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Problems of Activating the Indonesian Left Archives in the Netherlands

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THE INDONESIAN LEFT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Beyond the Rise and Fall of a Party

Edited by

Lin Hongxuan, Klaas Stutje, and Rianne Subijanto

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CHAPTER 10

Archival Custody and Hidden Narratives: Problems of Activating the Indonesian Left Archives in the Netherlands

Rika Theo

Abstract

Archival documents of the Indonesian Left have been long silenced. While many archives have been destroyed, abandoned, and kept under the secrecy and control of state institutions in Indonesia, those held by Dutch archival institutions can be publicly accessed for free. Yet, they are not that "accessible" for the source community, to whom these archives most matter. One reason is that they have been "shuffled" within the traditional boundaries of archival infrastructure. This chapter analyzes the power of custody in structuring the archives, through arrangement and description, impacting contexts and narratives. It maps and examines the archives of the Indonesian Left housed in the National Archives of the Netherlands and the International Institute of Social History (IISH), their trajectory towards coming to be in custody, and how they are represented to users.

Keywords: archives, records, Indonesian Left, PKI, archival custody, archival description, accessibility, narratives

Now, I want to write the history of Indonesian workers, since the days of Surasto, Suharjo, and their friends, starting at Gang Tengah 29, etc., at Kramat V No. 14, etc. Of course, they would be endless if we talked about these stories. Ibu, you might think there are many materials in the Netherlands. There are none, Ibu. I visited every museum, but there was none. You certainly know Buruh magazine Ibu, but of course, there are none here. Bendera magazine, no one has it. Photos on May 1 in the first years after the proclamation, there were none, whereas it would be more accurate if there were photographs to decorate it. Apart from the photos, of course, the story itself, how in the past it was so easy to form Labour Unions, to carry out actions, how women demonstrated demanding the distribution of rice, etc… All that is history and cannot be erased, whether you like it or not.
(*Suparna Sastra Diredja's letter to Sri Ambar, 29 February 1984)*[1]

[1] ARCH00565 Suparna Sastra Diredja Papers, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam

Introduction

Like history and memory, archives are never finished. Archives have the regenerative capacity to be "activated again and again by different societal powers, for different purposes, and for different audiences".[2] However, in the case of the archives of the Indonesian Left, archival activation has been difficult until today. How can we activate archives that are not only politically contested and buried in secrecy but also so dispersed and disordered in the former colonizers' institutions and mostly out of reach for the people to whom the archives matter, as in the archives of the Indonesian Left kept in the Netherlands?

The letter quoted above indicates the problem. Suparna Sastra Diredja is one of the 1965 political exiles stranded abroad and finally had to settle down in the Netherlands after the anti-communist extermination wound down in Indonesia. In the letter sent to his fellow labour activist in Indonesia, he lamented that he could not find documents on Indonesian labour movements during the Indonesian war of independence against the Netherlands, despite the common belief that many archives of Indonesian origin are kept in the Netherlands. This common belief exists until today, despite not many Indonesians knowing the details of their whereabouts. Very likely, Suparna also did not realize that a decade before his letter, in 1973, former Indonesian Vice President Mohammad Hatta demanded copies of the archives from the 1945–1950 period that were brought to the Netherlands, stating that "The Netherlands is the only country that has full documentation of the struggle that led to Indonesia's independence".[3] The documentation mentioned here was the records collected by the Dutch colonial government through the close surveillance and intelligence operation by the Dutch intelligence agency, NEFIS (the Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service) from 1945 to 1949. To support the re-colonization of the former Netherlands East Indies, known in the Netherlands as *politioneele acties*, the NEFIS gathered and seized the records of Indonesian political movements, personal archives of Indonesian officials, freedom fighters, and journalists, and the archives of government institutions. Only a tiny fragment of these archives was finally returned to the National Archives of Indonesia (*Arsip Nasional Indonesia* [ANRI]) in 1976 and 1978, that is, the so-called *Djogdja Documenten*, named after the city of Yogyakarta which the Dutch attacked and occupied in 1948.[4] The

[2] Eric Ketelaar, "Writing on Archiving Machines," in *Sign Here!*, ed. Eric Ketelaar, Sonja Neef, and José van Dijck, Handwriting in the Age of New Media (Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 187.

[3] "Indonesië Vraagt Om Nederlandse Documenten," *NRC Handelsblad*, 19 April 1973, Dag edition.

[4] Michael Karabinos, "The Djogdja Documenten: The Dutch-Indonesian Relationship Following Independence through an Archival Lens," *Information & Culture* 50, no. 3 (2015): 372–91; Michael Karabinos, "Indonesian National Revolution Records in the National Archives of the Netherlands," in *Displaced Archives* (Routledge, 2017), 60–73; Rika Theo, "The Djogdja Documenten Revisited:

archives that were returned, therefore, were only a selection of the archives looted by the Dutch military during the aggression. The remaining archives obtained by the NEFIS are in the National Archives of the Netherlands (NAN), in which one can find records of the Indonesian Left, including what Suparna was looking for.

As the co-founder of Sarekat Buruh Perkebunan (Sarbupri, Union of Plantation Workers), Suparna is the actor and eyewitness of this particular history that cannot be erased for him. His attempt to complete his recollections with evidentiary documents that support his memories of the past failed, as he could not find the archives in the Netherlands. Searching for remaining documents in Indonesia was utterly impossible, simply because of the outright anti-communist repression that has bred mass murders, mass imprisonment, the perpetration of sexual abuse, persistent discrimination of detainees and their families, and the ban on Marxist ideology in Indonesia.[5] Suparna could not return home as the Indonesian embassy had revoked his passport, and even if he could, many archives of the Left were either destroyed or closed by the New Order authoritarian government. His determination to write a book that will tell the history of the Indonesian labour movement has been hampered by the inaccessibility of sources.

In the Netherlands at that time, in the early 1980s, access to archives originating from Indonesia was still limited. The NEFIS archives were entirely opened to the public only in 1990.[6] However, a Dutch researcher, Rudi Kreutzer, cited the NEFIS archives for his thesis published in 1980, titled "The Madiun Affair: Hatta's Betrayal of Indonesia's First Social Revolution". Kreutzer mentioned several NEFIS archives as his source and interviewed people who experienced the event, including Suparna.[7] Kreutzer's access to the NEFIS archives, in contrast to Suparna, shows an example of unequal access to archives of the former colony, to its memory traces, and historical evidence, as they are kept in the former colonizer's archival institution.

Let us fast forward to 2023, more than three decades after Suparna's letter and the opening of the NEFIS archives, and two decades after the fall of Suharto's New Order government, when the problem persisted. Archives of and about the Indonesian Left are scarce and scattered, as a result of decades of control of,

Repatriation, Silence, and the Seized Archives of the Decolonization War" (PhD Thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2021).

[5] Aboeprijadi Santoso and Gerry Van Klinken, "Genocide Finally Enters Public Discourse: The International People's Tribunal 1965," *Journal of Genocide Research* 19, no. 4 (2 October 2017): 594–608.

[6] Leon Vankan, "Geheime Archieven Nederlands Indië Open," *Algemeen Dagblad*, 1 August 1990, Dag edition.

[7] R. (Rudi) Kreutzer, *The Madiun Affair: Hatta's Betrayal of Indonesia's First Social Revolution*, ed. B. B. Hering, English version, Occasional Paper South East Asian Studies Committee, James Cook University, no. 10 (Townsville, Qld.: James Cook University of North Queensland, 1981).

censorship of, and secrecy about any materials about the Indonesian Left. Even when the archives are said to be available, access to them greatly depends on how the archival institutions provide finding aid, how these archives are described and organized, so that they can be discovered and consulted. In Indonesia, researchers have noted the inaccessibility of documentary evidence as one of the difficulties in researching the Indonesian Left. In their biographical research on Umi Sardjono, a communist activist from the left-wing women's organization, Gerwani, Katherine McGregor, and Ruth Rahayu identified the availability of archives as one of the obstacles to writing about Gerwani. "ANRI includes almost no catalogue entries on Gerwani."[8] And in the cases of colonial archives, even though the archives can be found, colonial bias marginalizes certain groups and renders them invisible, such as the lack of a comprehensive account of women's involvement in the communist movement in the official Dutch colonial reports, as Rianne Subijanto explained in Chapter 3 of this book.

The inaccessibility and invisibility of the archives hampers the writing on the historical narratives of the Indonesian Left. Not only that, it becomes an obstruction to the continuing research and truth finding about the 1965–1966 anti-communist mass killing. Jess Melvin's research on the mass killings in Aceh underlined that the severe shortage of documentary evidence, especially the absence of government and military records, hampered the research on the involvement of military command in the killings.[9] "For almost fifty years, it was believed that so little documentary evidence existed from the time of the killings because no such records had ever been created. Since at least the 1970s, it has been argued that no written orders were issued by the military leadership to coordinate the killings."[10]

In 1965, the seemingly mundane records served as an instrument of oppression. The rampant violence in 1965–1966 involved the use of archives in persecuting 'the communists'. Personal documents of left-wing organizations have been seized and used to aid in tracing and arresting suspected communists. A number of documents of these organizations can be found at ANRI, but the New Order government has largely prohibited access to them (to be discussed later in this article). The closure lasted even years after the fall of this authoritarian regime, supported by the official state ban on the circulation and use of Marxist-related materials, as regulated in the parliamentary resolution TAP MPRS no. XXV/MPRS/1966, which is

[8] K. McGregor and R.I. Rahayu, "Umi Sardjono (1923–2011) and the Quest to Build a New Society for Indonesian Women," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Communist Women Activists around the World*, 2023, 378.

