considering their geopolitical interest to the region. However, through a persistent campaign of two human rights NGO, the issues intensified and they started to get international attention on the prisoners' site.

The motors of the movement were Amnesty International and Tapol. The former had been targeted prisoners' case in Indonesia since couple years back. In 1970, Sean Macbride, the chairman of Amnesty International himself visited the country in regards to this particular issue (Amnesty International 1974:2). Furthermore, in 1974, they published a groundbreaking report on the condition of Indonesia's political prisoners under the name Indonesia special. They claimed that the case was the worst after WW II and successfully gained public attention on what happened in Indonesia and its human rights abuses. In the

meantime, the NGO Tapol¹⁴ produced bulletins on prisoners' condition and the policy related to it. The intense campaign on their condition rose global awareness, not only for the activists but also churches and politicians. The raising concern on Indonesian prisoners led to domestic struggle in pushing their government for an intervention to Indonesia government, including stopping the aids for Indonesia government. Their voice was getting bigger day by day and compelled the policy makers to take action. The decision makers were, likewise, under big dilemma considering their political economy interest of Indonesia. They knew about prisoners all this time but did not interfere as long as the business keep running (Fealy 1995:13). Nevertheless, the internal protest would reduce their popularity and it cost them greater. Thus, The IGGI member states warned Indonesia by reducing the allocation money if the case remained unresolved. In IGGI meeting in May 1975, Dutch foreign minister, Jan Pronk, even threatened Indonesia by saying that they would hold aids to Indonesia if there's no serious action on prisoners' case. The US presidency of Jim Carter in 1977 that campaigning the enforcement of human rights law further compelled Indonesian government to resolve the problem (Hayunta and Roosa 2004:122).

In the meantime, by the end of 1974, Indonesia had to deal with security and financial problems at a time (Fealy 1995:15). The first was coming from Indochina region. The victory of communists group in Cambodia and South Vietnam deemed as potential threat of communist infiltration to Indonesia. Related to communists' activity, Fretilin, the leftists group in East Timor, a (former) province, agitated against the government. The analysis that grew was Fretilin received aids from the communist country, Cuba, to revolt against the government. Hence, the advancement of military weapon was urgently needed to protect the country from communists' invasion. But it was, of course, not cheap. Even though Indonesia could benefit from lower price from its military partner, the US, they still couldn't afford the expenses because of the economic problems they had. On about the same time, the national oil company, Pertamina, collapsed with huge debts to foreign banks. The government bailed it out unavoidably; otherwise the country could collapse as well. Nevertheless, the money came from nowhere since they received minimum income for trading in non-oil goods. Reducing subsidies was certainly not an option because it was politically unpopular and could lead to bigger destruction to Indonesia's economy. The only available was asking the IGGI member for multiplying their aids. But how it even possible when they reduced their aids due to Indonesia's prisoners' problem?

This entailed controversy within the Indonesian government itself (ibid.: 18). As many agreed on putting an end to the prisoners' project, the department of national security totally opposed the idea. They thought it was too dangerous to discharge the prisoner as it would trigger horizontal conflict. As the authorities were in debate, they took several steps to maintain the popularity amongst its people and changed the discourse on prisoners in the world's eyes. For instances, they accused Amnesty International of being pervaded with communism (Kopkamtib 1982:33). Additionally, they framed the release of prisoners in 1975 to 1979 as a compliance of one of Pancasila's second principle that stress on human dignity. Here, they tried to depict themselves as the right one

¹⁴ a UK-based organization that focuses on human right cases in Indonesia. The name itself is an abbreviation of political prisoners or *tahanan politik* in Bahasa Indonesia

and good guy dealt with accusation and attack from the pro-left institution. Certainly, they used different strategy to handle the international tension. First of all, they clarified that there were no political prisoners in the country. The thousands of people who got arrested were criminals for they offended the law that forges division amongst society (Van der Kroef 1976:631). Furthermore, they changed the name of Buru Island from *Tempat Pemanfaatan* or *Tefaat* (literally means Utilization Center) into *Instalasi Rehabilitasi* or *Inrehab* (literally translated as Rehabilitation Installment). The image built of the later name was that the prisoners were treated as patients instead of forced labors. Another endeavor to convince the global community was the use of experts, particularly psychologists, during the preparation of the release. Previously, the government never mention any involvement of knowledge authority to the population. They simply labeled them using common discourse as communists.

Nonetheless, since the increase of international concern on the case, the government launched *Operasi Ksatria* (Knight Operation) as a preparation for prisoners' gradual release from 1975-1979 (*Tapol Bulletin* 1982). Its main purposes were "to tighten up control of ex-prisoners; to enhance society's resilience in rejecting communism; and to follow closely and study communist strategies at home and abroad" (ibid.: 3). Fealy (1995:22) asserted that the operation was run due to the disagreement of prisoners' policy. Benny Moerdani, one of the hands of Suharto, said there was a need to discharge prisoners in a gradual and scheduled manners to prevent horizontal conflict and chaos because of society's anger towards communism. It was also preventing a sudden high needs of job and housing for the prisoners (Kamm 1978a). Therefore, there was an urgent need to look at the prisoners' mind; ensuring the society that the prisoners who would be released were dangerous or less dangerous based on their degree of communism. Following Howell's idea (2008) on psy discipline in securitization issue, the psychologists seemed like the hero of the society. They were in the frontline when these dissidents are coming back to society. They examined the prisoners' state of mind and letting 'the less dangerous' to be release first while 'the more dangerous' shall receive further brainwash and reorientation programs.

4.4 The Examination; Psychologists in Detention Camps

The direct involvement of the psychologists in imprisonment firstly emerge in an interview with The Commander of Kopkamtib, Sudomo. Henry Kamm (1978) from International Herald Tribune asked him about the plan of political prisoners which had become the public concern in the 1970s. Sudomo said that before the release, prisoners must take psychological tests to detect their level of communism. According to the article published on 12 April 1978, the tests took two years of preparation with the help of American, British, and Dutch psychologists. In 1976, around 29.000 prisoners had taken the tests and administered by 200 trained assistants (Kamm 1978b; *Tapol Bulletin* 1978:4). The result would be compared with the investigation report to detect the consistency between the two pieces of evidence (*Tapol Bulletin* 1979a).

