International cooperation between politics and practice: how Dutch Indonesian cooperation changed remarkably little after a diplomatic rupture

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Notes

Chapter 1

1 The documentary 'Death of a Nation' and the book 'Distant voices' by John Pilger give a
detailed and shocking account of the atrocities that have happened in Timor since the In­
donesian annexation. Several other authors and organisations such as Amnesty Interna­
tional and Human Rights Watch/Asia have written about the incident in 1991 and the con­
flict between the East Timorese people and the Indonesian Government. See for example:
Carey 1996; Taylor 1991 and the report by the Human Rights Watch/Asia in New York:
The Limits of Openness: Human Rights in Indonesia and East Timor. Linguist and human
rights activist Noam Chomsky is one of the most vehement critics of both the Indonesian
and western governments. British, Australian and American governments have continued
weapons sales to Indonesia even though these governments knew of the terror campaign in

2 All parties in the Dutch Parliament, left and right wing, agreed on taking punitive measures

3 Interview with Paul Hoebink, Nijmegen, 11 June 1998.

4 Two Indonesian informants close to president Soeharto recounted these events.

5 The Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia.

6 Interview with Soemadi, advisor to Try Soetrisno, vice president of Indonesia from 1993-

7 More about the history and context of this decision: Droogenbroeck (1993) for the Dutch
political constellations and Vos (1994) on the Indonesian view on the conflict. Marlies
Glasius wrote an excellent dissertation on the effects of human rights policy on Indonesia
under Soeharto. Her fourth case describes in detail the aftermath of the Dili massacre
(Glasius 1999: 233-307).

8 Ekonomi, Keuangan dan Industri.

9 Personal communication, Yogyakarta, 10, 11 and 12 May 1997.

10 Sukarno renamed New Guinea 'Irian Jaya'. In January 2000 the Wahid Government
agreed to rename the island again to Papua in January 2000, the name under which it was
known before the Dutch named it New Guinea.

11 Indonesia annexed Papua after a rigged voting process in 1969. Representatives of the Pa­
pua people were forced to vote for inclusion into Indonesia. The act that the UN and the
Dutch government consented with this process is in 2000 a major issue in Papua. For an
overview in Dutch on the process, documents and the freedom movement in Papua see
www.nrc.nl/W2/Lab/Papoeas/inhoud.html.

12 Hans Meijer asserts that here the colonisation continue ends (Meijer 1994). Colonisation can
mean different things though: a formal status or a state of mind. The Indonesian govern­
ment felt that a colonial state of mind was still present and this would imply that some form
13 Utrecht University developed a special course for administrators in the former Dutch Indies, while Leiden University possessed the largest collection of information until the 1990's. Nowadays Cornell University in Ithaca, New York and the Australian National University possess more information about (modern) Indonesia.

14 Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, 1964 no. 43.

15 This sub-department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs underwent several name-changes, depending on the discourse on foreign aid of that time. At first this department was called Committee for Technical assistance, when foreign aid was mainly seen in terms of technical and infrastructure aid, presently it is called DGIS, Directorate General International Cooperation (S stands for samenwerking = cooperation.) See also de Graaff on the history of the Ministry of Colonial Affairs (De Graaff 1997).

16 Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional.

17 Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, 1968 no. 88 and 98.


20 A few Indonesian interviewees vividly described these photos or just showed them, to make their point that minister Pronk in their eyes really behaved like a colonial. According to Nico Schulte Nordholt, the Indonesian department of Information had ordered to present minister Pronk as negative as possible, but this statement could not be verified.

21 Mochtar Kusumah Atmadja, who was minister of Foreign Affairs from 1983 to 1988 said that already in the beginning of the eighties the Indonesian government had suggested to the Dutch minister of development cooperation to hand over chairmanship to the World Bank. The then minister, P. Bukman and his successors liked this extra status too much to give it up. Mochtar said that the Indonesians shrugged and let it go. Interview with Mochtar Kusumah Atmadja, Jakarta, 2 April 1997.

22 Robert Dahl concluded that American politics could be defined as the pursuit of interests by different groups in a society. He recognises the existence of plural interests and assumes the striving and bargaining in pursuit of them is the driving force for politics (Dahl 1956).

23 In fact, the total amount pledged by the new donor syndicate was initially 5,2 billion dollars. Because Radius Prawiro did not want his successor to be ashamed if in the next CGI consultations a lesser amount would be pledged, he agreed on US$4,9 billion and received the commitment that the following year, the total amount would be increased. Personal Communication, Yogyakarta, 12 May 1997.


26 When Eveline Herfkens entered office as the new minister of Development Cooperation in August 1998, she was amazed how little was known about the myriad of projects under the banner of her department. In fact, the National Accounting Agency remarked in its evaluation of 1990 that the ‘institutional memory’ of DGIS showed serious deficiencies: the evaluators had much difficulty in assessing how much and what kind of projects were undertaken by DGIS (Algemene Rekenkamer 1990).


29 The Dutch Co-Financing-program is a construction in which DGIS allocated funds to Non Governmental organisations to set up projects with Non Governmental Organisations in developing countries.


31 Decision-making in Indonesia follows a different pattern: when the president makes an oral statement, the lower echelons of the bureaucracy have to interpret what he meant and subsequently implement it. The preliminary interpretation of the bureaucracy was that all Dutch government assistance, whether it came from DGIS or other departments had to be ended.

32 Several interviewees told this story. The difference in the several accounts was whether people could have known the financial agreement between the department of Education and Sciences and DGIS.

33 Of these twenty projects, only two were continued, due to the intervention of then minister of Research and Technology B.J. Habibie.

34 Development relevant export transactions: a scheme providing in subsidies for Dutch companies wanting to export to developing countries. The export transaction should not be profitable and mainly benefit the developing country. It should also contribute to the general aims of Dutch foreign aid policies: emancipation of women, environmental preservation and sustainable development.


36 The Forum Netherlands Indonesia attempts to be an umbrella organisation for mainly non-governmental relations in different areas: economic, socio-cultural and political. Offices are in Jakarta and The Hague and members come from governmental and private circles. Many former officials are prominent members.


38 Radius Prawiro, ‘Seeking strategies for a new partnership in Indonesian-Dutch Relations: A time to remember Erasmus’, Speech delivered at the annual session of Forum Netherlands Indonesia, Rotterdam, 7 November 1996.

Chapter 2

1 Already in the 1960s, when a separate ministry for foreign aid was established in the Netherlands, the department’s name referred to international cooperation, to reflect the equality between the partners in development and the fact that such aid/cooperation would have to be of mutual benefit (Hellema 1999: 127-144).


3 Mary Douglas takes a more radical view in the discussion about the extent to which institutions define our thought and behaviour. According to her our thinking is dependent upon institutions. Once they have evolved, it is hard for a human being to move beyond the institutional boundaries of our reasoning (Douglas 1986).