[9] Jess Melvin, "Mechanics of Mass Murder: A Case for Understanding the Indonesian Killings as Genocide," *Journal of Genocide Research* 19, no. 4 (2 October 2017): 487–511.

[10] *Ibid.*, 488–489.

still in place today. With the closure and inaccessibility of archives, the history of the Indonesian Left seems to be a history without archival evidence and memories, in which, borrowing Achille Mbembe's words, the past has been anaesthetized and buried so as not to stir up disorder in the present.[11]

Suppressing the archives in the New Order regime worked in tandem with systematically creating historical canon—monuments, official historiography, curriculum, and cultural products like museum exhibitions and films. Altogether, they have embedded the one-sided state narrative of the Indonesian Left pervasively in Indonesian society, namely the Indonesian Left equated with the treasonous, communist, and atheist PKI. The persistent official narrative has erased, marginalized, and hidden in many parts the stories of the leftist movement in the nation's collective memory and history. "Deleted from Indonesia's national history textbooks was the role played by Indonesia's Left, including the PKI, in the nationalist, anti-colonial struggle."[12] The real-life annihilation continued with, borrowing the term by Caswell,[13] the symbolic annihilation in the archives, and subsequently in the canon, further justifying and extending the exclusion. The survivors and members of the Indonesian Left have been alienated from their past, have received skewed representations of themselves, and undergone historical injustice while their stories have been hidden, sidelined, and raided.

In this light, scrutinizing the absence and unattainability of archives should be performed further by investigating existing archives. While archives of the Indonesian Left seem scarce and difficult to find, there are still other archives outside Indonesia bearing witness to the stories of the Indonesian Left, such as the ones kept in the Netherlands. It is only that, like Suparna, many believe in their existence but cannot find them. One of the reasons that archives are hard to find is that they have been "shuffled"—processed and controlled, silenced, and forgotten both actively and passively—within the traditional boundaries of archival infrastructure. The structuring of the archives, or "paper shuffling" as called by Bruno Latour,[14] precedes how archives are looked at and is an essential source of power:

> Power flows from merely 'looking at files' precisely because looking is preceded by a whole range of interventions – from the structuring of information in documents to the gathering

[11] Achille Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and Its Limits," in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton et al. (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2002), 19–27.

[12] Vedi R. Hadiz, "The Left and Indonesia's 1960s: The Politics of Remembering and Forgetting," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 7, no. 4 (2006): 556.

[13] Michelle Caswell, *Urgent Archives: Enacting Liberatory Memory Work* (London: Routledge, 2021).

[14] As quoted and elaborated on by Verne Harris, "Archons, Aliens and Angels: Power and Politics in the Archive," in *The Future of Archives and Recordkeeping*, ed. Jennie Hill, 1st ed. (Facet, 2010), 106.

> of documents into files, from the classification of files in terms of a system to the preparation of finding aids – and because every act of looking becomes an intervention more or less structurally determined but at the same time carrying restructuring potential.[15]

The silencing of archives through their description and arrangement has been much discussed in archival studies, especially on colonial archives and recently on displaced or migrated archives. However, in the case of the Indonesian Left archives, the absence of sources has been reiterated by historians, but it has never been extensively studied, especially from the archival perspective. Much scholarly literature on archives about Indonesia and the Netherlands focuses instead on the "shared" colonial archives. The other entanglement in the archival realm, the archives of Indonesian origin seized and brought to the Netherlands, recently gained public attention only after being displayed in the *Revolusi* Exhibition in 2021 at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. It led to a debate about archival repatriation in the Dutch media and broader debates about decolonization in the country. However, one aspect of this debate's relevance to Indonesia is barely mentioned: the seized records contain documentary evidence of the Indonesian leftist movement during the struggle for independence. These rich sources of the Indonesian Left are open to public view, in contrast to the limited access to related archives in Indonesia.

This chapter thus calls attention to the plethora of archival documents of and about the Indonesian Left, which are dispersed, displaced, and fragmented but interconnected in Dutch archival institutions. They are referred to here as the Indonesian Left archives in the Netherlands, which means not only left-wing personal and party records but, more broadly, archives whose creation and collection were influenced by the interpolation of leftist ideology with Indonesian politics. They are memory traces and evidence of the Indonesian Left movements, as well as records of past injustices, taking various forms as textual documents, visual images, objects, and oral history. Inside the Indonesian Left archives are materials that witness human rights violations against leftists, including personal stories of survivors of G30S, documentation of activists, and the work of community researchers who chronicle abuses.

Taking an archival perspective, which has rarely been applied in discussing the memory and history of the Indonesian Left, this chapter analyzes these archives as sites of knowledge production, where archivist and archival custody play a significant role in shaping them until users look at and interpret them. The object of the study is the archives, focusing on the seized archives that are now housed in the NAN and the archives held by the International Institute of Social History (IISH), Amsterdam, to provide a contrasting example of archival management.

[15] Harris, "Archons, Aliens and Angels: Power and Politics in the Archives," 107.

This chapter first examines the archives' role and absence in growing Indonesian initiatives of curating, collecting, and storytelling of "left histories". Having established this context, it maps the archives in each Dutch archival institution, examining the trajectory of the records until they came to be in the custody of these institutions as well as how they are represented and narrated after their arrival. This analysis helps us understand how the (in)accessibility of the archives to the users for whom they matter the most has a silencing effect, hindering the attempts to resurrect collective memories and seek justice.

Archival absence, invisibility, and openings

Throughout history, political upheavals such as revolutions, civil wars, regime changes, and foreign occupation have often resulted in the disruption, displacement, and loss of archives.[16] The Indonesian Left archives, dating back to the early twentieth century, have faced a similar fate, suffering destruction, silencing, and displacement during the Indonesian War of Independence against the Netherlands to the 1965–1966 anti-communist extermination. Consequently, many of these valuable records have become inaccessible or entirely invisible.

The inaccessibility of the Indonesian Left archives persisted even after the New Order authoritarian regime fell from power. The turn from repressive governments to democratic governments theoretically can generate the so-called boomerang effect, meaning that records created or information collected to facilitate surveillance, control, and oppression can later be transformed into legal evidence to investigate past injustices and justify compensation for victims of state violence.[17] Records that wield repressive power can be used for reclaiming human rights.[18] However, this power reversal does not always occur, and oppressive policies may persist. In Indonesia, the archives' secrecy endures due to their perceived threat to national unity, anchored to the continued legality of TAP MPRS no. 25/1966, which preserves the official narrative of a traitorous and atheist PKI.

As of 2024, there has not yet been any significant and sustained initiative to recover and make accessible the evidential records related to the Left held by the

[16] Stefan Berger, "The Role of National Archives in Constructing National Master Narratives in Europe," *Archival Science* 13, no. 1 (March 2013): 1–22.

[17] Gabriela Andaur Gómez, "Finding Facts and Constructing Memory: The Creation and Custody of Human Rights Records in South America," *Archives and Manuscripts* 40, no. 3 (November 2012): 159.

[18] Eric Ketelaar, "Archival Temples, Archival Prisons: Modes of Power and Protection," *Archival Science* 2, no. 3–4 (September 2002): 231.

Indonesian government institutions,[19] to give them meaningful access. However, in the post-Suharto era, scholarly studies, mainstream media, personal testimonies, art, film, and fiction have contributed to demystifying the New Order narrative and retelling histories of the Left. The activism related to 1965 flourished, including individual and community efforts for memory work. Counter-narratives in digital media and the performing arts have been produced as initiatives "against forgetting". For instance, *Ingat65*[20] is a youth digital storytelling platform on Medium; the *1965setiaphari* podcast[21]; Warisan Ingatan, webinar series to recollect and discuss the memories of 1965; Perpustakaan Online Genosida 1965-1966, an online library providing links to publications related to 1965; Gerak Ingatan, an archival website that narrates the archives of the Indonesian Left movement; and a choir, Dialita, that transposes the collective memories of female political prisoners into songs.

Among the most notable efforts is the film, "The Act of Killing" (2012). It brought international attention to the 1965–1966 massacres and catalyzed further initiatives for justice. Following the film's release, Indonesian human rights activists and 1965 survivors organized the International People's Tribunal in The Hague in 2015. The tribunal concluded that the Indonesian state was responsible for crimes against humanity, and foreign governments were complicit in the violence. Even though the IPT served more as a historic moral intervention, the genocide and the existence of mass graves entered public discourse and created political momentum.[22]

Scholarly research also played a crucial role in expanding knowledge about the Indonesian Left. Researchers delved into various topics, from detailed studies of the

[19] In January 2025, ANRI released a physical catalogue titled, "Sumber-sumber Arsip Partai Komunis Indonesia 1923-1985" containing a list of archival documents in ANRI, the United States' National Archive and Record Administration (NARA), and personal collection of Ratna Sari Dewi in Japan. ANRI categorized its holding of PKI archives in three periods: 1. colonial (1923–1937) from Algemene Secretarie archives, 2. War of independence period (1948) containing documents from Indonesian Press Photo Services (IPPHOS) and Indonesian State Secretary archives, and 3. 1952-1985 period from the KOTI archives. Meanwhile, NARA provides a list of intelligence documents and analysis of the PKI and the network of international communists. From the Ratna Sarid Dewi collection, there are nine letters from Sukarno in 1965. However the catalogue still has limited scope, with a deep focus in Gerakan 30 September and the absences in certain periods, for instance, between 1937–1948 and 1949–1951. Historian, Asvi Warman Adam questioned the missing archives from 1951, during which the communist raid under the Sukiman cabinet took place, from 1955 when the PKI gained large votes, and from 1957 when there was a constituent assembly debate by the PKI (see the webinar "Ekspose Penerbitan – Sumber Arsip PKI dari Tiga Negara" by ANRI, YouTube, 1:41:57, https://www.youtube.com/live/gDGMzFz8R7g).