There were five types of psycho tests employed; basic intelligence tests, two 'thematic differentiation' situated in Indonesia setting, Edward Personality Preferences Schedule (EPPS), and Eysenck's social attitude lists (Kamm 1978b). EPPS originally developed by a British psychologist, Prof. Allen Edwards, in 1957. Grounding on Murray's theory of psychogenesis, the tests often used to see how personality could determine ones' behavior in particular situation (Edwards 1954). The authority in Indonesia used this test "to determine the firmness of the prisoners, convictions, and motivation and their capacity to influence others" (Kamm 1978b:1). Another test was Eysenck's social attitude scale that measures radicalism and tough-mindedness of political ideology to scale the level of communism. The two well-established tests need to be adjusted to Indonesian setting beforehand which also indicated opportunity for the cooperation of Dutch and Indonesian psychologists for the psycho-tests.

As the interview prompted controversial debate in Dutch academics community in 1979, the Commander of Kopkamtib clarified that the tests were devised under Indonesian army psychological service. He emphasized that no other scientists, Indonesian nor Dutch, involved in the development of psycho-tests. However, investigation and testimonies in the Netherlands had given evidence of the cooperation in test construction. Furthermore, the government did not deny the use of psycho-tests in the camps and the visit of social scientists, including psychologists in Buru and Plantungan in 1974.

The psycho-tests referred to four classifications ranging from tender-minded (L0, L1, L2) to tough-minded communists (K). L stands for *Lunak* or 'soft' and K stands for *Keras* or 'hard'. Those in L group were released first whereas K group had to undergo further indoctrination programs (*Tapol Bulletin* 1977:2). The result showed that 70-80% of prisoners detected as the diehard communists (Kamm 1978a) which subsequently used as justification for further control and surveillance not only for detainees but also Indonesia society in general. Here, once again, psychology was employed to maintain security inside of the country, as well as, proof that the government was serious about tackling the prisoners' problem.

4.5 The Panopticon

Dean (2010) argues that disciplinary power is reflected in Panopticon, a system in which the object of surveillance, the society assumed that they are being observed with or without the presence of authority. The system implies self-governing individuals who would act in accordance to government's will even without their enforcement. This is, actually, the very objective of governmentality; shifting the government responsibility to self-government (Lemke 2001: 203). In Panopticon, the society is enforced to meet certain standard, or else will be punished (Welch 2009). In this context, the standard was following government's command without criticizing it. Any action that probe suspicion will be reported to the authority. The maintenance of such control shall be supported by the implementation of hierarchical observation. The government maintained such practices by installing a surveillance system that was prevalent in the society. The surveillance system was an 'act' which guarantee the government's consistency in ensuring national stability while, in fact, they relied on the self-government of society who possessed dual function as the governed and the governor to watch over their behavior as well as other members of society.

Shortly after the release of prisoners, Kopkamtib issued a guideline for the formation of screening team at every level in society, ranging from province to community¹⁵. This form of surveillance was intended to control not only the behavior and activities of the ex-prisoners but also population in general. The team would response to any report of subversive acts against the government (Kopkamtib 1975), in other means the government was not only relied on the work of their screening team but also relied on other members of society to observe others' behavior, especially the ex-prisoners.

Furthermore, a study by Tanter (1991:285) showed that the psycho-tests were also implemented as surveillance tools for several groups, such as students from abroad, Muslim groups, industrial workers, and civil servants. The tests mainly explored ones' background and opinion towards communism. The results were used for a specific reason. In Sumatran workers, for example, it justified "immediate purpose of picking out some appropriate 'PKI' scapegoats to balance more serious repression of Muslims, or to give confidence to anxious foreign investors" (ibid.: 296). Whereas in Jakarta, the result used as basis for intelligent services' intervention on subversive act against the government.

In summary, the practice of government imposed to the prisoners through indoctrination program with the intention to normalize prisoners' ideology. It was, then examined, by military psychologists who utilized psychometric tools to envision prisoners' state of mind, and further, the population's. Their role was important not only for producing information about the inmates but also providing scientific legitimization for government's conduct. The practice was part of the exercise of sovereign and disciplinary power of the government. They were doing so to guide the population's behavior and pursue the national development goals which much influenced by capitalism. The intense control and propaganda on the danger of communism implied to a self-governing population; wherein they worked as Panopticon of their behavior.

¹⁵ Further details on Kopkamtib decree no.07/Kopkam/XII 1975, Kopkamtib 1975

Chapter 5 Creating A New Subject: Life of Prisoners

In chapter three, I have spelled out that the self is the center of Foucault's study. The exercise of power in higher politics inevitably affects how individuals identify themselves and their subjectivity. This chapter intends to expose how the complex politics of the global and national government, as well as experts, played on the identification of prisoners during and after incarceration.

5.1 The Exception and The Prisoners' Experience

The prisoners' life was turned upside down right after the attempted coup on 30 September 1965. The event implied to a turmoil of mass arrest and killings that impacted not only the prisoners' life per se but also Indonesia as a whole. Scholars refers to this event as 'the exception', a single and sudden event that implicates to many aspects of the population (Neal 2006). Such event allows the application of exceptional policies and laws to maintain security. Likewise, the event on 30 September was considered as an urgent condition that allowed coercive action towards PKI after the incident. At that time, the mass organization, which was supported by the army, mercilessly arrested the alleged PKI. They did not need warrant, simply by a pointed finger, somebody could get caught. Frequently, they also detained anyone in the house, including women and children, if the target person was not present (Amnesty International 1974:12).

This turmoil, according to Foucault, was developed through the archaeological process; looking at it as historically discursive element that constituted in the interactions between "objects, statements, concepts, and strategies" (Neal 2006:42). A different point of view compared to his colleagues, Schmitt and Agamben, who said that 'the exception' is a single and abrupt event with pervasive implication (*ibid.*). In fact, the aftermath of the attempted coup on 30 September was a manifestation of negative sentiments of the PKI movements; its multiple revolutionary acts, high political and social tension, its brutal propaganda, and other vulgar methods in gaining people's sympathy (Cribb 2002). This explains the people's furiousness against PKI and further justified their action to broke all legal procedure in killing and arresting PKI members.