5 When it comes to advice for the elected official, Rob Hoppe sharply criticises the network approach: as a result of the assumption that there is no predominant hierarchy in networks,
the authors neglect the issue of democratic legitimisation. Advice to public officials comes
down to, in the worst case, ‘a hidden Machiavellism in the creation of manipulated net-
work-consensus’ (Hoppe 1998: 37).

6 Walter Williams makes a similar distinction when writing about the federal governance
process from Congress to local project service operators: the domain of big decisions, the
domain of administration and support and the operators domain (Williams 1982: 6-9).

7 Graham Allison’s third model of governmental politics is in fact a well-known example of
the empirical use of games as metaphors to explain political choices and policy processes.
This third model completed the explanation of the Cuba missile crisis in a convincing way

8 In a research I once conducted about the knowledge of the law by Dutch parliament-mem-
bers, it was not surprising to find that most members did not know all laws. There are sim-
ply too many to know (Vos 1993).

Chapter 3

1 Substantive theory is theory developed for empirical area’s, such as the policy process, for-
eign policy; empirical phenomena. Formal theory is developed for conceptual enquiries,
for example power, anomie: more abstract concepts (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 33-35).

2 Egon Cuba and Yvonne Lincoln (1989) developed a qualitative methodology of policy eval-
uation. One of their methods is interviewing the stakeholders in subsequent rounds of in-
terviews, in order to draw up a complete version of the way the policy is perceived by stake-
holders (cf. Roe 1994).

Chapter 4

1 See for a map and an overview of the geography, peoples and economy the CIA factbook:
http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/id.html. The information on politics and
the economy is however quickly outdated. The Economic Intelligence Unit regularly up-

2 Sukarno asserted that Indonesian nationalism was based on geopolitics: ‘Even a child, if he
looks at the map of the world, can point out that the Indonesian archipelago forms one

3 The English translation to the word ‘unity’ does not grapple with an important difference
of meaning. While Sukarno spoke in the 1940s of persatuan (the becoming of a unity), later
Soeharto used the word kesatuan (already a unity). That change signifies the desire of the
government, while unity was first seen as a process, later on it referred to a state of being,
which actually was not yet achieved.

4 See also the special issue of the Indonesian Quarterly on Panca Sila: 1987, vol. xv, no. 4.

5 Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila, the upgrading course on the directives
for the understanding and internalisation of Pancasila. Roeslan Abulgani, under Sukarno
minister of Information and Foreign Affairs was one of the main authors in formulating the
P4-doctrine. He wrote most of the course material.

6 Presidential State address before the Plenary Session of the House of Representatives, 16
August 1982.

7 Nugroho NotoSusanto and Ismail Saleh (1968) wrote the official version of the story of this
coup. Ben Anderson and Ruth Mc Vey presented an alternative version (1971). For an ac-
count of the role of the American CIA in Indonesian politics in the 1950s and 1960s see Audrey and George Mc T. Kahin (1997). On 11 March 1966, president Sukarno is said to have transferred his power to general Soeharto, by the so-called SuperSemar. This letter has been 'lost' ever since and in 1998, rumours began to spread that this letter had never existed at all.

In particular the last years of the Old Order, which commonly referred to as the period of Guided Democracy (1958-1965) in which Sukarno tightened the grip on parliament and effectively ended democracy in Indonesia (Feith 1962; Nasution 1992).

8 Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat; Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat.

9 Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara.

10 The closed civil service that the Dutch found in the first half of 1992 after the decision of the president to end Dutch development aid is but one example of the strict responsiveness of the entire system to the (often orally) communicated presidential orders.


13 Golongan Karya, the functional groups.

14 In December 1993 PDI voted for Megawati Sukarnoputri, the eldest daughter of the late president, as party leader, but the government intervened and appointed another party leader. Since then the PDI has been divided and the elections of 1997 resulted in a drastic decrease in PDI votes. In 1998, Megawati's PDI distinguishes itself by adding Perjuangan, the fighting PDI.

15 See for an analysis of the changes in the political system induced by Habibie the web-publication by E. Masters (‘A second chance for Democracy’ 1999) on www.asiasociety.org.

16 To de-politicise means that the people are excluded from any political activities. In Indonesia parties were allowed, but they were stripped of their meaning as representatives of groups of people. Personal communication with Nico Schulte Nordholt, Enschede, 10 September 1999.

17 Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia.

18 He was thought to be the successor of Sukarno, but in his place, general Soeharto came.

19 The army does have many other sources of income though: army members have always been active in business. Their incomes derived from enterprises were probably more than the government budget.

20 Only in his autobiography Soeharto's opinions can be read. It was also in this biography that he disclosed that he had issued the so-called Petrus murders: secret killings of criminals in the 1970s (Soeharto 1989).

21 Perhaps Slobodan Milosovic and his wife Mira can be compared to Soeharto and his wife Ibu Tien.

22 "No one knows what that man thinks... That is the secret of his power," commented one senior politician who had watched him closely for years' (in: Mackie & Maclntyre 1994: 45).

23 The journal of Cornell University (Indonesia) reports regularly on the shifts in positions in the Indonesian army.

24 Inpres is an acronym for instruksi presiden. These directives are financial allocations for development projects made directly to the village or district level, largely circumventing the bureaucracy in between.
Pramoedja Ananta Toer's novel on corruption provides an in-depth understanding of the reasons for an individual civil servant to become corrupt (Toer 1955).

Anders Uhlin's dissertation is on the Indonesian democratic movement. He predicted that in 1996-1997 Indonesia was in a pre-transition phase, about to engage in the Third wave of democratisation (Uhlin 1997; Cf. Huntington 1991).

See Palmer 1976 for an early critical study on the political economy of the first ten years of the New Order.


It was estimated in 1999 that private companies in Indonesia had a US$ 70 billion corporate foreign debt, and government a US$ 45 billion debt (Murphy & Dolven, 1999).

For a succinct account of the events that led to Soeharto's resignation, see Emmerson 1999: 295-343.


C.B. Wels argues that Dutch foreign policy can be characterised as aloof and neutral. Its size and dependency on foreign trade was best served by maintaining the status quo and keeping friendly relations with the great powers, urging for neutrality in foreign policy (Wels 1982).

When President Clinton went to China in the summer of 1998, a societal debate took place on whether the president should promote American economic interests or criticise the Chinese government on its human rights record. Eventually he did both. The Blair government immediately started to reorient its foreign policy towards more emphasis on human rights.

Bob van den Bos provided interesting reading on the ideas of Dutch party leaders on foreign policy in a series of interviews (Van den Bos 1986).

Buitenlandse Economische Betrekkingen – BEB.


Marijke Breuning contends that the national role conception of Dutch foreign assistance can be characterised as 'activist': stability, social justice and empowerment as the key themes and the objective guiding foreign aid being long term stability of the system (Breuning 1995: 239).

'Nota hulpverlening aan minder ontwikkelde landen', (1966) by T. Bot, the first minister of Development Aid. The Hague: SDU.

Also, the Netherlands is one of the few countries that meets the UN target to allocate of 0.7 percent of the GNP for foreign aid.