[20] The initiative started in 2015 and was inactive in 2019.

[21] The podcast aims to share personal stories about 1965 so that they can remain alive and listened to every day. It tells, for example, the story of progressive women activists and survivors of 1965, and stories about Serikat Buruh Kereta Api (SBKA, Railway Workers Union).

[22] Santoso and Van Klinken, "Genocide Finally Enters Public Discourse," 604.

systematic massacre (for recent breakthrough studies on 1965 massacres[23] on leftist organizations such as trade unions,[24] peasants,[25] and women's movements,[26] and on history writing and memory politics[27]) to studies on exiles and political prisoners.[28]

For traditional archival sources like government statistics, it is only in recent years that there have been some unprecedented openings both in Indonesia and abroad. Classified diplomatic cables and foreign government and party records,

[23] See, for instance, Vanessa Hearman, *Unmarked Graves: Death and Survival in the Anti-Communist Violence in East Java, Indonesia* (NUS Press, 2018); John Roosa, *Buried Histories : The Anticommunist Massacres of 1965–1966 in Indonesia*, Critical Human Rights (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2020); K. McGregor, J. Melvin, and A. Pohlman, "New Interpretations of the Causes, Dynamics and Legacies of the Indonesian Genocide," in *Palgrave Studies in the History of Genocide*, 2018, 1–26,; Melvin, "Mechanics of Mass Murder"; Geoffrey B. Robinson, *The Killing Season: A History of the Indonesian Massacres, 1965-66* (Princeton University Press, 2018).

[24] John Ingleson, "The Legacy of Colonial Labour Unions in Indonesia," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 47, no. 1 (2001): 85–100; John Ingleson, "Sutomo, the Indonesian Study Club and Organised Labour in Late Colonial Surabaya," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 39, no. 1 (February 2008): 31–57; Jafar Suryomenggolo, "Workers and Democracy: The Indonesian Labour Movement, 1949-1957," *Labour History*, no. 124 (May 2023); J. Suryomenggolo, *Organising under the Revolution: Unions and the State in Java, 1945–48*, Organising Under the Revolution: Unions and the State in Java, 1945-48, 2013.

[25] Ben White, "Remembering the Indonesian Peasants' Front and Plantation Workers' Union (1945–1966)," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 43, no. 1 (2016): 1–16.

[26] K. McGregor, "Indonesian Women, the Women's International Democratic Federation and the Struggle for 'Women's Rights', 1946-1965," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 40, no. 117 (2012): 193–208; S.E. Wieringa, "Two Indonesian Women's Organizations: Gerwani and the PKK," *Critical Asian Studies* 25, no. 2 (1993): 17–30; McGregor and Rahayu, "Umi Sardjono (1923–2011) and the Quest to Build a New Society for Indonesian Women"; Annie Pohlman, "The Spectre of Communist Women, Sexual Violence and Citizenship in Indonesia," *Sexualities* 20, no. 1/2 (February 2017): 196–211.

[27] Ann Laura Stoler, "On the Uses and Abuses of the Past in Indonesia: Beyond the Mass Killings of 1965," *Asian Survey* 42, no. 4 (1 August 2002): 642–50; Grace Leksana and Arif Subekti, "Remembering through Fragmented Narratives: Third Generations and the Intergenerational Memory of the 1965 Anti-Leftist Violence in Indonesia," *Memory Studies*, 2022; Mary S. Zurbuchen, "History, Memory, and the '1965 Incident' in Indonesia," *Asian Survey* 42, no. 4 (1 August 2002): 564–81; K.-Y. Leong, "Keepers of the Grave: Ritual Guides, Ghosts, and Hidden Narratives in Indonesian History," *Space and Culture* 25, no. 2 (2022): 295–308; A.D. Lestariningsih and L. Sunarti, "Dialita: Collective Memories of Former Women Political Prisoners during the New Order Era in Java, 2000–2011," *Memory Studies* 16, no. 5 (2023): 1189–207.

[28] H. Chambert-Loir, "Locked out: Literature of the Indonesian Exiles Post-1965," *Archipel* 91 (2016): 119–45; A. Dragojlovic, "Materiality, Loss and Redemptive Hope in the Indonesian Leftist Diaspora," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 40, no. 117 (2012): 160–74; David T. Hill, "Cold War Polarization, Delegated Party Authority, and Diminishing Exilic Options: The Dilemma of Indonesian Political Exiles in China after 1965," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 176, no. 2–3 (11 June 2020): 338–72; Rika Theo and Maggi WH Leung, "Redefining Precarity through Knowledge Production," *The Academy in Exile Book Series | Volume 2*, 2022, 59.

including those from the U.S., U.K., Russia, Germany, and China, have been made accessible to researchers and provided valuable sources for understanding the Indonesian Left and international involvement in the rise, fall, and extermination of communism in Indonesia. For example, Taomo Zhou[29] researched the Chinese ambivalence policy towards Indonesia in the 1960s through Chinese state archives, which were then opened briefly before being closed again.

In Indonesia, although still limited, access to the Supreme Strategic Military Command (KOTI) archives has been opened. In 2014, ANRI processed these archives, which were previously classified as closed since their transfer from the Hague to Jakarta in 1980. KOTI, responsible for the 1965–1967 anti-communist operation, seized records of the PKI and its affiliates. Among the 57 boxes in the KOTI archives, 55 contain the confiscated documents. After a year of processing, the archives with an inventory list were made accessible to the public. However, the KOTI archives have two key limitations. Firstly, some sections related to military operations are still held in the military archives (Pusat Sejarah TNI/History Centre of the Indonesian National Army), which are still publicly inaccessible. Secondly, the archival description presents a singular narrative sourced solely from the Pusat Sejarah TNI.[30]

While archives kept by the Indonesian military remain tricky to access, researchers have made headway, consulting archives in Aceh, Banyuwangi, and Malang.[31] Indonesian researcher, Grace Leksana, was able to access the archive of East Java's regional military command, Kodam V Brawijaya, in Malang, with a permission letter from the Bintaldam (*Bina Mental Kodam* or Military Command's Mental Guidance Office) in Malang.[32] Australian researcher, Jess Melvin's access to the former Indonesian Intelligence Agency archives in Banda Aceh is another compelling example. Initially denied access, she requested the catalogue, but then discovered a box containing 3,000 pages of classified documents by chance.[33] These documents served as the primary source material for her groundbreaking work on the army's involvement in the 1965 Aceh massacre.

Despite these developments in archival access, memory work, activism, and scholarly endeavours, Indonesia's transitional justice measures have been slow moving or stagnant (McGregor and Setiawan 2019). At the state level, judicial

[29] Taomo Zhou, "Ambivalent Alliance: Chinese Policy towards Indonesia, 1960–1965," *The China Quarterly* 221 (March 2015): 208–28.

[30] Rio Apinino, "Pengolahan Arsip Komando Operasi Tertinggi Pada Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia" (Depok, University of Indonesia, 2014).

[31] Grace Leksana, "Collaboration in Mass Violence: The Case of the Indonesian Anti-Leftist Mass Killings in 1965–66 in East Java," *Journal of Genocide Research* 23, no. 1 (2021): 58–80.

[32] Leksana.

[33] Melvin, 'Mechanics of Mass Murder.'

mechanisms to address human rights violations have been rejected, and non-judicial approaches have yielded limited outcomes. The turn to non-judicial measures to address human rights cases in Jokowi's presidency is characterized by a state-centred short-term mechanism, shifting the political discourse from 'reconciliation' to 'harmony' and 'closure' (Setiawan 2019).

President Joko Widodo's 2023 official statement and expression of regret, followed by the Non-Judicial Resolution of Past Gross Human Rights Violations programme, which offered reparations and state-sanctioned benefits for survivors and their families, was met with mixed to adverse reactions from survivors.[34] Some survivors and civil society organizations raised concerns that the settlement failed to honour victims' rights to know the truth and receive full and effective reparation.[35] The Indonesian NGO, the Commission for Missing Persons and Victims of Violence (*Komisi untuk Orang Hilang dan Korban Tindak Kekerasan* [KontraS]), underlined the sudden exclusion of the point about reconstructing history,[36] previously recommended by the PPHAM, from the Presidential Instruction 2/2023 over the settlement.[37] Instead, the government will provide academic research funding with the following caveat: "We welcome anyone who wants to write the history [of past atrocities] … But it is only an academic study. The results will not be [used as] references to issue policies because we will never find common ground, as history is *liar* (wild)," stated by Coordinating Political, Legal and Security Affairs Minister Machfud MD.

These half-hearted attempts at transparency illustrate the tensions inherent in negotiating an ongoing process of forgetting and remembering the Indonesian Left; this process is entwined with scholarly research, survivors' quest for justice, and attempts at reconciliation. The archives displaced to the Netherlands remain largely overlooked, while the debates about archival repatriation and attempts to open archives for transitional justice in Indonesia are disconnected.[38] The

[34] Syarina Hasibuan and Jessica Washington, "Indonesian Rights Abuse Compensation Plan Fans Fears of Impunity," *Aljazeera*, 28 June 2023; Nur Janti, "Reparations Program Gets Mixed Welcome," *The Jakarta Post*, 28 June 2023.

[35] Hasibuan and Washington, "Indonesian Rights Abuse Compensation Plan Fans Fears of Impunity."

[36] Point number 2 in the PPHAM's recommendation, namely "Reconstructing history and formulating events as a balanced official version of the historical narrative while taking into account the human rights of those who have been victims of events."