EP2 confessed that when the mass arrest happened, there were no warrant nor lawyer for him. The interrogator just brought them to their office wherein they were pushed to admit their affiliation with the PKI, often with torture and violence. He was not a communist but a nationalist. He was a civil servant and member of Partindo¹⁶ who had some friends from PKI network. He said it was not easy to be PKI cadres. They had to pass several steps before being awarded as one. He ridiculed that it was the army who appointed him to take the PKI oath, not the PKI themselves. He added that the interrogation was brutally vio-

¹⁶ Former party of Sukarno, before he founded PNI, the National Party of Indonesia (interview with EP1 and EP2, July 2016)

lent. The memoirs and testimonies detailed the inhumane torture including sexual violence that the suspects must endure. The interrogator assumed that they hid the information, whereas most of the time they did not have any clue at all.

For security reason, they were under temporary custody until the socio-political situation became stable. However, the transition from Sukarno to Suharto shifted their status as long-term political prisoners. Carmel Budiarjo, a former prisoner, said that “the most devastating thing about imprisonment is the lack of knowledge prisoners have about their situation. They are not tried and don’t know what they’re charged with, or whether they are rescheduled for release.” (Rosenbaum and Kossy 1976:37). The situation in prison was miserable. Food, hygiene, and medical support was inadequate, which led to the death of many prisoners. Furthermore, the confinement broke their family apart. Many got divorced because the situation was too dangerous and uncertain for their wives and children. The conflict left nothing for them. Yap Thian Hiem, a human rights lawyer, said that such situation left them with limited option, some went insane or committed suicide because of that (Amnesty International 1974:12)

Their daily activities were filled with domestic work (*korre*) and worked in government’s project (Saroso 2002). They were divided into groups according to their expertise and physical capabilities. The projects were varied, depends on authority’s arrangement; sometimes they built roads and religious building, another time they cultivated lands for daily needs. But they did not get anything in return, not even an extra food.

5.2 The Experience Under Normalization Process

Aside from the forced labor, prisoners obliged to attend the indoctrination programs. The indoctrination program was usually known as *Santiaji* (Birks 2006:18). It consists of lectures on religiosity and nationalism as the assumption on communists was atheists and anti-nationalists. The religious sessions led by religious leaders from five recognized religions in Indonesia; Islam, Catholic, Protestant, Hinduism, and Buddhism¹⁷. The content focused on the ritual aspect of religion, such as praying and memorizing the holy scriptures rather than the essence of religion itself (Saroso 2002:193). In fact, many of the prisoners were believers long before imprisonment. So the effectiveness of the programs should be questioned. A similar thing happened in lectures on nationalism. The program emphasized on memorizing and interpreting the five principles of Pancasila while ex-prisoners said they understood it better than the instructors. “The instructors often translated Pancasila within New Order government framework, different than what it really meant. But we couldn’t argue or otherwise they would put us in the isolation cell”¹⁸. The program continued even after their release during the regular compulsory report. Those who considered showing the appropriate behavior were not obliged to attend the program anymore.

Another noteworthy point is the psycho-tests and psychologists visit in the camps. Upon the release in 1977, Kopkamtib imposed some requirements for the prisoners including their degree of communism, position within former left-

¹⁷ interview with EP1, 10 July 2016

¹⁸ interview with EP1, 10 July 2016

ist organizations, their behavior during detention process, and physical conditions of the prisoners. They kept the 'diehards' for further re-orientation programs. There were 45 female prisoners (Lestariningsih 2011:258) and 41 male prisoners (Krisnadi 2001:188) who considered as 'diehards' and transferred to Bulu prison in Semarang, Central Java until 1979.

Memoirs and interviews show some evidence of psycho-tests during psychologists' visit. EP 4 in mail-interview¹⁹ said that there was a group of psychologists led by Prof. Fuad Hassan conducted paper-and-pencil psycho-tests on 13 October 1971. The majority of prisoners did not take the tests seriously as similar questions were repeated over time. The assumption was the test-takers thought they were stupid and simply wasted their time. Hence, they made fun of it by filling the questionnaire with a certain pattern. He was quite sure that test-takers knew they were not doing it well.

The other psycho-tests noted in Pramoedya Ananta Toer's book, *The Mute Soliloquy* (1995:16). Toer was one of the most prominent leftist poet who produced series of books on his experience during imprisonment. His encounter with Prof. Fuad Hassan was on October 6th, 1973. He asked Toer about his experiences living in Buru Island, his opinion about Buru Island, his political ideology and his relation with the 30 September movement. Toer also noted that from 7-9 October 1973 "there were psycho tests in other units as well, writing and drawing" (*ibid.*: 20). In addition, Prayitno et al. (2003:88) mentioned that psycho-tests for 40 prisoners in unit T were conducted on 5 December 1977.

The description of psychologists' visits in Plantungan extensively explained in Lestariningsih (2011:248-252) in her interview with Sumiyarsi, a former member of Gerwani. According to her testimony, the visit was joint project of UI, UGM, and military led by Dr. Zakiah Drajad from UGM. The team stayed for three days to conduct psychoanalytical tests. On the first day, the prisoners were having tests on religiosity from 05.00-18.00. The tests mainly on memorizing verses and letters of the holy scriptures. The second day was allocated for some lectures of the psychologists and prison authorities, encouraging prisoners to keep on their spirit in that difficult situation. The second visit was by the end of November 1975 when they administered intelligence tests. The tests ended at 17.00 and followed by a small celebration.