Annemiek Bolhuis studied the differences in policy theories of the respective Dutch cabinets. Pronk's policy theory is then characterised by an egalitarian and hierarchic mix of political cultures (Bolhuis 1992).
Exactly because of the intricate relation between politics and poverty, Voorhoeve favours a separate minister for Development Cooperation, because the task is too large for one single minister. An argument which is remarkable because the Liberal Party pleads for a state secretary for development cooperation rather than a minister.


Multatuli, a pseudonym for Eduard Douwes Dekker wrote the much-discussed book ‘Max Havelaar’ on the exploitation in the Dutch Indies in the 19th century by the Dutch. In 1899 Th. van Deventer published a pamphlet on the debt of honour that the Dutch had towards the indigenous peoples of the Dutch Indies. The Dutch government then initiated the so-called ‘ethical policy’, which was supposed to educate the indigenous people, but was more a reflection of feelings of moral superiority than a true endeavour in relieving the Indonesian people of centuries of exploitation (Locher-Scholten 1981).

200 million guilders are however a small amount compared to the total foreign aid Indonesia received and the total of development budget of the Indonesian government.


Professor Breman’s conclusions were not uncontested. The extent and presence of coercion in Indonesian family planning were questioned by professor Anke Niehof, a former employee of DGIS and now professor at the Agricultural University of Wageningen. Debate: in Bijdragen, Vol. 152, no. 1, 1996, pp. 144-151.

Chapter 5
1 Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen.
2 George Orwell coined the term ‘more equal than others’ in his brilliant post World War novel ‘Animal Farm’. He referred to a fictitious situation where the pigs declared that all animals were equal, but the pigs more equal than the other animals, so that they had the legitimate power over the animal society (Orwell 1945).
3 On 28 October 1928, at the second Congress of the Indonesian Youth, an oath was taken declaring that the Indonesian peoples would have one language, the Indonesian. At that congress the word ‘Malay’ was replaced by Indonesian (Alisjabana 1966: 64).
4 A similar nation building process through the establishment of a new language took place in Israel after the formation of the Israeli State in 1948.
5 Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
6 For example, when the first sheep was cloned, there was confusion in the media as to how to form verbs and nouns of the English word clone. The Centre of Language Development and Cultivation then advises on the proper conjugation, sends advice to the mass media and in this case, the suggestions of the Centre were taken over.
7 Interview with Prof. Dr Anton Moeliono, Jakarta, 27 March 1997.
8 The clashes between the Muslims and the Christians in Maluku after Soeharto’s resignation in 1998 made it painfully clear that religious harmony did not reach further than the surface and is easily violated.
Munawir Azali, the minister of Religious Affairs from 1989 till 1993 said: 'Islamic Studies in the Middle East are dead, there's an intellectual stagnation.'

An overview of the Indonesian Education system is offered in the book for the commemoration of Indonesia's 50th Independence day by the then Minister of Education Prof. dr. Wardiman Djojonegoro (1996).

Due to the economic crisis of the late 1990s, an increasing number of children have been taken out of school, their parents cannot afford the tuition fees anymore.

It has happened that students conducted a research, only to discover afterwards that Dutch scholars had done the exact same study before the war. Interview with Mrs. Mien Joebhaar, civil servant at the Ministry of Education and Culture, Jakarta, 21 February 1997.

Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, the Indonesian Institute of Sciences. This is a governmental institute that advises the government on research matters, conducts research itself and grants visa for foreign researchers.


There is a special ambassador for international cultural policy, who coordinates and stimulates international cultural policy. Mr. Paul Brouwer has been cultural ambassador before he became ambassador in Indonesia from 1993 till 1998.

In 1994 these two ministries were reorganised and culture policy was added; since then it is the department of Education, Culture and Sciences (ocw).


Tractatenblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden no 98, Agreement of Cultural Cooperation between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands, 7 July 1968. In 1949 a cultural agreement had been part of the appointments made at the Round Table conference for the independence of Indonesia, but this agreement has never led to any action. It was dissolved in 1956, after in 1950 President Sukarno officially put an end to the Dutch-Indonesian union (Van Roon 1987: 36-37; Cf. Berg 1952).

The conclusion of the first document on international cultural policies was that Indonesia deserved special attention (HTK 10 961, 1970-1971, no. 2).

Minutes of the NAC Meetings, 1970-1983 at theKITLV Archive in Leiden.


Agreed Minutes between the Ministry of Education and Sciences (J. Ritzen) and Education and Culture (Fuad Hasan), 19 September 1992. These Agreed Minutes were followed by the Memorandum of Understanding between the Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia and the Minister of Education and Science of the Kingdom of the Netherlands on cooperation in the field of Education and Science, Zoetermeer, 30 October 1992. With Minister Habibie a MoU was immediately undersigned on 18 September 1992 in Jakarta.
25 Cultural Cooperation between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia, Agreed minutes of the periodical consultative discussions held in Yogyakarta 10-12 December 1992.
26 Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie van Wetenschappen.
27 In 1949 a special language committee was installed to ban all Dutch words from the Indonesian language and replace them with Indonesian words.
28 Interview with Dr Gerard Termorshuizen, Leiden, 26 March 1996.
29 For more details on number on students, contents and development in the courses and staff members see Stokkermans, 1982: 494-503 and Darmojuwono et al., 1996.
30 Interviews with individual students, Jakarta, (Erasmushuis) 3 May 1997.
31 Interview with Drs Suratminto, Depok, 12 March 1999.
32 The Indonesian graduation system is similar to the American. S1 compares to the bachelor’s degree and takes approximately four years. S2 compares to the Masters degree and takes another two years. S3 is the doctors degree received after writing a dissertation, or nowadays, also with course work.
34 Interview with Dr Kees Groeneboer, Jakarta, 17 April 1997.
35 Agreed Minutes of the periodical consultative discussions for the Cultural Cooperation between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the republic of Indonesia, Yogyakarta, 10-12 December 1992.
36 Protocol on the Netherlands-Indonesian meeting of the fields of culture and education, Jakarta, February 25-27, 1986S
37 Interview with Drs Suratminto, Depok, 12 March 1999.
40 Harsja Bachtiar was also dean of the College of Police Science, professor of Sociology at the College of Military Law, dean of the Faculty of letters, director of the National research Institute LIPI and Lecturer at the Army Staff and Command School (resume of Prof. Dr Harsja W. Bachtiar).
41 The formal status of the BIS has never been clear. The department of Education and Sciences wanted the administration and management to be a task of the kitlv, the BIS was not supposed to become a separate bureau.
42 Interview with Prof. Dr Sartono Kartodirdjo, Yogyakarta, 28 April 1997.
43 Interview with Prof. Dr Henk Maier and Dr G. Koster, Leiden, 21 May 1996.
44 Report of the Working Group Indonesian Studies, December 1982. This working group was chaired by Dr. A.J. Piekaar, formerly member of the board of the kitlv, then high official at the Department of Education and Sciences.
46 Discussion paper on the tasks and possibilities of the nac for the meeting of 19 December 1979, by A. Tceuw, Leiden, 30 November 1979.
47 A functionary of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs contests this view, according to him the ministry of Education and Sciences did have a strong mandate, because this ministry allocated the funds. The conclusions of the evaluation (see below) were in this respect too critical, and had only emphasised the argument that the main function of PRIS had been the uplift of the Indonesian studies in the Netherlands. Interview with Dr J.J.P. de Jong, The Hague, 12 May 1998.