[37] KontraS, "Peluit Panjang untuk Menghentikan Buruknya Kick Off Pelaksanaan Rekomendasi PPHAM dan Praktik Penyelesaian Pelanggaran HAM Berat Secara Non Yudisial di Indonesia," 27 June 2023.

[38] Ken Setiawan, "The Omnipresent Past: Rethinking Transitional Justice through Digital Storytelling on Indonesia's 1965 Violence," *Civil Society and Transitional Justice in Asia and the Pacific*, 2019, 63.

importance and relevance of the Indonesian Left archives in the Netherlands, which contain valuable memories and evidence, remain subtle in current memory work and transnational justice efforts.

Unlike Indonesia's inaccessible military archives and classified foreign intelligence files, the Indonesian Left archives in the Netherlands are generally accessible to the public. However, their accessibility raises questions linked to conventional archival functions. The following section will explore the significance of custodial power and traditional archival principles, which have been criticized theoretically but remain unchanged in practice; these practices shape access and narratives within many archival institutions.

Who keeps the archives controls the narrative

Archives are often regarded as inert remnants of the past, awaiting activation by users. Historian Aleida Assman characterizes archives as passive historical memory, contrasting them with the active circulation of the canon. Positioned between forgetting and remembering, archives store dormant knowledge awaiting interpretation. It is thus not the archivist but users of the archives, such as "the academic researcher or the artist [who] examine the contents of the archive to reclaim the information by framing it within a new context".[39] However, it is urgent to also realize the way archival power defines how users look at files. Before documentary records evolve into archives kept in archival institutions, they have undergone extensive intervention, shaping how they will be found and interpreted. What is included and excluded, as well as the presentation and categorization of the material conserved, all influence how the archived information is interpreted. As South African archivist, Verne Harris, elucidates, "Information never speaks – discloses meaning and significance – for itself; it speaks through the classification systems in which it is embedded and by which it is processed".[40] The inertia of the archive, which determines whether said archive can be found, interpreted, and activated, largely depends on intervention by the archive's keeper.

The archival institution as the keeper or custodian of the archive and the purveyor of the classification system, thus held enormous power. "Power flows from merely 'looking at files' precisely because looking is preceded by a whole range of interventions – from the structuring of information in documents to the gathering

[39] Aleida Asmann, "Canon and Archive," in *Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, vol. 8, Media and Cultural Memory / Medien Und Kulturelle Erinnerung (Germany: De Gruyter, 2008), 97–107.

[40] Harris, "Archons, Aliens and Angels," 107.

of documents into files, from the classification of files in terms of a system to the preparation of finding aids."[41] Haitian anthropologist, Michel-Rolph Trouillot, observes that at its strongest, archival power is the power to define what is and what is not a serious object of research and, therefore, [worthy] of mention.[42]

The power of the custodian has been discussed at length by contemporary critical archival theories, mostly in analyzing colonial archives. "Scholars like Ann Stoler, Edward Said, Richard Thomas, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and Premesh Lalu, all influenced in greater or lesser measure by the work of Derrida and Foucault, have foregrounded the role of the archive in the exercise of colonial rule. In their work, the archive is not simply a storehouse of information and records; rather, it is a technology of rule, an apparatus producing and reproducing forms of subjection".[43] Recent debates over custody extend to displaced archives, sparking multifaceted discussions about legal and ethical issues of archival ownership and epistemological queries,[44] namely how custody wields power to define and tell the archives.

Custody is always about control of the records, and therein lies the power of those who control the records to tell the story.[45] In the mundane routine of archival management, archival institutions have the power to define the laws, rules, methods, and archival procedures, such as censorship, restricted study, access/prohibition/limitation, control over what is declassified (to whom and to what extent), cataloguing and labelling, also terminology that can differ from the original terminology.[46]

Custody wields control of the narratives that the records tell or the narrative that the institution, community, or group wishes to tell.[47] As the mediator between users and archives, archivists and archival institutions are responsible for telling these stories in the archival description, manifest in the finding aid or catalogue. Description and arrangement are representational acts in which archivists

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past (20th Anniversary Edition): Power and the Production of History*, 2. edition (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 2015), 99.

[43] Harris, "Archons, Aliens and Angels," 109.

[44] Charles Jeurgens and Michael Karabinos, "Paradoxes of Curating Colonial Memory," *Archival Science* 20, no. 3 (September 2020): 199–220, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-020-09334-z.

[45] Jeannette Allis Bastian, "Mine, Yours, Ours: Archival Custody from Transaction to Narrative," *Archival Science* 21, no. 1 (March 2021): 25–42; Michelle Caswell, "'Thank You Very Much, Now Give Them Back': Cultural Property and the Fight over the Iraqi Baath Party Records," ed. Mary Pugh, *The American Archivist* 74, no. 1 (9 July 2011): 211–40.

[46] Rona Sela, "The Genealogy of Colonial Plunder and Erasure – Israel's Control over Palestinian Archives," *Social Semiotics* 28, no. 2 (15 March 2018): 202.

[47] Bastian, "Mine, Yours, Ours," 27.

intervene in explaining the context of the records.[48] Each story that they tell affects access and can change the meaning of the records and re-create them.[49]

Access is, therefore, not merely about whether and how we can consult the archives but also about how they should be meaningful to the documented communities, that is, "descriptions that are relevant, accessible and useful to community members, as well as sensitive to community concerns about privacy, rights, and control over the dissemination of its own heritage and knowledge."[50]

As such, digitizing archival material, often presented as the solution to the custody issue, does not neatly fulfil the promise of accessibility if archival descriptions repeat the dominant narrative and perspective and marginalize other voices in the archives. Digitizing colonial archives but letting them be described and arranged under the legacy of colonial archival infrastructure, entrenched in colonial perspectives, will not help to redress past injustices or reconnect the users to the memories and evidence previously taken away from them.[51] As Agostinho[52] concludes, digitization is neither neutral nor the only way to think about access. "It is the power of the knowledge contained in the archive that needs to be returned."[53]

The representation of knowledge, memory, and evidence in the archives is also often inadequate due to the limits of traditional archival practices. Archives are described and arranged according to the two central tenets of archival theory: provenance and original order. Provenance is traditionally defined as 'the origin or source of something' or as 'information regarding the origins, custody, and ownership of an item or collection'.[54] To preserve the context, it dictates that the records of a creator cannot be mixed with those of another creator while also maintaining the order of records established by the creator. The purpose is "to

[48] E. Yakel, "Archival representation," *Archival Science* 3, no. 1 (2003): 1–25.

[49] Wendy M. Duff and Verne Harris, "Stories and Names: Archival Description as Narrating Records and Constructing Meanings," *Archival Science* 2, no. 3–4 (2002): 272.

[50] Stacy Wood et al., "Mobilizing Records: Re-Framing Archival Description to Support Human Rights," *Archival Science* 14, no. 3 (1 October 2014): 411.

[51] Michael Karabinos and Rika Theo, "How to Liberate the Colonised Archives? Describing the Djogdja Documenten after Their Return," in *Rethinking Histories of Indonesia – Experiencing, Resisting, and Renegotiating Coloniality* ed. Sadiah Boonstra, Bronwyn Anne Beech Jones, Katharine McGregor, Ken M.P. Setiawan, Abdul Wahid, vol. 20, ANU Press, 2025, 273–294. http://doi.org/10.22459/RHI.2025.10

[52] Daniela Agostinho, "Archival Encounters: Rethinking Access and Care in Digital Colonial Archives," *Archival Science* 19, no. 2 (1 June 2019): 141–65.

[53] *Ibid.*, 162.

[54] Society of American Archivist, "Dictionary of Archives Terminology," Society of American Archivists (SAA), October 2021, https://dictionary.archivists.org/.

protect the evidentiary value of the described records and to expose the actions, functions, and deeds from which the records emerge".[55]

The formal view of provenance sees the creator as the single actual inscriber—the literal writer-maker—of records, whether an individual or institution.[56] However, there are many cases when the official creator of the record does not fully represent the context,[57] and the actual record creators are not entirely told. For example, in the census records, the government department is the official creator, who did the functional administrative task of documenting the process. Still, the people who are recorded and interviewed are the actual sources of the records. Likewise, the sea captain makes the 'slave' list, but the list is about enslaved people.[58]

Wood et al. critically argue that the traditional application of provenance "privileges the record itself over the people documented, implicated, or with another stake in the records".[59] As we see in the KOTI archives, the description focuses on KOTI's administration; in the NEFIS archives, the focus is on the NEFIS. Although the context of KOTI or the NEFIS is well preserved, this arrangement and description are problematic for the archives that KOTI or the NEFIS seized. It confines the story of the archives to the context and perspective of the record creator or collector, even though the seized archives also have their context and stories that are no less important than the body that seized them. In this case, the context and stories of the Indonesian individuals and organizations whose archives were seized by the NEFIS and the left-leaning groups and persons whose archives were raided by KOTI, were all obscured.

When an archival institution with custody of displaced archives practices single provenance in describing and arranging the records without telling the "actual" speakers of records or the other contexts from the records, the risk is obvious. It will narrate the dominant voice and context of the creator. It creates barriers for users and, notably, for the people documented in the records, "the subject of these

[55] Duff and Harris, "Stories and Names: Archival Description as Narrating Records and Constructing Meanings," 267.

[56] This view has been criticized, and archivists have theoretically developed multifaceted views of provenance, for instance, the concept of societal provenance coined by Nesmith in this article: Tom Nesmith, "The Concept of Societal Provenance and Records of Nineteenth-Century Aboriginal–European Relations in Western Canada: Implications for Archival Theory and Practice," *Archival Science* 6, no. 3 (1 December 2006): 353.