From the description, we can learn that even though the detention camps spread across Indonesia, apparently the visited camps were only Buru Island and Plantungan. Three ex-prisoners who were detained in other camps, Jakarta and Manado, told me that there were no experts visit to their camps, only some NGOs and local churches. My assumption is that the psychologists used those two camps as the sample of whole prisoners in the country as the majority of prisoners in both camps were scholars and intellectuals who can answer the paper-and-pencil based tests considering the majority of Indonesians at that time only received a basic education even illiterate. This psycho-test is part of examination process as one of element in disciplinary power to envision prisoners' state of mind and therefore control population

¹⁹ Personal email, 2 August 2016

5.3. Ex-Prisoners as The Dregs of Society

The experiences living as prisoners would, more or less, affect how they look at themselves, in other words, their subjectivity. This section points out how such process, interpretation and reinterpretation of their condition as well as their identity could be developed under such regime by using the concept of Bare life from Agamben. The exercise of sovereign and disciplinary power through the establishment of modern camps would imply to "...reducing life to its biological minimum... [wherein individuals] stripped entirely of any political standing..." (De Larrinaga and Douchet 2008:521), a bare life, as he termed. Likewise, in the camps, prisoners were being stripped of its political means. They became a docile body, just followed what they instructed to do; *korve*, worked in agriculture or infrastructure projects, attended *Santiaji*, and so on. They just live for the sake of living without any chance to do their prior activities as activists.

The release also did not assure full liberty, moreover the state of living a bare life continued. The supervision, stigmatization, and discrimination against them restricted their freedom (Kamen and Zakaria 2012:462). Some ex-prisoners had known such consequences and decided to settle down in Buru Island as planned by the government. They did not have anything anymore in Java, and the government had sent their family there. In Buru, they could survive by doing agriculture work as they used to do during imprisonment (Krisnadi 2001:183). Meanwhile, many prisoners foreseen a gloomy future in the island and chose to went back to Java. They clung to a dim hope that their family would welcome them. Meanwhile, in many cases, the family did not reclaim them as part of the family anymore. Some local NGOs and churches helped them throughout this rough adjustment process with narrow scope of work but not all prisoners could enjoy this facility because it was not part of the government's agenda (ibid.: 195).

The government ensured each of them signed a contract that the ex-prisoners would not sue them in the near future²⁰. They bounded the ex-prisoners with a regular mandatory report wherein the ex-prisoners had to tell the officers about their activities and current address, while also received *Santiaji*. Their rights were so restricted. They should not get involved in any leftist activity, they had to report if they want to move to another region; they could not go abroad; and no political rights, to vote nor to be voted (Birks 2006:18). The government marked their ID-card with ET (*Eks-Tapol* or Ex-Political Prisoners) as a sign of the authority that they had an affiliation with communism. With such ID, the ex-prisoners and their family couldn't get the free-affiliation from G30s' certificate which was a required document in every job application, especially in government's institution. The term '*bersih diri*' (clean in self) and '*bersih lingkungan*' (clean by association) was trending (Heryanto 2006:36). The former referred to people who were known as having a relationship with PKI and its substructures and the later addressed those who through marital status or bloodline had a connection with the former category. This practice capped ex-prisoners and their family opportunity to had a nice job and started over their lives. Most of them work in informal sector while also suffered discrimination from society. They were socially ostracized since no one wants to have any connection with them. They were seen as dangerous and criminalized if something bad happened to the neighborhood. Living under such situation affected their self-esteem and self-

²⁰ interview with EP2, July 2016

worth. Many of them exclude themselves by creating their own community (Lestariningsih 2011:266). They tended to marry the member or family of the community because nobody wanted to be near them.

The fall of Suharto regime in 1998 (*Reformasi* era) opened new possibilities for them to resist; express themselves as seen in the increasing number of the memoirs of prisoners that were published after 1998. Hearman (2009) observes that this reproduction of alternative history was their way to remind the country so such abuses will not happen anymore. She adds “the theme reclaiming nationalism also permeated these works, which include reinstating the role of the left in independence struggle and nation-building process under Sukarno” (*ibid.*: 25). The changing character of the community was also seen in the shifting focus of their agenda. The erstwhile communities tend to be more passive and accommodating with the intention to provide a comfort zone for them. On the other hand, the current organizations become more active; focus on the advocacy on human rights issue. The knowledge production that frames them as the victim strengthens their position in public discourse.

The chapter describes how the atrocity on 30 September 1965 and its aftermath influenced the way prisoners identify themselves. The discourse around communism and political prisoners that was legitimized by the experts had been accepted as ‘the truth.’ The image created a stigma and the ostracism of the ex-prisoners and family. We can see from the description the implication of the discrimination and stigmatization to the ex-prisoners. Their life reduced to bare life. They were excluded with restricted space for personal development, owning no socio and political rights. This miserable life depicted as the model of misconduct. Once the population comprehended this message, they would follow government’s will without criticizing, which the very purpose of the Indonesian government; to control the population’s conduct.

Chapter 6 “We Did Not Do It”: Psychologists and Politics of Denial²¹

Psychologists' involvement in the detention process seemed to ensure a fair and just process based on modern techniques of government, rationality and scientific justification, in punishing or intervening prisoners. The government intended to upgrade the legitimacy of their work by mentioning the involvement of foreign scientists rather than solely relied on local scientists. However, the excuse brought a huge debate, particularly in Dutch academic community. Maria Abrahamse and Frans Disse from the University of Groningen did further investigation on Sudomo's statement that Dutch psychologists helped Indonesian army in constructing psychological tests. The suspicion went to University of Nijmegen as they had a joint project with two universities in Indonesia, the University of Indonesia (UI) and Padjajaran University (Unpad), which accused as the architects of the tests. Interestingly, both parties denied any involvement in the project despite enormous evidence.

The denial came in two forms; totally denied the involvement in the test construction process (Dutch Psychologists) and admitted that they went to the camps but not to conduct a test, rather observe the prisoners' life (Indonesian Psychologists); creating new narrative of what was done at that time. Lippman (2007:210) explains that the denial of such condition is due to moral weight of the incident. The admittance of their involvement in the process that devastate ones' life could implicate to their reputation as neutral experts that are restricted by ethics. It is also caused by certain political purposes behind it (Millburn and Conward 1991:188). This aspect will be elaborated further in this section.

The academic community questioned the ethical position of Nijmegen's psychologists considering the deprived condition of political prisoners. The chapter elaborates the close connection between the experts and the army that enabled such technology of government was done in NOE. Involvement and denial from the accused parties are detailed in the upcoming two sections. The first section explores the debate from Dutch academic perspective while the second focuses on Indonesian psychologists' perspective.