48 Interview with Dr Taufik Abdullah, Jakarta, 12 May 1997.
49 Interview with Dr Gerard Termorshuizen, Leiden, 26 March 1996.
50 Interview with Prof. Dr Koentjaradiningrat, Jakarta, 17 March 1997; interview with Mrs. Prof. Dr Haryati Soebadio, Jakarta, 21 March 1997.

52 In the so-called pencangkokan-program, the verb mencangok means planting one branch on another branch: planting the Dutch language on another discipline.


54 Interview with Prof. Dr Adri Lapian, Jakarta, 7 May 1997.
55 Mrs. Drs Madelon Djajadiningrati-Nieuwenhuis, then education co-ordinator at the BIS argued that the increasing attention for education was meant to create the network of young scholars who in the future could be the bearers of the bilateral relation. She is now co-ordinator of the Forum Netherlands-Indonesia, an umbrella organisation, founded in 1995 that stimulates private to private cooperation between Indonesian and Dutch organisations. Interview, The Hague, 4 March 1996.

56 'Bibit' is the Indonesian word for seedling, in this context it meant the training of a new generation of Indonesianists.


59 Ibid. p. 16-17.

60 An interviewee gave an example of professor Bachtiar's way of judging. He decided against the admittance of a female Indonesia student because he was of the opinion that she should stay at home and take care of her children.

61 Interviews with Dr Taufik Abdullah (Jakarta, 12 May 1997) and Prof. Dr Sartono Kartodirdjo (Yogyakarta, 28 March 1997).
62 Interview with Mrs. Prof. Dr Jajah Koswara, Jakarta, 6 May 1997.
63 Memo on the 125th birthday of the KITLV by Henk Maier and Lars S. Vikör, Leiden, October 1976.
64 (presumed) Maier, H. and L. Vikör, 'Het Cultureel Akkoord', without date.
65 The article's tenet was that the PRIS was an old fashioned, dusty program.
66 Interview with Dr Gerard Termorshuizen, Leiden, 11 April 1996.
67 The discussion took place during a seminar at the University of Amsterdam on the role of social science and social scientists in Southeast Asia, to mark the retirement of Professor Sediono M.P. Tjondronegoro. The discussion on Indonesian social science was held be-
international cooperation between politics and practice


68 Interview with Mr. Paul Brouwer, Jakarta, 22 April 1997.
70 Interview with Mrs. Winnifred de Groot, Amsterdam, 12 September 1996.
72 Professor Teeuw and Dr van Fraassen objected in a reaction to the conclusions of the evaluation: no reference was made to the opening conference, the evaluation was carried out by Dutch evaluators only, and the program was evaluated according to new standards. They reminded furthermore that the steering committees were given a full mandate and that it is a Dutch custom that the ministry does not interfere with the contents of scientific issues (NAC, Concept reactie op het Evaluatie rapport PRIS, Leiden, 19 February 1991).
73 In 1989 the Dutch Ministry of Education and Sciences initiated a study to the state of the art of the studies into the languages and cultures. The report recommended that a postdoctoral institute of Asian Studies be set up. Baby Krishna: rapport van de Adviescommissie Kleine Letteren, 1991.
74 This event was derived from several interviews; considering the sensitivity for individuals, names are not mentioned.
75 Letter from Prof. Dr P. Schoorl to Dr. P. Tindemans, 26 November 1992
76 Letter from Prof. Dr Harsja W. Bachtia to the S2 and S3 students in Leiden, Jakarta, 13 April 1992.
78 Interview with Dr. Chris van Fraassen, Leiden, 28 March 1997.
79 Interview with Mrs. Mariette van Hall, Ministry of Education and Sciences, Zoetermeer, 20 October 1995.
80 Interview with Prof. Dr A. Teeuw, Leiden, 12 March 1996.
82 Records of the itinerary of Prof. Dr A. Teeuw to Indonesia, 27 June – 9 September 1972, for the RUL-18 project.
83 In 1990 the total amount of funding was fl. 7.814368,-. The respective contributions were: Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs: fl. 4732.768,-; Dutch Ministry of Education and Sciences: fl. 1998.000,-; Indonesian government: fl. 1083.600,-; in percentages approximately 60:25:15 (Terms of reference of the CESO Evaluation report of 1990 and progress report VIII of Ildep 1992).
84 The Netherlands organisation for international cooperation in higher education.
85 Interview with Prof. Dr Anton Moeliono, Jakarta 27 March 1997.
86 Interviews with Prof. Dr Wim Stokhof, Leiden 28 August 1995 and 27 November 1996.
87 The factors listed in the PRIS evaluation, by the same author L. Dubbeldam, are more due to the PRIS project itself. The Ildep evaluation was carried out directly after the PRIS evaluation, but the report of Ildep appeared sooner than the PRIS evaluation.
NOTES

88 Interview with Dr Hein Steinhauser, Leiden 12 October 1996.
89 Interview with Dr Hein Steinhauser, Leiden, 1996.
91 Institute Agama Islam Negeri, IAIN's.
94 Interview with Dr Johan Meuleman, Jakarta, 18 March 1997.
95 Ministry of Religious Affairs in Jakarta and DSALCUL at the University of Leiden, (March 1988). Indonesian-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies, Jakarta Leiden 1989-1993. This report was written after the visit of the Leiden committee, as a formal proposal to DGIS.
96 DGIS, Statusreports for projects for annual bilateral consultations between Indonesia and the Netherlands, 5-6 February, 1991, p. 66.
97 In an interview, professor Stokhof, the director of, amongst other things, INIS explained that newsletters are the frameworks for good networks of support. Actually, all activities undertaken by Prof. Stokhof have a newsletter, of which the IIAS newsletter is the best way of communication for all activities in the field of the Asian Studies. Interview with Prof. Dr Wim Stokhof, August 12, 1995 Leiden.
98 Professor Stokhof attended me to that small detail, which is a sign of the creativity in dealing with the equality and mutual benefit principles after 1992.
100 Early 1992 an evaluation of this regular bilateral aid project was instigated by DGIS. But just when the Dutch part of the evaluation was completed, the decision of March 25 made the evaluation obsolete. The Indonesian part of the evaluation was never carried out. Interview with Prof. Dr Anke Niehof, Wageningen, 20 May 1996.
101 Interview with Dr Saleh Affif, Jakarta, 5 March 1999.
103 See also http://www.minocw.nl/wetensch/islam.htm.
104 Interview with Ir. Frank van der Mijn, Amsterdam 13 May 1998.
105 Since January 2000 Irian Jaya was renamed Papua, the name the island had before the Dutch government named it New Guinea. Since the project has Irian Jaya in its title, we will use the New Order name for the island in this case.
106 See for example the websites of Irian Jaya Homepage and the OPM, the Free West Papua Movement: http://www.converge.org.nz/wpapua and -/opm.html
107 Project proposal, 1988, Irian Jaya Studies Project. Upgrading of Irianese fellows in the field of Irian Studies, (IRIS)
109 In the late 1980s E.K.M. Masinambow was Professor in Anthropology at the Universitas Indonesia and head of the Social Science department at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI).
110 The Birds Head is the northern part of Irian Jaya.
111 Paul Brouwer, the Dutch ambassador to Jakarta cynically commented on the activities of professor Stokhof and Dr Vredenbregt: ‘They come here and put a proposal of theirs in to
soak and make the Indonesian counterparts believe it is their own proposal'. Interview, Jakarta, 22 April 1997.