[57] Jeannette Allis Bastian, "Reading Colonial Records Through an Archival Lens: The Provenance of Place, Space and Creation," *Archival Science* 6, no. 3–4 (2 August 2007): 283.

[58] Bastian, "Reading Colonial Records Through an Archival Lens."

[59] Wood et al., "Mobilizing Records," 402.

records who essentially have no control over their history".[60] The following section will explain whether this applies to the Indonesian Left archives in the custody of the NAN and IISH.

NAN: the seized archives

The Indonesian leftist movement's records housed within collections in the former colonizer's state archives are not widely known. Many of these documents reside in the NEFIS archives, specifically under the part called *inbeslaggenomen, gevonden, en buitgemaakte documenten* (seized, found, and looted documents). The NEFIS, the Dutch colonial intelligence entity, acquired these records during its operations. This part encompasses extensive materials produced by governmental and non-governmental entities, individuals, and socio-political groups in Indonesia between 1945 and 1949. Originating during Indonesia's struggle for independence, in the face of internecine fighting and the polarizing dynamics of the early Cold War, these records provide insights into the nature of resistance against the Dutch recolonization of the young Republic after Japan's capitulation.

The seized archives contain plenty of documents concerning Indonesian leftist movements, leaders, and official analyses, given the NEFIS's focus on surveilling communism in Indonesia. Despite their unintended role, these records now serve as historical evidence of communism and left-wing activities during Indonesia's fight for independence and the communist 'uprising' in 1948, known in the Indonesian historiography and broader public as the 'Madiun Affair'.[61]

[60] Bastian, "Mine, Yours, Ours," 39.

[61] Until the present day, the Indonesian term 'Peristiwa Madiun' is the widely used term in Indonesia, while the debate and divide of what happened continues. The Suharto government and conservative nationalist and military accounts use other terms, i.e., 'coup', 'rebellion', and 'revolt', which often served as a justification, if not legitimation, of the 1965–1966 massacre, underlining it as "a second coup by the PKI". On the left side, the PKI used the term 'provocation', pointing out the role of the US-backed strategy by the Hatta government to eliminate communists to gain US support for Indonesian independence. The debate and divide extended long after 1948 among the Indonesian Left, even after 1965. The 1965 political exiles, for instance, held many discussions and analysis of Madiun. In 2002, they held "Saresehan Peristiwa Madiun 1948", inviting Sumarsono, the former military governor of Madiun in 1948 who led the so-called revolt. One of the exiles went beyond the term and questioned the root cause: "It doesn't matter whether or not there was a rebellion in Madiun. What important is whether the rebellion, if it did occur, was a just rebellion? If the causes of the rebellion were acts of provocation and attacks on progressive forces, the Left and the PKI, then the rebellion was an act of self-defense that must be justified. So such a rebellion is considered a completely just rebellion." See Ibrahim Isa's summary of the discussion on Isa, Ibrahim. "*Bersatu Kita Teguh, Bercerai Kita Runtuh* (2002)." Accessed 12 May 2025.

The NEFIS's intelligence operations targeted records associated with communism, the opium trade, and anti-colonial "insurgency". Okeu Yulianasari[62] and Michael Karabinos[63] argue that these materials were used as documentary evidence to support the Dutch accusation on the incapacity and dysfunctionality of the Indonesian Republican government. The Dutch colonial administration leveraged these documents to shape international opinion and influence UN-administered negotiations between both countries. These reports containing the original, copy, or translated version of these raw documents were sent to various Dutch and international bodies, leading to their dispersion across various archives such as in the archive of *Algemeene Secretarie* (General Secretary),[64] *Procureur General* (Attorney General),[65] *Rapportage* Indonesia, and in the archives outside the Netherlands.

The processing of seized archives, including their selection, description, categorization, and organization, reflects the context of their creation and the NEFIS's operational purpose. Each document was meticulously organized into folders, accompanied by routing slips (*geleidebrief*), which served as metadata detailing its origin and processing. This included information on where and when the records came from, the material, form, and language, how they were processed,[66] and which colonial government departments that they were forwarded to. While every routing slip contains metadata of the NEFIS's procurement, appraisal, and opinion of the document, we can sometimes find the location or origin of the documents.

These seized documents that make up the NEFIS archives were finally deposited at the NAN after an intricate process. The Dutch government transported the NEFIS archives in the incomplete condition to the Netherlands before the agreement ending colonial rule was signed on 27 December 1949. According to the 1955 report, the archives were unpacked by former CMI officials, who recommended parts of them to be destroyed. Subsequently, they were re-appraised by a security officer of the Ministry of Union Affairs and Overseas Territories, which resulted in the

[62] Okeu Yulianasari, "Deciphering the NEFIS Archives: Investigating Dutch Information Gathering in Indonesia, 1945-1949" (Leiden, Leiden University, 2012), https://hdl.handle.net/1887/19463.

[63] Karabinos, "The Djogdja Documenten: The Dutch-Indonesian Relationship Following Independence through an Archival Lens"; Michael Karabinos, "The Role of National Archives in the Creation of National Master Narratives in Southeast Asia," *Journal of Contemporary Archival Studies* 2, no. 1 (2015): 4; Karabinos, "Indonesian National Revolution Records in the National Archives of the Netherlands."

[64] 2.10.14 Inventaris van het archief van de Algemene Secretarie van de Nederlands-Indische Regering en de daarbij Gedeponeerde archieven, (1922) 1944-50.

[65] 2.10.17 Inventaris van het archief van de Procureur-Generaal bij het Hooggerechtshof van Nederlands-Indië, (1936) 1945-1949 (1969).

[66] Many documents in the Indonesian language or other languages (Javanese, Chinese, Japanese) were translated into Dutch, made into copies, and then distributed to various sections of the NEFIS and other Dutch government bodies.

materials being reduced by a third. In later years, these archives were transferred between ministries, and eventually made accessible to the public at the NAN in 1990. The entire NEFIS archive comprises over 7,300 inventory numbers, with a significant portion of 4,100 files organized into a subsection titled "seized, found, and looted documents", referred to here as the seized archives. A fraction of these archives, known as the Djogdja Documenten,[67] were returned to Indonesia in 1976 and 1987. They comprise only 356 inventory numbers of Indonesian state institutions' records seized during Operation Kraai (1948), known in Indonesia as Agresi Militer Belanda II.

The current catalogue maintains the NEFIS's arrangement of the seized archives, a practice following the archival principle of the original order. The NEFIS's colonial perspective and organizational logic remain intact. They obscure layers of the context of these archives, especially their Indonesian contexts. This arrangement delinks the seized records from their Indonesian creators, implying that the seized archives are the property of the NEFIS. The structure and the records' original functions were altered to follow the NEFIS's purposes and function as a colonial agency. With this repurposed and persistent colonial archival infrastructure governing how the seized archives are presented, it is more precise to call them the colonized collection instead of the colonial one.[68] As the seized documents were mixed and structured according to the NEFIS processing following colonial intelligence purposes, it is difficult to find and access the Indonesian Left archives. Before 2016, for instance, the online inventory at the NAN simply listed them with numbers from 1-4,100, without any additional information.[69]

Three decades later, the seized archives were activated to serve another purpose, and they were displayed in the Revolusi exhibition at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. They became exhibition objects in remembering the end of Dutch colonization in Indonesia, while igniting debates about the repatriation of colonial artefacts. However, these discussions often overshadow the archives' Indonesian context and meaning for source communities. Bundling all the archives as merely NEFIS-seized objects without comprehending the layers of context will perpetuate colonial perspectives, undermining the stories of the people documented in the records.

Understanding the Indonesian context will make one realize that the NEFIS archives contain the seized records of and about the Indonesian Left during the War of Independence, which are inaccessible in Indonesia. The complicated

[67] Daftar Arsip Djogdja Documenten 1945-1949, 2004, Arsip Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta.

[68] Jeurgens and Karabinos, "Paradoxes of Curating Colonial Memory."

[69] Michael Karabinos and Rika Theo, "How to Liberate the Colonised Archives? Describing the Djogdja Documenten after their Return," in *Rethinking Histories of Colonialism: Indonesia* (ANU Press, upcoming).

provenance of these archives demands a more extensive interpretation. There are records that the NEFIS seized from the Indonesian Left organizations, such as multiple communist and socialist parties to left-oriented youth, labour, and paramilitary groups.[70] However, not everything is directly confiscated from left-wing organizations. Many of them are the archives which the NEFIS seized from local state institutions, including the police, the military, and the republican leadership, which included information about the Indonesian Left. In 1948, Indonesian politics was severely divided into various political lines and factions,[71] which put political parties, especially leftist ones, under surveillance by the Indonesian national police (*Kepolisian Negara*) and its intelligence unit, *Pengawas Aliran Masyarakat*. Their reports and analyses of various leftist movements, parties, and activities are also among the documents seized by the NEFIS.