6.1 Dutch Psychologists

After 1966, Indonesia's foreign policy leans towards the capitalistic and neo-liberal regime of Western government. The opportunity for foreign aids and joint projects of both parties was wide-open, including in higher education and research sector (Nijmegen Bulletin 1978). The bilateral cooperation on Cultural agreement published Program for University Development (PUO) by Ministry of Education under the management of NUFFIC. The aim of the program was assisting Indonesians academics to build their research capacities and skills.

²¹ The information in this chapter are mostly gathered and developed from Ton Regtien's collection and documents from Saskia Wieringa (Appendix 1 and 3). Nevertheless, only certain sources are cited here due to similarity of information and availability in English version.

Two projects in sub-field psychology were KUN-2 and VUA-3 (USN Bulletin 1978). The projects targeted two Indonesian universities, UI and Unpad. KUN-2 project of the University of Nijmegen focused on test construction process, education psychology, social psychology, and research methodology while VUA-3 by VU Amsterdam provided training on intelligence testing for students. KUN-2 project ran between 1970 and 1975 under the responsibility of Dr. Monks and Mr. Kempen. The staff involved in the project were Mr. Boon van Oostade majoring industrial psychology and Prof. Jaspars from the social psychology department. On the other side, there were Prof. Fuad Hassan and Dr. Saparinah Sadli from UI and Prof. Ma'rat and Dr. Sumarto from Unpad.

The accusation of Dutch psychologists' involvement went stronger to University of Nijmegen considering their close relationship with Indonesian psychologists who also part of the Indonesian army. Reports said University of Nijmegen provided support in test adjustment for EPPS. The leading actors were psychologists from UI, Mrs. Yusuf Nusjirwan who responsible for translation of the tests and Mr. Sudirgo Wibisono who did the item analysis with Mr. Boon van Ostade. They stored preliminary data in Nijmegen's computer and used its software for item analysis (*Haagse Post* 1979a). Meanwhile, the two 'thematic differentiation tests' devised by Mr. Hassan and Mrs. Sadli. Mr. Hassan was also the director of Strategic study for National Security Department which enable him to conduct such tests. Nijmegen Bulletin on 6 May 1978 noted that in 1971 they did the first trial of psycho tests to prisoners in Buru Island. On the other hand, the USN bulletin (1978:3) brought different conclusion that the tests were developed by the army psychology service in which many psychologists from Unpad²² were part of. Two prominent figures were Mr. Sumarto and Mr. Sumitro. They played a central role in curriculum design of KUN-2 project in Unpad and conducted psycho-tests for prisoners in Buru Island (Army Psychological Service 2016).

The uncertainty and escalated protests from students and academics in The Netherlands forced *Nederlands Institute van Psychologen* (Dutch Association of Psychologists or NIP) to take a firm action (*Tapol Bulletin* 1979b:15). They decided to conduct a thorough investigation on Dutch psychologist involvement. The result concluded that the accusation was groundless and Nijmegen psychologists were not aware of the abuse of science that might happen during transfer-knowledge process. Additionally, Mr. Jan Huurman who was appointed as the leader of the investigation team once said that the tracking process was fishy with limited scope of work. The questions on Dutch psychologists' involvement was "narrowly-defined as to ensure a negative answer", he said (*Haagse Post* 1979b:20).

University of Nijmegen was aware of Indonesia's research environment and the dual function of military and academia before signing the cooperation project with Indonesian universities (Nijmegen Bulletin 1978) but they act as if they did not know. The military regime of Indonesia heavily controlled research projects by narrowing it down only for projects that in line with national develop-

²² The relationship between army psychological service and Faculty of Psychology of Unpad are very close. As the army psychological service needed more personnel, they proposed to open faculty of psychology in Unpad which located in the same city as military headquarters in Bandung, West Java. Some high-rank officials of the psychological service gave lectures, and became the dean of the faculty (The Army Psychological service 2016).

ment goals. Foreign scientists must face a complex bureaucracy and gained limited access if they want to conduct research within the country. This situation also depicted during Mr. Jaspars' from University of Nijmegen visit in 1974. In a meeting with Dr. Kando, the assistant of Director General for Ministry of Higher Education, he stressed the importance of social psychology rather than clinical psychology as national priority and willing to provide funds for research in that particular field. Mr. Monks, the project manager of KUN-2, also told the press that he once received a proposal from Indonesian psychologist whose CV clearly mention her involvement in military, specifically prison project. She conducted Rorschach test to women prisoners that determined whether one could be released, needed further interrogation, or received indoctrination program in the detention camps (*Haagse Post* 1979a).

The description shows how the Dutch externalized the blame to Indonesia. They portrayed themselves as the innocent or even the victim of this cooperation project. They provide some evidence that they were powerless through how the research was controlled in Indonesia. The government as sponsor could specifically ask what research should or should not be done. This also indicates that research in Indonesia was not neutral. They have their political agenda and, in this context, related to the practice of government in guiding population conduct. They need the involvement of psychologists to justified their action. The request for social psychology research indicated government's emphasis on how the normalization process that prisoners underwent affected their view on communism. Moreover, it provided information on the psychology of society, whether they conformed to government's will or not.

6.2 Indonesian Psychologists

The heated debate in Netherlands did not generate the same response in Indonesian academic community. The reason might be because the controlled access of information that made only small groups of people knew what happened in international level. Moreover, Indonesia was buried with its domestic affairs such as student protest of 1974, rebellious regional acts, and unstable economic situation and made them prioritize those issue.

The issue arrived in Indonesia when NIP asked for clarification from the two Indonesian universities regarding KUN-2 project and Nijmegen psychologists' involvement in test construction. As a result, both issued official letter²³ which was addressed to NIP in Nijmegen. The content was they admitting the transfer knowledge between UI-Unpad and University of Nijmegen. The activities were staff exchange, regular lectures and post-graduate training courses. On test-construction, both universities declared their innocence even asked NIP to give them the questionnaire sample.