112 Professor Stokhof submitted some proposals for research to the NAC, which was still chaired by professor Teeuw, but they were turned down under the argument that they were too costly.

113 Interviews with Prof. Dr Wim Stokhof, Leiden, 28 August 1995 and 27 November 1996.


115 The ISIR Newsletter of November 1995 (issue 5) contains an updated list of all ISIR/IRIS publications.

116 Interview with Dr Paul Haenen, Jakarta, 25 March 1997.

117 http://iias.leidenuniv.nl/host/isir/gen/.

118 Interview with Dr Jelle Miedema, Leiden, 23 September 1996.

119 Interview with Prof. Dr Edy Masinambow, Jakarta, 8 March 1999.

120 Interview with Ir Frank van der Mijn, Amsterdam, 7 March 1996.

121 Interview with Prof. Dr Edy Masinambow, Jakarta, 8 March 1999.

Chapter 6

1 Badan Urusan Logistik.

2 Interview with T.A. Blaauw, Jakarta, 18 February 1999. He has been advisor to the PLN in the 1980s and 1990s.

3 Industri Pesawat Terbang Nusantara.

4 Government allocations to the strategic industry are not accounted for and data on the performance of these industries are extremely difficult to obtain (Hill 1995: 85).

5 According to an economist who has attempted to scrutinise Indonesia’s budget, the estimation is that IPTN received US$ 250 million annually in subsidies (Cohen 1998: 52).

6 The Dutch disease is a too heavy dependency on one source of income (such as oil or gas) and failure of the government to accommodate the temporary windfall income.

7 In Indonesian: Korupsi, Kollusi, Nepotisme (KKN). After Soeharto’s resignation in 1998 the term KKN became the new buzz word: everybody related to the former regime is scrutinised by the media on the extent of ‘KKN-ness’.

8 The Timur car was to be the first and only Indonesian car-brand, heavily protected and supported by the lifting of import duties for parts. In fact, there was not much Indonesian about this car, the Korean company Kia delivered the design, technology and parts (Singh & Loveard 1996). The common remark on this car is ‘the only Indonesian thing on the Timur-car is its driver’.


11 Financieringsmaatschappij voor Ontwikkelingslanden.


13 Ontwikkelingsrelevante Export Transacties.


18 www.evd.nl (trade information on Indonesia 1997).
19 EZ Regelgeving, Subsidieregeling Exportfinancieringsarrangement Indonesië, 10 October 1996, no. 96039149 WJA/JZ.
20 The evaluation of the outsourcing operation concluded that most of the objectives were not reached as yet, mainly caused by a lack of management expertise on the side of DGIS (10V1988).
22 Memo 'Projectmatige samenwerking met Indonesië' by Dr J. Klok, Amsterdam (NLR) 1995.
23 In 1980 an import restriction for foreign aeroplanes was commissioned in 1980, possible after a joint venture with Spanish aeroplane factory CASA, which resulted in 18 Indonesian manufactured (assembled) planes annually.
24 An US based organisation that grants certification to aircraft manufacturers approving the quality of aircraft.
25 Interviews with Prof. Dr Oetarjo Diran, Jakarta 3 February 1999; Ir Kodiat, Jakarta 6 February 1999.
26 Via joint ventures, licensing and sub contracting agreements IPTN co-operates amongst other with CASA from Spain (with which it built the CN 235), Boeing from the USA, MBB from Germany, and with Aerospatiale from France, to assemble the Super Puma helicopters.
27 Interview with Prof. Dr Oetarjo Diran, Jakarta, 6 February 1999. Diran had studied in Delft; his colleagues, including Habibie joked that the choice for the Netherlands were because of his old schoolties ('Jij bent een Delftenaar' = You are a Delfter). Diran admits that his choice was partly because of old boys school ties, partly fate and for the greater part rational: the Dutch simply have a better way of organising their aerospace community.
28 In the late 1970s, Germany and the Netherlands had jointly built a low speed windtunnel and the construction manager, Ir F. Jaarsma was momentarily out of work. When Mr Habibie came to see the tunnel, he approached Ir Jaarsma and asked him whether he would be interested in building a copycat of this tunnel in Indonesia. Interview with Ir F. Jaarsma, Emmeloord, 10 June 1998.
29 *Nederlands Instituut voor Vliegtuigontwikkeling en Ruimtevaart*, this agency acts as an intermediary between the Dutch government and the Dutch aerospace industry.
30 Interview with Ir J.P. Klok, Amsterdam, 2 April 1996.
31 Of the 600 aircraft Indonesia used in 1977, 56 were manufactured by Fokker, which made Indonesia posses the largest fleet of Fokker planes in the world.
32 Interview with Dr B.A. Reith, Delft, 7 March 1996.
33 The Evaluation committee of DGIS (10V) conducted a critical survey to the extent in which development -goals were served in the program for soft credits (ORET). It concluded that while the TTA project was highly effective in its intrinsic goals, it did not fit on the objectives in the policy documents for Indonesia, nor did it improve the standard of living of large groups in the society, nor did it assist in making the Indonesian economy more independent (10V 1990: 258-259).
Assisted by General Wolff, Prof. Dr Ir Van der Bliek, the director of the NLR and representatives of the ministries of Economic Affairs and Traffic and Waterworks.

Letter of Prof. Dr Gerlach to Minister Habibie, presenting the draft, NLR, Delft 13 June 1980; Letter of Minister Habibie to Minister Tuijnman of Traffic and Waterworks, Jakarta, 21 June 1980.

Memo by NLR for the Minister of v&w, 19 May 1987.

Administrative Agreement between the government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia concerning the Aero-gas Dynamics and Vibration Laboratory (LAGG) project at Serpong, West Java, Jakarta, 10 February 1992.

Memo by NLR for the Minister of v&w, 19 May 1987.

The theory and of Geert Hofstede on cultural pitfalls was used to prepare the Dutch engineers for working in the Indonesian culture (Hofstede 1982).