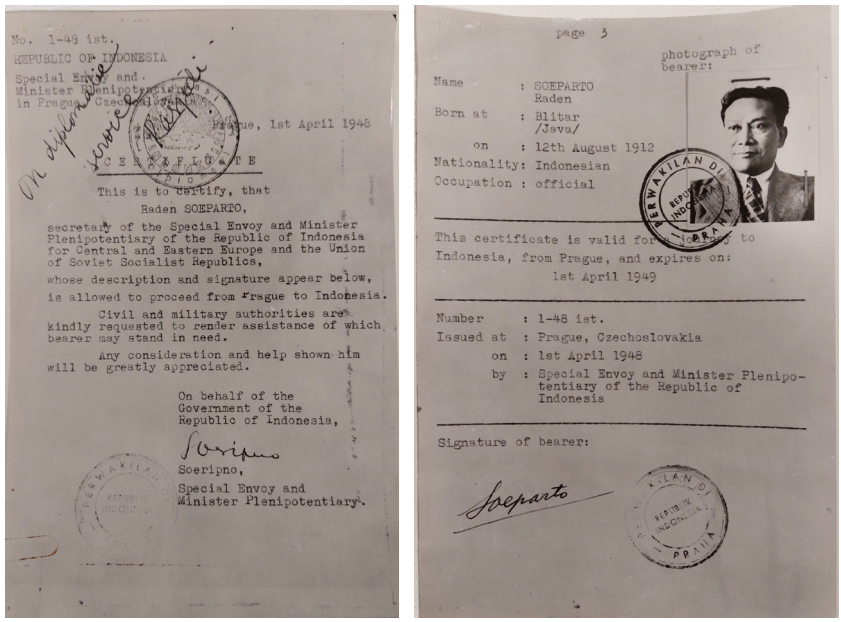
Records of and reports about the PKI, socialist youth group Pesindo (*Pemuda Sosialis Indonesia*), and the FDR, the coalition party of five left-wing parties including the PKI, constitute a large part. They are geographically diverse since the PKI had branches outside Java, and the NEFIS had sections there. Various reports and documents, sometimes created or seized from other areas such as Australia and Singapore, revealing the transnational communist network between Indonesia and countries in Asia, Australia, and Europe.[72]

[70] We can find documents related to, for instance, Sajap Kiri, Front Demokrasi Rakyat (FDR), Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), Pemoeda Sosialis Indonesia (Pesindo), Partai Sosialis (P.S.), Partai Boeroeh Indonesia (PBI), Barisan Tani Indonesia (BTI), Sentral Organisasi Boeroeh Seluruh Indonesia (SOBSI), Sarboepri, Partai Kaoem Boeroeh Indonesia (PKBI), Persatoean Kaoem Boeroeh Indonesia Malaya (Perkabim), Persatoean Boeroeh Pelaboehan (PERKABIM), Chung Hwa General Labour Union of Billiton, Sarekat Boeroeh Goela, Lasjkar Boeroeh Indonesia, Lasjkar Merah, Lasjkar Rakjat, PKI Sibar, Angkatan Komunis Moeda (AKOMA), Partai Rakjat Indonesia, Barisan Banteng, Persatoean Perdjoeangan, Gerakan Revolusi Rakjat (GRR), Partai Murba, and many others.

[71] The political lines were intricate and not necessarily strict, following not only left or right ideology, but also cultural, religious, and other affiliations. However, hostility was mounted in 1948 after the Hatta government, which replaced the previous left-leaning government under Amir Sjarifoeddin, issued the policy of rationalization reconstruction that restructured the Indonesian 'army' from 460,000 to 160,000 soldiers (Gouda and Zaalberg 2002). It culminated in what is known today as the "Madiun Affair", an armed conflict between the government of Indonesia supported by the Siliwangi division of the Indonesian National Army and Corps Polisi Militer and the left-wing opposition group, Front Demokrasi Rakyat (FDR) (Sugiyama 2011, 20). The PKI and Pesindo, members of the FDR, were accused of staging a rebellion to set up a Soviet-linked state in Madiun.

[72] The NEFIS issued counter-intelligence research reports on many countries; the development of communism was among their core foci. For instance, see NL-HaNA, NEFIS en CMI, 2.10.62, inv.nr. 1477 "File communistische contacten buitenland diversen". 1946-1948. In Singapore, the NEFIS has an representative office that also conducted intelligence activities, including writing day reports and weekly intelligence reports. There are archives about communists' movements in the region, for example,

[145.109.70.106] Project MUSE (2026-10-15 12:28 GMT) Amsterdam Universiteit


No. 1-48 ist.
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA
Special Envoy and
Minister Plenipotentiary
in Prague, Czechoslovakia

Prague, 1st April 1948

C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify, that
Raden SOEPARTO,
secretary of the Special Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Indonesia for Central and Eastern Europe and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,
whose description and signature appear below,
is allowed to proceed from Prague to Indonesia.
Civil and military authorities are kindly requested to render assistance of which bearer may stand in need.
Any consideration and help shown him will be greatly appreciated.

On behalf of the
Government of the
Republic of Indonesia,
Soeripno,
Special Envoy and
Minister Plenipotentiary.

page 3

photograph of bearer:

Name : SOEPARTO
Raden
Born at : Blitar
/Java/
on : 12th August 1912
Nationality: Indonesian
Occupation : official

This certificate is valid for [illegible] to Indonesia, from Prague, and expires on:
1st April 1949

Number : 1-48 ist.
Issued at : Prague, Czechoslovakia
on : 1st April 1948
by : Special Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Indonesia

Signature of bearer:
Soeparto

Figure 10.1: Travel certificate of Soeparto or Moeso, seized from the house of H. Agus Salim in 1948. Source: NL-HaNA, NEFIS and CMI, 2.10.62, inv.no 7017

Next are personal documents of 'influential' Indonesians, including communists and labour leaders. Many "personal cards" were created by the NEFIS based on the intelligence gathered on persons of interest.[73] For example, records on Musso, a PKI leader who returned to Indonesia from the Soviet Union in 1948, are extensive; they include a copy of his travel certificate (fig. 10.1), secret letters, transcripts of his speeches, and a detailed Indonesian police report of his death.[74]

Most of the archives are open, and the online catalogue in Dutch is available. However, they are not always findable and accessible to everyone. Language and geographic barriers aside, how archival documents are described is problematic. Before 2016, the online inventory listed the inventory numbers and numbered them 1-4,100, containing no additional information for researchers. This is a prime example of insufficient description preventing archives from being found and accessed.

The finding aid was significantly improved in 2016 by a Dutch scholar, Harry Poeze. As the inventory now states, "In these new descriptions, attempts have

NL-HaNA, NEFIS en CMI, 2.10.62, inv.nr. 1507 Stukken betreffende communistische aktiviteiten in Singapore en Malakka gericht op Indonesië. 1946-1949

[73] "Personal cards" refers to intelligence files on specific people subject to NEFIS surveillance.

[74] Many variations of Musso's name exist, including Moeso, Moesso, Muso, and Musso.

been made to refer as much as possible to personal names, organisation names, place names, and dates". For each inventory number, Poeze wrote a brief content description, followed by the NEFIS number, the date received by the NEFIS, the finding location, and whether it is an original or copy. With the search function, researchers can find much more than in the original, more restricted descriptions.

While certainly more informative, the entire description is still written in Dutch, even though most archives are in Bahasa Indonesia. The inventory's note states that knowledge of the Indonesian language is required to read many of the stolen, found, and seized records. The note, however, is also written in Dutch. It constitutes a linguistic barrier for Indonesian-reading *users*, who ironically have to know Dutch to access archives in Indonesian, not to mention the geographic barrier which means that travelling costs are required for Indonesian users to see the physical archives. By *users*, it means to stress the importance of these records not only for the researchers and historians but also for everyone to whom these archives matter, the communities of records, including the survivors of the violence and injustices against the Indonesian Left during and after the war of independence. In 2024, the NAN embedded an automatic translation button in its online catalogue. While it is a welcome addition to deal with the language barrier, the machine-based translator only provides a literal translation which often contains translation mistakes due to spelling errors and its inability to capture language nuances and context.

The overarching description of the entire NEFIS collection explains in detail how this archive came to the NAN, as well as the history and organizational structure of the NEFIS. The focus on the NEFIS as the creator is evident, with a limited description of the documents' Indonesian contexts. It misses mentioning the existence of records related to the development of communism and left movements in Indonesia resulting from extensive surveillance during the Indonesian Revolution. Without an adequate description, the dominant context of the NEFIS's intelligence gathering and procurement certainly overshadows the Indonesian context (Karabinos and Theo, upcoming). Information about the repatriation of the Djogdja Documenten is also lacking, particularly on how they were selected and under what criteria. Another important but omitted issue is how the NEFIS archives connect to other collections. As mentioned above, other Dutch colonial agencies copied and cited the records in reports. Therefore, the copies of these records can be found in, for instance, the archives of the *Procureur Generaal*[75] and *Algemeene Secretarie*. All of the above, the NEFIS's close surveillance of the Indonesian Left, the repatriation process, and the existence of copies in other Dutch archives are part and parcel of the making of the NEFIS's intelligence archives.

[75] The Procureur Generaal archive has a specific section on communism.

They need to be told to provide more context to help users understand not only the NEFIS's colonial operation, but also the context of the Indonesian documents displaced by the NEFIS.

One final significant barrier is the limited legal accessibility *(openbaarheid)* of several NEFIS archives, such as those related to the PKI.[76] Although numerically small, several inventory numbers are labelled Category A, meaning that they are closed for privacy reasons, but can be consulted by submitting a request form. If approved, one can see them under certain restrictions, such as not being allowed to take a picture and sitting at a table while being watched by security personnel.

The NAN document explaining the limited accessibility (*beperkt openbaarheid*) of these items states that they are closed for a particular period on the ground of privacy reasons. This limited accessibility of some inventory numbers was one of the conditions accepted by the NAN when they received the archives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In Dutch archival law (*Archiefwet)*, the archives of Dutch government institutions are transferred after 20 years to the archival repository, such as the National Archives, where they can be publicly consulted (*openbaar*). However, there are three exceptions where an archival repository can still limit the legal access of these transferred archives, namely respect for privacy, the interest of the state or its allies, and the disproportionate advantage or disadvantage of the concerned persons or third parties.[77]

While privacy is the reason stated to limit the accessibility of some NEFIS archives, there is no explanation as to what it means and covers. It left us with questions, for instance, has the repository or Dutch Foreign Minister been in contact with the concerned Indonesian persons/organizations regarding the possible harm of these archives to their privacy? It is also very likely that the concerned persons have passed away, the condition of which the privacy argument does not apply. We do not know either if this has ever been checked. In 2024, the NEFIS/CMI finding aid was updated with an important announcement about the implementation of a new privacy regulation following the implementation of the *Europese Algemene verordening gegevensbescherming* (AVG) or the personal data protection regulation. It states that the archives are public (*openbaar*) but may contain personal data.