Nevertheless, on another occasion, the psychologists from UI admitted their visit to detention camps specifically Buru and Plantungan (Setiawan 2004; Lestarinigsih 2011). The international public reaction of political prisoners' issue pushed Kopkamtib to pay serious attention to them. Following the protest, the Commander of Kopkamtib visited Buru and Plantungan in 1975 with a group

²³ Official letter no. 806/DF/Psi-7, issued 23 November 1978 by Faculty of Psychology UI and Official letter no. 1074/A/Psi/78, issued 8 Nov 1978 by Unpad. The letters are part of Ton Regtien's collection.

of social scientists from UI and Gajah Mada University (UGM). Prof. Fuad Hassan was the team leader for Buru Island while Dr. Saparinah Sadli (UI) and Prof. Zakiah Drajad (UGM) led the team in Plantungan. Their primary task was observed prisoners' life and condition and reported important points to the authorities. Mrs. Sadli stated that the visit brought a slight change to them. Her team recommended the availability of stationary and painting tools as many of prisoners were intellectuals and artists (Setiawan 2004: XII) She also had chances to meet prisoners' wife while she was in Buru. She expressed her admiration of the wives as they must endure living in exile with limited options and facilities. She did not mention anything about psycho-tests or any related activities (*ibid.*: XV). During the visit she felt that everything was going well; the prisoners were hospitable, and the facilities were clean albeit she also realized the situation might be a set up as the authorities came to the camp. Throughout her stories, Mrs. Sadli did not mention any psycho-tests or related activities conducted for prisoners which are consistent with her answer in other interviews related psychologists and prisoners project²⁴. Similar response echoed by other psychologists, Prof. SWS and Dra. DK²⁵. They knew that group of psychologists went to Buru in 1970s, but none of them said any involvement in test construction for prisoners during that time.

A psychology study by Stanley Milgram on obedience (in Millburn and Conrad 1996:179) showed that when people are instructed to do something by higher authority, they obey the experimenter although it causes harm for others. The authoritarian instructor and setting that leave them with restricted option are the key to this experiment. I would say, in this context the psychologists were in the same shoes as the respondents in Milgram's case. The repressive regime did not give them much choices but followed the command, particularly for Indonesian psychologists. The research environment was also heavily controlled and only those projects that linked to government's objectives were allowed to proceed. Another reason was their direct link to the army that eased the cooperation between stakeholders. The compliance to the Commander's instruction was done without meticulously calculated the implications behind it. Their role was crucial to assure both Indonesian and international population that they were doing a just procedure behind the project, as well as, the release. All eyes were at the prisoners' case at that time, so they should mind every step they took. Deemed to their vital position, it was almost impossible for them to be innocent about the implications.

This chapter would like to see the denial from the psychologists in spite of the available data on their role. The test development process revealed the use of military psychology in Indonesia's military regime. It was only a tip of the iceberg of the work of army in an attempt to control Indonesia's population. The denial, however, shows us that they actually knew the ethical responsibility of their involvement but still did it anyway. It might be due to their close connection with the army and controlled research environment during the time. Meanwhile, the involvement of the Dutch brought additional legitimization of their work.

²⁴ interview with Hilmar Farid, 26 July 2016

²⁵ Interview with SWS and DK, July 2016

Chapter 7 Conclusion

In this study, I argue that the NOE government used the expertise of psychologists in their indirect practice of government to control the prisoners and the population to pursue its objective. I proposed three further questions in examining this claim; first, focus on the rationality behind the application of psychology as government's strategy; second, stress on how this practices created new subjectivities of the prisoners and also the population; and third, understanding the politics of denial in this contested narrative of their entanglement. I applied Foucault's concept of governmentality as the overarching approach in investigating the relationship between the state, the experts, and the population on this site.

As discussed in chapter four, the adoption of capitalism and anti-communism stance of Indonesia were the reason behind the separation of population based on their ideology and affiliation with the exceptional event on 30 September. This bio-political process resulted in the detention of the alleged communists. The detention was part of normalization process to alter prisoners' ideology, which then was examined by employing psycho-tests towards the end of prisoners' program. The architect behind the program, who are well versed in military psychology, designed the brainwash project and constructed psychometric tools to foresee prisoners' state of mind.

Chapter five concluded that the actual target of government was the population rather than solely on the prisoners. The devastated life of prisoners was portrayed as the example of misbehavior. Consequently, the society followed this unwritten rules by not criticizing nor against the government. Otherwise, they should be ready for punishment. The society maintained their social and political means and existence by willingly conformed to government's goals while the inmates who had been excluded living in a bare life. This practice created a new subjectivity as subjugated and docile bodies.

Chapter six described that neither of the psychologists, Dutch nor Indonesian, declared their entanglement in spite of numbers of evidence of their role in the prisoners' program. There is hidden meaning behind the denial; many psychologists possessed dual function, in academia and the army, which made them under difficult position for not obeying the authority's command. The sponsor for research, the government, also had interests on certain kind of knowledge which lead them to produce only particular knowledge. This information pinpointed that the experts, themselves, were not objective in conducting research.

Those rationalities of the practice of the government give insights on the involvement of psychologists and its impacts on Indonesian society. First, it was employed to shift the prisoners' ideology and foresee prisoners' state of mind before they were back to society. As Howell (2010) said, psychology enacted as the protector of the society by going inside the mind of the dangerous individuals then 'fix' them as expected by the society. In another way, it portrayed the inmates as model for ones' misconduct so the society would avoid such behavior. The government surveilled people's subjugation through screening tests; another tools to invade one's mind. This situation eased the government to control the population, which is the main purpose of governmentality.

Second, the government used them to give scientific legitimization for their action, both in the eyes of global community and Indonesian society. For the global community, the involvement of experts brought the impression of objective and fair process in solving the prisoners' problem. On the other hand, Indonesians were convinced that the ex-prisoners remained as dangerous based on scientific-based measurement. By using the same strategy, government could produce two discourses for two targets and both ran according to their plan; no more protests from the overseas while control within the country remained. Third, it indicated that the experts only produced particular knowledge, merely those that attracted the government's attention, which also means that the research was not objective. It was wrapped under the political interest and purpose of the government. The experts knew but remained silence and ignored their ethical responsibility as the holder of power/knowledge.