In the middle of the laboratory complex, a little garden bears the name of Kebun Jaarsma — the Jaarsma garden — as a sign of the appreciation of the Indonesian staff for his way of working.

The daughter of Ir Rob Jager described the process of generating the soft credit funds: because there were so many deliverers, constructors and advisors involved, it seemed virtually impossible. Eventually, through intelligent cooperation between the Dutch banks and applicants, managed by DHV consultant Max Bongaerts, the total credit for the Indonesian windtunnel was completed (Jager 1986). Tampering with funds was not possible in this financial arrangement: the money actually stayed in the Netherlands, because the voted funds were spent on Dutch products.

The yield is 90% graduates according to the Indonesian report, but it should be taken into consideration that the selection criteria at American and Japanese universities are much more strict, so the best students go to the States and Japan.

In 1998 the number of Indonesian students had increased from 150 to 400 students.
Early 1996 Fokker went bankrupt. The effect for APERT was not devastating, since the budget had never been used in full anyway. Internships at Fokker for Indonesian students however stopped. For NLR the loss of Fokker meant that it had to reorient its mission as supporter for Fokker’s interests to an independent research institute, which it has successfully done.

Confidential policy document on the continuation of cooperation with Indonesia in aerospace technology, for the Minister of Education and science Mr. J.J.M. Ritsen, 7 December 1992, p. 7.

See the chapters on Finances in the progress reports on APERT.

After being overruled by the Dutch department of O&W, the knaw committee wrote that it would have to disobey its mandate to guard the scientific quality of proposals given by ocw. Letter from Prof. Dr P.J. van Zandbergen (Chairman program-committee) to Dr P.A.J. Tindemans (Chairman Steering Committee) Amsterdam, 3 July 1996.

All progress reports mention that the majority of the 5 research proposals are not yet or not fully implemented. Of the earmarked budget of 1,1 million guilders for these projects only 220.000 was used in 1997 (Ninth Progress report, January through December 1997, p. 9).

Amendment no. 3 made at the Plenary Programme Meeting of 2 July 1996.

Interview with Ir Rowin Mangkoesoebroto and Ir Hermansyah, Bandung, 9 February 1999.

Letter from president of Indonesia B.J. Habibie to Prime Minister Wim Kok, Jakarta 26 January 1999.


Interview with Prof. Dr Ir Hariono Djokodihardjo, Jakarta 17 February 1999.

Letter of Dr Ir J.M.M. Ritsen to Prof. Dr ing. J.B. Habibie, Zoetermeer, 16 August 1995 (ref. no. OWB/NT 95007152). Literally he wrote: ‘I have taken note of the budgetary constraints in Indonesia (...) I have no problem whatever n meeting your request and more particularly I would be ready to prefinance a number of activities so to have by the end of the year a detailed proposal for all three lines of APERT 95 (...) Secondly, I would be pleased to pre-finance the costs of the installation of the pilot high speeds wind tunnel which the NLR is willing to make available at no cost to IPTN or ITB, about which your son, Dr Ilham Habibie recently has been in contact with Dr Spee’.

Interview with Ir Leo Sombroek, Amsterdam, 10 August, 1998. He also recounted a meeting organised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which he and fellow businessman were advised to invest in friendships, adjust to the Indonesian culture and be ‘flexible’. ‘I was offended by that, my experience is that Indonesians are very businesslike’.

Interview with Ir Suleiman Kamil, Jakarta 16 February 1999; Interview with Prof. Dr Oetarjo Diran, Jakarta, 6 February 1999.

The so-called Habibie students at TUD were visited five times by ministers and a parliamentary delegation in the period 1984-1992 (Memo for minister J. Ritzen as a preparation for his visit to Indonesia 16-24 September 1992, by Dr B.A. Reith and Prof. Dr Geschl Grothe, Delft, 26 June 1992).

Interview with Prof. Dr Oetarjo Diran, Jakarta 3 February 1999.

Fibreglass as the material to construct smaller boats is very popular in Indonesia, but because it has to be imported this material is quite expensive.
Interview with Ir Gerard Dijkstra, Amsterdam, 18 January 1999.
Progress Report May 1990, IPB MOL/IMLD 05.05, DGIS ID/89/014.
Lembaga Kewiraswastaan Industri. LKI begun as a yayasan, a non-governmental agency, supported by government funds.
Interview with F. Sartono, director of LKI, Jakarta, 10 March 1999.
Progress Report May 1990, IPB MOL/IMLD 05.05, DGIS ID 89 014.
A session with the ministers of Finance, Economy & Trade, Industry, Bappenas and the president.
Fax from Joop de Schutter to Gerard Dijkstra, 5 September 1990.
Interview with Hinu Sutihardjo, Jakarta, 4 March 1999.
The idea behind 'sharing' is the same as in the pemerataan practices in the Indonesian Linguistics programme ILDEP but the difference here is that the Mol did not do anything to even deserve a share. The difference is however that the team of the Boats project protested against this practice.
Interviews with Ir Untung Triadmodjo and Ir I Made Widiastra, Manager PT DOK & Perkapalan Kodja Bahari, Cirebon, 24 February 1999.
Interview with Dop Bar, Amsterdam, 25 January 1999.
There were small credit programs for the rural sector and there was an Indonesian-Dutch program for small and medium industrial enterprises (SMIEP), but these initiatives were never linked to the boat-program.
Interview with F. Sartono, director of the LKI, Jakarta, 10 March 1999.
Unlike the projects described in this and the former case, the Pompengan project has been analysed thoroughly by three authors (D. Roth, A. Schrevel and Ph. Quarles van Ufford) in several studies and the dissertation by Schrevel on the irrigation aspects of the project. Dik Roth is writing a dissertation on the land reform and settlement issues in this project. This section will mainly consist of a secondary analysis of the existing literature, complemented with a few interviews.
HTK 1989-1990, 21 435, no 1-2: This was the evaluation of the Dutch Audit Board of the Bilateral aid to Indonesia.
Interview with Ir A. Munting, Driebergen, 28 January 1999. Munting said that he often got complaints from the embassy that the budgets were not spent fast enough. He tried to explain that the demand for quality implied that they could put their accord on many of the delivery and construction works.
Personal communication with Dik Roth, Amsterdam, 23 March 1999.
Interview with Aart van Nes, Jakarta, 13 February 1999.
Interview with Hinu Sutihardjo, Jakarta, 4 March 1999.
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101 Interview with Albert Munting, Driebergen, 28 January 1999.
102 Interview with S.K. Mangiri, Jakarta, 1 March 1999.
103 Interview with Aart van Nes, Jakarta, 13 February 1999.

104 According to the official National Human Rights fact finding team some 800 people are reported missing or killed in Aceh, while local NGO's speak of 30,000 Acehnese being killed by the military. See also Amnesty International Briefings (ASA 21/81/99, 4 August 1999) (ASA 21/79/99, 4 August 1999) (ASA 21/02/99, 11 January 1999) on www.amnesty.org/aillib/countries/indx321.htm.