[76] Some examples of the archives related to the PKI with limited legal accessibility (*beperkt openbaar*) are 1621 "File P.K.I." – Partai Kommoenis Indonesia – Openbaarheid beperkt tot 01-01-2025; 1622 "File P.K.I." – Openbaarheid beperkt tot 01-01-2025; 1623 P.K.I. – Openbaarheid beperkt tot 01-01-2025; 1624 Stukken afkomstig uit een archief van de P.K.I. – Openbaarheid beperkt tot 01-01-2025; 1703 Stukken betreffende vrijlating van PKI-leden en leden van andere communistische organisaties door de Republiek bij het begin van de 2e politionele aktie – Openbaarheid beperkt tot 01-01-2025.

[77] *Archiefwet* 1995 article 15, paragraph 1 under a, b, and c. See more explanation about the legal accessibility on the page: https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/archiveren/kennisbank/veelgestelde-vragen-over-openbaarheidswetgeving#collapse-1288.

Therefore, to use them, users must abide by the privacy policy and regulations of the National Archives of the Netherlands. The seized documents in the NEFIS are not excluded, even though their existence in the Dutch archival institution is problematic, as they were formed through seizure and intelligence operations and were inscribed by institutions and persons of the newly independent Indonesia.

These examples show how decisions regarding accessibility are in the hands of the archival institutions who hold custody of the archives and according to the regulation applied to them. Concealing the archives can be done not only by physical means, "but also through strict system management, control, and knowledge production – laws, rules, norms, methods, and archive procedures".[78]

IISH: Archives at risk

The archival documents and publications of and about the Indonesian Left are kept at the IISH as archives at risk.[79] Preserving archives of often oppressed social movements is the mission of this collection and research institute, an affiliate of the Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW). It receives archival donations and intentionally collects endangered archival materials from various parts of the world, notably materials under threat of destruction and excluded by the state archive of their origin.[80]

The IISH has received and actively acquired archives of persons, parties, and organizations, visual and oral history, and various ephemeral objects such as books, brochures, leaflets/pamphlets, posters, and other things on the Indonesian Left. They are diverse in form and period. The archival materials range from the formative years of the communist movement in the Dutch East Indies in the early twentieth century, continuing to the 1920s, the Indonesian Revolution, and post-revolution, 1965, and beyond. These rare and fragmented archival materials came to the IISH in various ways. Some were donated directly, which is mostly the case with personal papers. Others are acquired through an individual approach and intermediaries, such as KITLV Leiden and IISH collectors' personal contacts in Indonesia.

[78] Sela, "The Genealogy of Colonial Plunder and Erasure – Israel's Control over Palestinian Archives," 202.

[79] Archives that are at risk of destruction and alteration in the origin country. The International Council of Archives has issued a guideline for archival rescue; see Guiding Principles for Safe Havens for Archives at Risk

[80] https://iisg.amsterdam/en/collections/building.

From the early twentieth century, there are personal archives from prominent communist leaders in the Dutch East Indies, such as Raden Darsono Notosudirdjo and Henk Sneevliet. The IISH also holds multiple personal archives of post-1965 Indonesian exiles and former political prisoners, many of whom took refuge in the Netherlands. The personal archives of the Indonesian political exiles, their organizations, and publications bear witness of post-1965 Indonesian left histories. These archives can show, for instance, diverse and often conflicting responses of PKI members abroad on the survival of the PKI, to complement further what John Roosa has dissected in Chapter 7. In addition, the IISH contains one archive of Dutch politicians, journalists, activists, parties, and organizations connected to the Indonesian Left, which arguably are also part of the Indonesian Left archives. They recorded among others the reactions and actions following the defeat of the PKI and the genocide afterwards. Many of their records were also created for and about the Indonesian Left, and contain files from Indonesian leftists and of the PKI.

The IISH hosts only a few archives of Indonesian leftist political parties; these include the Partai Murba archives, the Archief Komintern – Partai Komunis Indonesia, and Taporal (contraction of the oral history of the *tahanan politik*, Indonesian political prisoners) Collection. It should be noted that the IISH categorizes the 'archival materials' into archive[81] and collection. 'Archive' refers to materials created organically as the by-products of individuals' or organizations' activities. 'Collection' is used to denote aggregated materials that were intentionally collected for particular interests and purposes. The difference is noticeable in the title and the specific identity number.[82]

The personal papers donated to or acquired by the IISH are thus mainly categorized as archives. The inventory in the IISH catalogue is compiled based on the order in which the IISH received the materials. If they are received in the state of disorder, the IISH will categorize them based on particular activities by their creator. For instance, the content list of Suparna Sastra Diredja Papers consists of the following sections: general (correspondence and diaries), particular (identity documents, deeds, finance, housing), public life (authorship, board positions, memberships, teaching, translation, and aid to refugees and exiles), documentation (multiple documentation made by Suparna on various topics), and documents from family members. Going through the inventory list, we see that the Suparna archive contains archival materials about the labour organizations and can directly locate the documents.

Unfortunately, not all personal archives are provided with a content list, making it challenging to locate the possible existence of party or movement documents.

[81] The terms used actually vary, such as archief (for archives in Dutch), papers, archive.

[82] Start with ARCH for archive and COLL for collection.

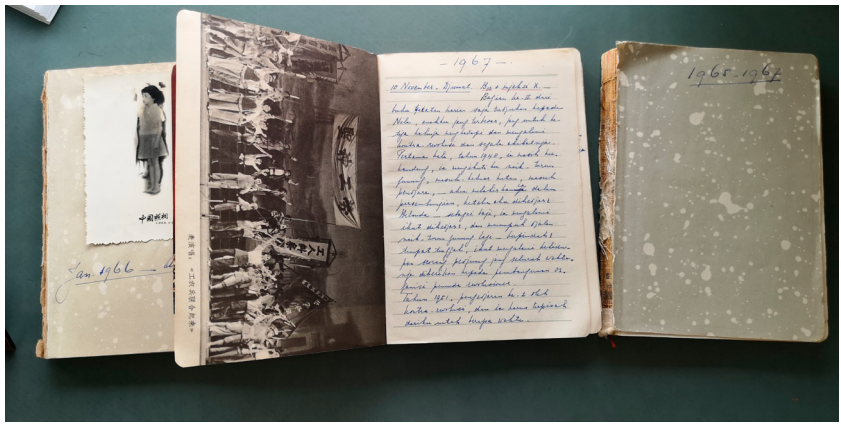


Figure 10.2: Diaries written by Francisca Fanggidaej during her exiles in China, Sources: Francisca Fanggidaej Papers, International Institute of Social History

Serendipity plays a significant role in archival research, but not everyone can afford the time and resources to go through metres of archives. Take, for instance, the Francisca Fanggidaej archive and the Go Gien Tjwan archive. Francisca, a women's rights activist and former leader of the left-wing youth group, Pemuda Rakyat, lived in exile in the Netherlands after 1965.[83,84] Nevertheless, she continued to be active in various groups focusing on Indonesian politics in the Netherlands. Her personal documents, diaries written for her children in Indonesia (fig. 10.2), various records generated by exiled groups, and some PKI publications are spread across 17 boxes. Researching her archive requires checking all the boxes since no inventory list is available.[85]

Similarly, Go Gien Tjwan's archives are accessible to the public, but also without an inventory list. His three-metres-long archives contain Go's personal documents and records of his social and political involvement in several organizations. Both archives evince how the personal and the political intermingle. The archives contain their personal stories and other documents resulting from their involvement and sense of belonging to the Indonesian Left. The access to and representation of these archives require a comprehensive archival description to explain the context as well as the relationship between the personal and political that is captured in their documents.

[83] ARCH04303 Francisca Fanggidaej Papers, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

[84] ARCH04733 Archief Go Gien Tjwan International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

[85] In 2024, the IISH started a project to improve the description of four Indonesian originated archives: Francisca Fanggidaej, Go Gien Tjwan, Gumuljo Wreksoatmodjo, and The Siauw Giap. The writer is assigned to do the task until September 2026.

In addition to these donated personal papers, the IISH has been purposefully collecting fragmented archival materials of the Indonesian Left. Party and group records have been assembled into various collections at archivists' discretion. For instance, it has a PKI Collection, an ad hoc collection of fragmented party documents, and the origin of individual items is not clearly stated in some cases.

The IISH also has custody of three unique oral history collections. First, the *Taporal* (Tapols-Oral History) Collection consists of life history interviews with 192 ex-political prisoners incarcerated in Java after 1965, recorded on 297 tapes.[86] The project, partly funded by the IISH in 1993, was recorded by three ex-political prisoners. Secondly, the Oral History of the Trade Union Movement in the Indonesia Collection, contains interviews with Indonesian trade union activists about the labour movement from 1945 to 1965.[87] Thirdly, the Oral History of Silenced Voices Collection includes interviews of 50 Indonesian political exiles about their life histories when they were trapped abroad in 1965, their political activities post-1965, and their experience finding new homes in various parts of the world.[88] Hersri Setiawan, an ex-political prisoner, submitted more than 300 hours of interviews on tape recordings which he had conducted with the exiles. In 2022, the original tape recordings were returned to an activist group in Yogyakarta, while the IISH held onto the copies.