Interestingly, the recent practices demonstrate the same techniques in the proliferation of counter-narrative of the 1965 turmoil. After *Reformasi* Era, the advocacy on the ex-prisoners and other victim's rights grows stronger. Many people are involved, including activists, social scientists, and historians. Their role is crucial in collecting evidence and creating a solid analysis on what happen in NOE; depicts the ex-prisoners as the victims and the state as the perpetrator of crimes against humanity. This narrative of victim and perpetrator often used as 'commodity' to gain (international) support and sympathies on their movement, particularly within human rights discourse. This politicization of knowledge is exist and continue with or without we acknowledge it.

The strategy to use experts' justification in politics just applied in recent progress of this case. After years of denial, current government takes a further step to talk about the event by organizing a national symposium wherein many social scientists presented their opinion and recommendation to the government. This strategy seems as right and just in the modern and democratic society of Indonesia. The experts are regarded as people who have a comprehensive knowledge of the case and observe the conflict objectively.

This study shows that how the experts are used in development practices as legitimization for the government's action is not only occur in the past but continue until now. What is presented in this paper is only a single case of political violence in Indonesia while actually the involvement of experts in politics are happening everywhere. Their power as the knowledge producer who can guide the development discourse and shape people's perception and subjectivities often taken for granted. The government, then, employs their power to impose development practices that is much influenced from The West. This reminds us as scientists that we hold a tremendous power that can be politicized or even bring harm to others. Knowing the political dynamic, being critical, and ethical is one step to prevent the abuse of science that could deprive ones' lives.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ton Regtien's Collection from IISG

Type of Data	Date of Publication	Details
Special report	1973	vol. II no.3 year 1973. Title: information on Indonesia quarterly, issued by the Indonesia committees of Britain and The Netherlands
Personal note	21 April 1974.	On KUN-2 Project and actors behind the projects.
Official letter	January 1977	Title: <i>Indonesie projecten KU Nijmegen</i> (Indonesia Projects University of Nijmegen). On the description about Indonesia cooperation project with University of Nijmegen, signed by Anton van Daalen,
Copy of Newspaper	12 April 1978	The New York Times. Title: Jakarta says most political prisoners will be free in 79
Copy of University Newspaper	20 April 1978	UK Groningen on. title: <i>Een bericht uit de Gordel van Smaragd: de merkwaardige kontakten tussen Nederlandse psychologen en Indonesische veiligheidsdienst</i> (A message from the Emerald Belt: the remarkable contacts between Dutch and Indonesian psychologists' security)
Special report	20 April 1978	USN bulletin special. Published on. Title: <i>Nijmeegse Universiteit Bakermat van Vragenlijst Subarto-regiem</i> . (USN is student union in University of Nijmegen)
Open letter	23 April 1978	Title: <i>Open brief van het bestuur van de Psychologenbond en van de USN</i> (Open letter from the board of the Psychologists Association and the USN); followed with Prof. Jaspars's field note while visit both universities (UI and Unpad) in January 1974.
Letter of clarification	25 April 1978	For not being involved in the test-construction process for the political prisoners in Indonesia. Dr. A.H.

		Boon van Oostade; Drs. P.G. Heymans; Dr. G.A.M. Kempen; Prof. Dr. W.J.M. Levelt; and Prof Dr. F.J. Monks
Copy of University Newspaper	27 April 1978	UK Groningen. Title: <i>Hoe het verder ging in de Gordel van Smaragd: Indonesische psychologen spoorden "communisten" op middels de inktvlek-test</i> (How it went in the Emerald Belt: urged Indonesian psychologists "communists" by means of the ink blot test)
Copy of Newspaper	28 April 1978	The New York Times. Title: To determine communist inclination: Indonesia 'tested' political prisoners
Copy of Newspaper	28 April 1978	De Volkskrant. Title: <i>"Hulp" Nijmegen bij de vragenlijst in Indonesië.</i> ("Help" at the Nijmegen questionnaire in Indonesia.)
Copy of University Newspaper	11 May 1978	UK Groningen. Subsection: <i>de onthullingen; transmigratie</i> (disclosures; transmigration); Bandung; EPPS; <i>Kommissie van Onderzoek</i> (Commission of Inquiry)
Copy of University Newspaper	12 May 1978	Mare van de Leidse Universiteit. Title: Psychologen selecteren politieke gevangenen.
Copy of University newspaper		UniversiteitKrant (UK) Groningen; Title: Niet aan de hand
Official letter	26 May 1978	From <i>Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken</i> (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) to University of Nijmegen regarding the publication in New York Times on Dutch psychologists' involvement. No. DOA/IN-141693
Official letter	27 October 1978	From University of Nijmegen to UI and Unpad on the test construction project. no. 303.996.
Official letter	23 November 1978	Faculty of Psychology UI's reply of University of Nijmegen's letter. no. 806/DF/Psi-78
Official Letter	8 November 1978	Faculty of Psychology Unpad's reply of University of Nijmegen's letter. no. 1074/A/Psi/78
Copy of report	20 January 1979	Title: To be there, or not to be there, that is the question! <i>antekening</i>

		<i>bij de Indonesie-affaire</i> (To be there, or not to be there, that is the question! Note to the Indonesia affair), by Theo Meijman,
Copy of University Newspaper	28 Februari 1979	UK Groningen on. Title: <i>Nijmeegse onderzoekcommissie in vertrouwelijk rapport aan College van Bestuur: KU-psychologen niet betrokken bij 'screening' politieke gevangenen in Indonesië.</i> (Nijmegen inquiry into confidential report to the Executive Board: KU psychologists not involved by "screening" prisoners of conscience in Indonesia.)
Copy of Newspaper	3 March 1979	Haagse Post.
Copy of Newspaper	16 March 1979	De Volkskrant. Title: <i>Psychologen in Indonesië; Hulp bij ondervragen gevangenen onbewezen.</i> (Psychologists in Indonesia; to interrogate prisoners help unproven)
Official letter	18 March 1979	From the psychology students in the NL to push further investigation on the accused party and to prevent abuse of science in the future, signed by Henk van Veenhoven
Copy of Newspaper	22 March 1979	De Volkskrant. Title: <i>Hulp psychologen Indonesië; 'Misbruik kennis aanenmelijk'</i> (Help psychologists Indonesia; "Abuse knowledge plausible")
Invitation of a discussion	No date	The discussion on the possibility of the abuse of science in the joint project. Regtien was one of the facilitator in this discussion.
Article/flyer of campaign	No date	Title: <i>Geen Vuile Handen</i> (No Dirty Hands); a brief summary on the debate of Dutch psychologists' involvement
Press release by Temagroep Noord Nederland	No date	Title: <i>Psychologie in opspraak</i> (Psychology into disrepute). Pushed the authorities to investigate the Dutch psychologists' involvement and to stop the foreign aids to Indonesia government