105 Later on, two sub projects were added: extension centres assistance and assistance with the planning activities in the districts (kecamatan).

106 Beplat is an acronym for Bevordering Plattelandsontwikkeling, promotion of rural development. It is a rather odd name, but it covered the mission of the organisation. Heijboer did not care about a more fancy name.

107 Another advantage of the establishment of Beplat BV specifically for this project was that there was not interest in gaining other orders for projects. The primary goal of this organisation was not to survive after this project, but to bring this project to a successful completion.


111 Letter from the governor of Aceh, Ibrahim Hasan to Dutch ambassador Baron de Vos van Steenwijk, Banda Aceh, 16 October 1989.

112 Interview with Bram Heijboer, Banda Aceh, 19-20 February 1999.


114 Interview with Saleh Affif, Jakarta 5 March 1999.


119 Letters from governor Ibrahim Hasan to Saleh Affif, chairman of Bappenas and the minister of Domestic Affairs, Subject: Penangan Proyek PPW/LTA-77 Propinsi Dearah Istimewah Aceh. ('Continuation of the project PPW/LTA-77 in the special province of Aceh') Banda Aceh, 8 April 1992.

120 Interview with Saleh Affif, Jakarta 5 March 1999.


122 ‘Selamat Jalan, Meneer!’, Serambi Indonesia, 14-4-1992.

Letter from the Joint operation PDGM-HCBV, Banda Aceh, 25 June 1998. In the same letter, the director of Holland Coffee BV urged Heijboer to keep silent on the matter: ‘... failure to adhere to this confidentiality and secrecy would result in severe consequences, including, but not limited to (sic! MLV) use of any legal means available to us’.

Letter and petition to the Ketua Kejaksaan Agung (General Prosecutor) in Jakarta, Banda Aceh, 18 August 1998.

The new project, PT AMAL received f150,000 from the total budget of f500,000 for Small Embassy Projects (KAP’s) in September 1999, but due to organisational problems in the new Wahid administration, the project could not be endorsed.

Chapter 7

1 Since 1992: Council for International Legal Cooperation – CILC.
2 The well-organised archives of the CILC in Leiden were the main source of the document search.
3 For an introduction into Indonesian adat law see: ter Haar (1948) and Hooker (1978).
4 Badan Pembinaan Hukum Nasional.
6 Professor Mochtar Kusumaiatmadja referred to the well-known Dutch concept De eeuwige student: the eternal student. This behaviour was not affordable in Indonesia as a developing country. Interview, Jakarta 11 March 1997.
7 This is one of the major concerns of Professor Boy Mardjono. According to him government has no priority for libraries. He is also very concerned about the absence of a reading culture in Indonesia and amongst his students: even if there are books and jurisprudence, hardly anybody reads the material that is available. Interview, Jakarta, 13 March 1997.
8 The KIH was until 1988 a sub organisation within the social sciences consortium under the Ministry of Education and Culture. Only after former minister of Foreign Affairs, Professor Mochtar Kusumaatmadja became chairman, the KIH was recognised as a separate consortium.
9 Those were the practical consequences of the Coup of 1965 for the legal education reformers, as explained by professor Mochtar in the same interview.
10 Jan Michiel Otto questions the meaning of the concept Good Governance. He shows how debates on development and human rights explain the waxing and waning of assistance of donor countries for institution-building in developing countries (Otto 1997: 189-199).
11 According to one of the interviewees, a senior government official, one of the three officials at State Secretariat revised all legal drafts, without any knowledge of the basics of legal drafting and then sent it to the Parliament (DPR). The interviewee suggested that president Soeharto only approved new laws after this person from State Secretariat had ‘processed’ them.
12 Interview with Prof. Dr Z. Asikin Kusuma Atmadja, Jakarta, 26 February 1997.
14 They used the Dutch words rechtsstaat and machtsstaat: state of law versus power state.
15 See Bas Pompe’s dissertation on the Indonesian Supreme Court (Pompe 1996).
16 Interview with former Supreme Court Chairman, Purwoto Gandasubrata, Jakarta, 24 February 1997.
17 Interview with Mrs. Retnowulan Sutianto, Supreme Court Judge and professor in Civil Law, Bandung, 26 April 1997.
18 *Stichting voor Rechtswetenschappelijke Samenwerking*.
19 They had founded this organisation on individual initiative, with the co-operation of the Indonesian embassy in The Hague. Until 1995, when the dormant Foundation was dissolved, the Indonesian ambassador has always been the chairman of the Foundation.
20 Coordinating ministry of Economy, Finance, Industry and Supervision of Development.
21 It is said in Indonesia that the Ministry of Justice is by far the least powerful ministry of all.
23 Records of discussion between Mr. Pramoetawi, director Higher Education and Pieter Evers, Jakarta, 2 July 1985.
24 NUFFIC: Netherlands organisation for international cooperation in higher education.
25 Interviews with Mr. Pieter Evers, Jakarta, 1 March 1997; Mrs. Pratiwi Suhardjo, Jakarta, 27 February 1997.
26 The function was first described as liaison officer, but after an evaluation that noted the indispensible nature of the function, it was called 'permanent representative'.
27 Interview with Mrs. Dr M. Termorshuizen-Arts, Leiden, 3 August 1995.
28 14 May 1985 Muhamad Munir was executed.
29 HTK 1984-1985, no. 18600 no 126, report of the meting verbal deliberations. In two motions, parliament members van der Spek, Van Es and Willems invited the government to end the development aid and also postpone the signing of the MoU for legal cooperation, HTK 18600 no.'s 131 and 132.
30 Memo to the Council by Pieter Evers, Jakarta, 3 July 1985.
31 Memorandum of Understanding between the minister co-ordinator for the Economy, Finance, Industry and development supervision of the Republic of Indonesia and the Minister of Development cooperation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning Development Co-operation in the filed of Law, Jakarta, 3 January 1986.
32 Agreed Minutes of discussion between the minister of Justice of the republic of Indonesia and the minister of Justice of the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning co-operation in the field of Law. The Hague, January the 22nd 1986.
33 Status-report for projects for annual bilateral consultations between Indonesia and the Netherlands, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, February 1991. Approximately 15 million guilders came from the Development Aid budget, 2 million guilders, for the Academic project form the Ministry of Education and Sciences. But the latter amount came indirectly from DGIS funds as well.
34 Interview with Prof. Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Jakarta, 11 March 1997.
35 Interview with Ir. Frank van der Mijn, Amsterdam, 7 March 1996; interview with Mrs. Prof. Dr Jajah Koswara, Jakarta, 6 May 1997.
36 Interview with Mrs Prof. Dr C.F.G. Sunaryati Hartono, Jakarta, 8 April 1997.
37 Interview with Mr. Pieter Evers, Jakarta, 1 March 1997.
39 Interview with Mrs. Pratiwi Suhardjo, Jakarta, 27 February 1997.
For the legal drafters project (1989-1991) Mr. Karel Bongenaar was stationed in Jakarta to manage this project.