Interestingly, each oral history collection is accompanied by paper records. The Silenced Voices Collection, for instance, links to the Indonesian Exiles of the Left Collection. The paper records collection contains documents acquired as part of the project, including letters, reports, memoirs, and documentation of Indonesian exiles. Here, we can find organizational documents created by the Lekra (Institute of People's Culture), the trade union movement, the PKI, and other left-wing organizations.

Furthermore, the IISH collected several periodicals and ephemera. Even though fragmented and incomplete, they are rare collections that witness the active political campaigns launched, stances taken, and circumstances faced by Indonesia's leftist movement. To name a few, the list of the periodicals includes *Soeara Rakjat* (1919–1923), *Bintang Merah* (incomplete issues 1950–1965), *Harian Rakjat* (incomplete 1951–1965), *Bulletin SOBSI* (1955 and 1956), *PKI dan Perwakilan* (1956–1964), and various publications by the Indonesian exiles, etc. In addition, these ephemeral

[86] ARCH03260 Taporal (Tapols-Oral History) Project Collection, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

[87] COLL00163 Oral History on the Trade Union Movement in Indonesia Collection, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

[88] COLL00175 Oral History Collection In Search of Silenced Voices, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

materials comprise brochures, publications, photos, and objects, for instance, various publications published by Pustaka Ketjil Marxis and Jajasan Pembaruan. These materials are acquired by means of donation, purchased as individual items, or acquired as small separate collections. Multiple materials are in the format of microfilm and microfiche, and others are available in physical form. There are brochures and booklets aplenty, including those published by the PKI's Department of Agitation and Propaganda and other left-oriented publishers. However, these ephemera are scattered as they are preserved as single items or categorized based on their format instead of around a cohesive theme. As a result, the incompleteness of their description varies, negatively affecting their accessibility.

In short, the archival materials housed in the IISH are extensive and very diverse in terms of stories, recorded subjects, creators, and formats. Yet, these rich sources also have barriers to access. Problems range from the limited description, lacking an inventory list, unclear provenance, and being scattered in various collections.

Based on the interviews with processing and collection staff, various factors cause some archives to be described in more detail than others. First, they largely depend on the information supplied by the donor or depositor and the accompanying research undertaken by the processing staff. Second is the availability of archivists and the relevance of their knowledge and skills. Third is the language barrier, since few archivists are literate in Bahasa Indonesia. Fourth comprises processing priorities. Some archives with attached funding usually get priority and are processed quickly. Yet, smaller archives that do not need numerous resources can also be processed and are often prepared for digitization. The final challenge is the archival description policy at the IISH, which has changed over time. There was a time, for example, when the processing was focused on quantity, resulting in brief and limited descriptions. Later, "…in the 1990s and the beginning of the new millennium, it [became] a tradition to make extensive inventories with a serious introduction".[89]

Under these conditions, the Indonesian Left archives in the custody of the IISH are difficult to "discover" let alone access, while the context of many archival materials is not thoroughly explained. This situation, unfortunately, is not peculiar in archives, especially for displaced materials. "After the nominal existence of displaced materials is disclosed, access may remain limited by a lack of intellectual control and documentation. Even when institutions have the best intentions, the description of displaced archives (like all collections) may be delayed by limited institutional capacity" (Winn 2015, 8). The IISH case shows the lacking of serious and sustained institutional efforts beyond preservation, namely the improvement

[89] Personal interviews with two of the IISH's processing staff (5/3/2020).

of meaningful access for the communities of these displaced archives. Without that, the access problem continues to hamper how the stories and voices important to the relevant source and user communities are told and heard.

Conclusion

By unravelling the trajectory of the Indonesian Left archives in two Dutch archival institutions, we begin to discern how custody significantly affects how these archives are rendered (il)legible, contributing to the silence surrounding the archives and the narratives of the Indonesian Left. As most of the archives of the Indonesian Left came to the Netherlands as displaced archives, they are prone to archival silencing by the host institutions. Active silencing can be done by deliberately cloaking the archives in secrecy and removing or destroying files under the policy of the archival institution that follows the law and politics of the state where the archives are kept. The more subtle and often seen as unintentional ignorance or simply as archives being 'badly organized' is the silencing by means of the archival infrastructure, which can be seen most concretely in the finding aid. The Dutch archival custody of the Indonesian Left archives has implications for how these archives are described and organized, which subsequently define how they are narrated and accessed. This chapter delineates how this, too, serves as the paper shuffling that silences the archives, not only by making them difficult to access and hindering their activation, but also by controlling the narratives of the archives and, as in many cases of displaced archives, hiding other voices of the archives.

The activation of archives in the custody of the National Archives of the Netherlands (NAN) and the International Institute of Social History (IISH) face the common challenge of dispersed and disordered archives in the custody of Dutch institutions, arising from historical political turmoil related to their colonial relations. This has resulted in the destruction, silencing, and displacement, leading to many cases of fragmented archives. Being in the custody of Dutch archival agencies also means that they are archived following the archival practices determined by tradition, limited resources, and infrastructure in both institutions. It influences how the archives are accessed and how their narratives are presented. While they are legally accessible to everyone, their findability and practical accessibility for Indonesian users are generally limited. Archival intervention, including how the archives are arranged and described, renders the records, their voices, and stories of and about the Indonesian Left, set within the Indonesian context, hardly visible.

Regarding the NEFIS archives at the NAN, the challenges appear to be primarily centred on the fact that many of the archives were seized and held as operational records of an intelligence agency, resulting in an assigned provenance. The

description at the NAN follows precisely how the NEFIS processed the records according to an administrative system imbued with colonial purposes and perspectives. For instance, the seized archives are still arranged following the NEFIS processing, which obscures the original context creation of the Indonesian records. Extensive information of the NEFIS administration, the trajectory of the records after being seized, and how they ended up in the custody of the NAN are in contrast to the scant description of the Indonesian creators, their context of creation, and how the seized records of the Left and others came to be in the NEFIS's hands. As a result, the context of these scattered records is hard to read for those without knowledge of the Indonesian Left and the 1945–1949 War of Independence. Traces of information on the context can be seen in the routing slips, which require further attention and research, more than the mention of place and date of seizure in the finding aid. It also means that to read the stories and voices of the Indonesian Left, users should also understand how the NEFIS works—in other words, reading along the grain before reading against the grain. Furthermore, colonial bias persists as outdated colonial terms are still plainly used in the current description of the archives. Another issue is the legal accessibility (*openbaarheid*), defined by the NAN based on Dutch archival regulation. Certain records about communist movements and people are in this category under rather vague information on the reason. The NAN's custody of these archives further underscores issues related to post-colonial interrelations and the politics of memory and forgetting.

What is more troublesome, is while the records were turned into a part of the NEFIS archive kept at the NAN, they have undergone archival intervention, which focused on the NEFIS as the creator of the archives, meaning the NEFIS's knowledge production practices, but consequently obscures the views of the Indonesian Left. It illuminates the NEFIS's colonial perspectives and overshadows the Indonesian context and stories of the records. In contrast, the challenges at the IISG stem from its role as a custodian of archival materials at risk, including those from organizations and individuals associated with the Indonesian Left. Despite the ostensibly good intentions in preserving the archives from the threat of destruction, accessing and understanding these collections are still hindered by their fragmentary nature and the absence of comprehensive inventories or descriptions. The problems here lie more with the access granted by archival tools (*toegang)* such as the unclear and limited finding aid.

The archival materials housed in the IISH are extensive and diverse in terms of stories, record subjects, creators, and format. Yet, these rich sources also have access barriers, especially for users related to the subjects documented in the archives. Problems range from limited and inconsistent descriptions, missing inventory lists, unclear provenance and record trajectory, and the scattering of records across various collections. Many of these fragmented records are, in fact,

connected by their content, by their provenance, and the relations between the creators of the archives, but the finding aids do not hint at these connections.

Caring for records at risk through archival practices that render the records visible and accessible for the relevant community of activists and researchers is urgently required.

The observations of Khaled Fahmy, an Egyptian historian who documented records of the Egyptian Revolution, are highly relevant here. "The question of access to information and archives is political because reading history is interpreting history, and interpreting history is one way of making it…Closing people off from the sources of their own history is an inherently political gesture, and equally opening that up is a political – even revolutionary – act."[90] This article urgently calls for archival institutions to take concrete steps to improve the current descriptions for a more meaningful access, especially towards the source community, part of the users that are much sidelined in the archivalization process of the displaced archives. It is possible to make an archival intervention and make use of the archival infrastructure to liberate the archives that are currently suppressed through benign neglect and purposeful silencing.

Promoting justice for these archives and their optimal use for their community is ethical and political. It requires archival institutions, which until now hold the custody, power, and narrative of these archives, to develop meaningful metadata for and with the impacted users, clarify the contexts around the dispersal and the socio-political provenance of the archives, and link related archives. There should be efforts to connect them more to the people where they belong and to their current realities, the ongoing process of transitional justice, and memory work in Indonesia. Archives of the Indonesian Left can be the repository of meanings, where relationships are found, contexts are drawn up, and stories are revealed.[91] The voices and narratives of the Indonesian Left that have been long confined are waiting to be activated. Such activation would contribute towards revealing buried histories, struggles against injustices, and reconciliation with traumatic pasts. Perhaps, with this, to repeat Ann Stoler's words, knowing the past can reshape today's political possibilities.[92]

[90] Jack Shenker, "The Struggle to Document Egypt's Revolution," *The Guardian*, 15 July 2011, sec. World news.

[91] Eric Ketelaar, "Tacit Narratives: The Meanings of Archives," *Archival Science* 1, no. 2 (1 June 2001): 131–41.

[92] Stoler, 'On the Uses and Abuses of the Past in Indonesia'.

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