Copy of University Newspaper	No date	UK Groningen. Title: <i>Huidige Indonesische ambassadeur in Nederland betrok psychologen bij behandeling van politieke gevangenen: NIP onderzoekt betrokkenheid Nijmeegse psychologen bij werk Indonesische Veiligheidsdienst</i> (Current Indonesian ambassador psychologists involved in the treatment of political prisoners in the Netherlands: NIP examines Nijmegen psychologists' involvement in work Indonesian Security)
Copy of University Newspaper	No date	UK Groningen. Title: <i>groningse psychologen vragen onderzoek door NIP: Nederlandse psychologen adviseurs Indonesische veiligheidsdienst?</i> (groningse psychologists research questions by NIP: Dutch psychologists, counselors Indonesian security?)
Copy of University Newspaper	No date	UK Groningen. Title: <i>Dr. Jaspars kritiseert onderzoek naar Nijmeegse contacten met Indonesische Veiligheidsdienst: "Misbruik universitaire samenwerking met Indonesië zeker niet uitgesloten"</i> (Dr. Jaspars criticizes investigation Nijmegen contacts with Indonesian Security: "Abuse university cooperation with Indonesia certainly not impossible")
Report	No date	The result of NIP investigation team on Nijmegen Psychologists' involvement in test-construction process. Title: <i>Rapport van de commissie van onderzoek betreffende het KUN/2-project Indonesie</i> (Report of the Commission of Inquiry on the KUN/2 project Indonesia)
Summary of dissertation	No date	Of Mrs. Saparinah Sadli and Mr. Sarlito Sarwono as two lecturers who assisted by Nijmegen University in 1974 and 1978

Appendix 2: Laws and Guidelines of Kopkamtib

Type of data	Date of Publication	Details
Compilation of laws and decree of Kopkamtib	1972	Title: Himpunan Undang-Undang, Surat Keputusan/Perintah, instruksi-instruksi, dan ketentuan-ketentuan lain yang berhubungan dengan Kopkamtib (Oktober 1965 s/d Agustus 1972) [Association Act, Decree / commands, instructions, and other provisions which relate to Kopkamtib (October 1965 s / d in August 1972)]. Publisher: Secretariat of Kopkamtib
Kopkamtib decree	1975	on screening process and team. Title: Satuan Tugas Screening (Surat Keputusan Pangkopkamtib no. 07/Kopkam/XII 1975) [Screening Task Force (Commander of Kopkamtib Decree no. 07 / Kopkam / VII 1975]. Publisher: Department of Communication Republic of Indonesia
Guidelines	1975	on the distribution of letter of clarification 'not involved in 30 september movement' and about the release of B-prisoner. Title: <i>Tatacara pemberian 'surat keterangan tidak terlibat G30S/PKI dan penjelasan Kopkamtib tentang pengembalian sebagian dari tahanan G30S/PKI golongan B ke masyarakat</i> [Procedure for Award 'certificate was not involved G30S / PKI and Kopkamtib explanation about the return of some of the detainees G30S / PKI group B to the community]. Publisher: Department of Communication Republic of Indonesia
Press release	1982	From the commander of Kopkamtib on how to overcome the leftish ideology. Title: <i>Kebijaksanaan Kopkamtib dalam penanggulangan ekstremitas kiri</i> [Kopkamtib wisdom in tackling the left limb]. Publisher: Secretariat of Kopkamtib, Jakarta

Appendix 3: Documents and Articles from Saskia Wieringa

Type of Data	Date of Publication	Details
Personal email	28 Sept 2015	with Frans disse about the correspondence on the involvement of psychologists in the 1970s. Frans Disse was one of the investigator of the case.
Copy of University Newspaper	6 May 1978	of Nijmegen Bulletin (university newspaper) No. 15, p.1-2. Title: <i>KU verbreekt alle kontakten Indonesie</i> (KU breaks all contacts Indonesia)
Report	28 Oct 2015	on a discussion in IISG: "1965: the forgotten Holocaust of Indonesia. Subsection: "Dan Fuad Hassan Pun Terlibat" (and Fuad Hasan also involved)
Personal email	3 July 2015	with EP4. About: Information on the activities of psychologists in Buru Island
A preliminary study	28 October 2015	by S. Margana, in accordance to the discussion in IISG: "1965: the forgotten Holocaust of Indonesia". Title: Dutch Psychologists and Suharto Military Regime: Some facts from Regtien's Papers
Copy of Tapol Bulletin	August 1977	Title: Psycho-tests for Category B tapols no. 23, p.2
Copy of Tapol Bulletin	April 1979	Extract of Haagse Post, 10 February 1979. Subsection psychology tests no. 33, p. 6-7
Copy of Tapol Bulletin	October 1974	Subsection: 'laboratorium' for tapols in west kalimantan no. 7, p.5
Personal email	7-8 September 2014	with Saparinah Sadli (SS) on the arrangement of meeting with other psychologists. SS 'surprised with the content of articles of psychologists' involvement that was sent to her'

Article of Haagse Post	14 April 1979	Title: <i>De Nijmeegse doofpotcommissie: Monks zat te liegen en wij wisten dat'</i> (The Nijmegen cover-up committee, "Monks was lying and we knew that'), p.18-20
Article of Haagse Post	3 March 1979	Title: Nederlandse psychologen en de KOPKAMTIB-test: De Nijmeegse Doofpot (Dutch psychologists and KOPKAMTIB test: The Nijmegen Cover-up)
Personal email	25 March 2014	with Joop Van Wijk about a correspondence on information about University of Indonesia and University of Nijmegen
Copy of ICTJ report, translated by Kontras	2008	On classification of prisoners. Sub-section: <i>Klasifikasi narapidana Politik, Para Tahanan, dan Tersangka</i> , p.13 (Political prisoner classification, Detainees and Suspects)