Interview with Prof. Dr Jan Michiel Otto, Amsterdam, 4 March 1998.

The Law faculties of the major state Universities specialise in one area of law. These faculties are the guiding (Pembina) faculties for the other faculties. For example, the Law faculty of the Padjajaran University in Bandung is specialised in International law, and serves as a guiding faculty for individual scholars in International law at other law faculties.

Annual report 1986 of the Netherlands Council for Cooperation with Indonesia in Legal Matters.

Interview with Prof. Dr Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri, Jakarta, 3 April 1997.


Interview with Dr Adnan Buyung Nasution, Jakarta, 1 May 1997.

Interview with Dr Gregg Churchill, Jakarta, 6 March 1997. Professors Boy Mardjono and Paulus Lotulung were also worried about the reading habits of their Indonesian colleagues, reflected in the poor collections of the libraries. According to them the little interest in written material is an impediment for all improvement efforts in legal reform.

Those professors who did have administrative tasks (submitting financial and accountancy reports) that they had to spend more time on DGIS reports than the actual project.

Pieter Evers kept the Council informed through several faxes, Archive of the Council, selected letters and faxes, April-May 1992.

Interview with Prof. Boy Mardjono, Jakarta, 13 March 1997.


Interview with Prof. Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Jakarta, 11 March 1997.

Letter from M.L. Matthijsse for the minister of the Department of Education and Sciences to the Council, 27 November 1992 (no. vbi/ib 92087027 vp 12053).

Interview with Dr Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri, Jakarta, 3 April 1997.

Access to Law entailed the introduction of an electronic databank for making jurisprudence available. This project met so much resistance and 'technical problems' that it had ended before 1992.

Interview with Mrs. Prof. Dr Retnowulan Sutianto, Bandung, 26 April 1997.

Memorandum Judges Project by Prof. Dr Asikin Kusuma Atmadja and Prof. Dr T.A.W. Sterk, 6 February 1985.


Interviews with Prof. Dr Asikin Kusuma Atmadja, Prof. Dr Retnowulan Sutianto, Dr Bas Pompe, Mr. Pieter Evers and Dr Greg Churchill. In fact, Professor Asikin decided two days before his retirement, when he was virtually untouchable by the apex of power in very controversial appeal against the government. This was probably the only time he could decide so without running the risk of being fired or replaced: the common punishment for judges who decide in favour of the appellant and against the government.
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64 Letter from P. Evers to H. Scheltema, Jakarta, 15 September 1986.
65 The ambassador complained that the Council had not given enough information and DGIS and the embassy had been posed for an accomplished fact with the alternative program for Intan and looked like a right monkey because of the careless action of the Council. Fax form Pieter Evers to the executive committee of the Council, Jakarta, 24 February 1987.
66 A striking detail is that from the beginning on the Council had asked the Dutch ministry of Foreign Affairs to assist in screening the participating judges, so as to avoid that during the project incidents like this would occur. But both the embassy and the Ministry did not have the capacity or manpower to screen. When professor Sterk asked DGIS for an advice on Intan they could not provide one.
68 Double-interview with Dr Din Mohamad and Prof. Dr Paulus Lotulung, Jakarta 19 February 1997.
69 Interview with Dr Din Mohamad, Jakarta 19 February 1997.
70 Interview with Prof. Dr Paulus Lotulung, Jakarta, 9 March 1999.
71 The old bankruptcy law dates from 1903, written by the colonial government.
72 Interview with Mr. J. Hoff, Jakarta, 1 March 1999.
73 Interview with Prof. Dr R. Cleton, The Hague, 7 September 1995.
74 Interview with Prof. Dr C.F.G. Sunaryati Hartono, Jakarta, 8 April 1997.
77 Interview with Prof. Dr C. Fasseur, Leiden, 7 September 1995.
78 Agreed Minutes of Discussion, between the Minister of Justice of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Minister of Justice of the Republic of Indonesia concerning co-operation in the field of law between Indonesia and the Netherlands, 24 September 1991.
79 Interview with Mrs. Prof. Dr C.F.G. Sunaryati Hartono, Jakarta, 8 April 1997.
80 Letter of K. Bongenaar to E. Hirsch Ballin, Bogor, 5 November 1991. A few weeks later he wrote a critical review on the project in which his reservations and objections are described in great detail (*Dutch support for the development of legislation in Indonesia: Some considerations with respect or with reference to a development project*, The Hague, 12 November 1992).
82 Fax from K.E.M. Bongenaar to the Council/Jan van Olden, Jakarta 2 April 1992.
83 Interview with Mrs Prof. Dr C.F.G. Sunaryati Hartono, Jakarta, 8 April 1997.
84 Interview with Prof. Dr Jan Michiel Otto, Amsterdam, 4 March 1998.
85 Interview with Mr. Joris Demmink, Department of Justice, The Hague, 24 March 1998.
87 Confidential memo of Deputy Ambassador J.G.H.C. Kramer to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, ref. no. jaki2i2i/13500 20 July 1993. Kramer concluded furthermore that Indonesia seemed to prefer working with the United States and that the 'legal cooperation had never been a shining pearl in the crown of our foreign aid relation'.
88 Interviews with Mr. Joris Demmink of the Dutch department of Justice, The Hague, 24 March 1998; Mrs. Joke Bossevain-Marinus from the Dutch Department of Justice, The...
Hague, 2 March 1998; Mr. Natabaya from the BPHN, Jakarta 28 February 1997; Mrs. Pratiwi Suhardjo from Bappenas, Jakarta 27 February 1997.

Chapter 8
2 Commonly known as 'Do as the Romans do' (Romans 14: 5-23).
3 Interview with Prof. Dr Haryati Soebadio, Jakarta, 21 March 1997.

Chapter 9
1 In a discussion group on the net, several International Relation specialists discussed the 'unconsummated marriage' between network theory and the two level theory. Jonathan Lewis posed that (global) policy networks influenced international agreements and thus the playing of two level games, and that the combination of the two seemed logical. The discussion evolved into a combination of the epistemic communities and two level game theory (www.iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp/center/ssi/ssi4/lewis.html).
2 In the summer of 2000 the Dutch government decided to continue the construction of the so-called Betuwelijn, a railroad connecting Rotterdam and the mainland of Europe. Despite scientific evidence that the railroad would not be cost effective, nor provide environmental benefits and intense resistance from the public, the government pushed through, arguing that it had already been decided and millions of guilders had already been spent.
4 One of the means to make Dutch foreign aid more efficient has been to reduce the number of countries with which a bilateral aid relation is maintained. The countries are selected on the extent of poverty, socio-economic policies and good governance (DGIS 1999).
5 A sectoral approach means that integrated activities at macro, meso and micro-level are financed for which the government in the recipient country has formulated a specific policy. Responsibility for aid policy lies thus with the developing country itself. DGIS, Netherlands Development Assistance 1998-2000, p. 4.
6 Personal communication, Amsterdam, 19 May 1999.