

Indonesian Students' Association (PPI) in Netherlands from 1952 to 2015: a Continuing Dynamic

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of the 20th century, when Indonesia was not yet independent, Indonesian students' associations have played a major role in the nation building. The founding fathers Mohammad Hatta (the later vice-president), Dr. Soetomo, Sutan Sjahrir, and Achmad Soebardjo who studied in the Netherlands actively discussed Indonesian identity and the independence in an organisation called *Perhimpunan Indonesia* (PI, *Indonesian Association*), which was reintroduced in 1925 after being originally established in 1908 under the name *Indische Vereeniging*. Firstly formed as a social club, the PI was later active politically. It frequently criticized the Dutch government for what they did in the Netherlands Indies through its newspapers *Hinda Poetra* and *Indonesia Merdeka*. The PI demanded freedom for Indonesia and had the spirit of anti-colonialism and non-cooperation with the Dutch. Later it became anti-fascist, which made the PI a tool for the independence struggle. However, once the purpose of the political movement –the Japanese replacement of the Dutch, and independence– became known, the PI was slowly dissolved, though the exact dissolution date is unknown.¹

In 1952, an association that bonded and united Indonesian students with the spirit of nationalism reappeared with the new name of *Persatuan Peladjar Indonesia* (PPI). This is the benchmark year of this study as it was the first year of term PPI. From there on, the dynamic of the PPI has never stopped. Although it altered its name to *Persatuan/Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia*, the spirit still remains for Indonesian students overseas.

The aftermath of the PI can be seen afterwards. Indonesian students overseas took a similar form of action. There are other student diaspora stories from the late 1960s, this time in the United States. When the Indonesian *Orde Baru* just started its administration, a handful of economic students from the University of

¹ See Sunario. (1970) "*Perhimpunan Indoensia dan Peranannya Dalam Perjuangan Kemredeaan Kita*" in *Seminar Sedjarah Nasional II 26-29 Agustus 1970 di Yogyakarta*. Jakarta: Higher Education General Directorate: 10.

California, Berkeley, were chosen to bring back the Indonesian economy from deprivation. In the United States, they formed a group that people called the 'Berkeley Mafia' that consisted of several prominent figures such as Widjojo Nitisastro, Mohammad Sadli, Emil Salim, Subroto, and Ali Wardhana². These students, who were linked together in Berkeley, returned as a group lead by Nitisastro to work under the administration of Soeharto. One of the professors in the Department of Political Science, T.C. Blaisdell commented: "These (would be) prominent Indonesian leaders are gathering," as the group were having study meeting in Barrows Hall, Berkeley (Anwar et al, 2007). The group supported the *Orde Baru* until its collapse in 1998. In the 1960s I believe the number of Indonesian students was not as many as there are now. And in 1961, following the establishment in the Netherlands, the *Persatoean Mahasiswa Indonesia di Amerika Serikat* (Indonesian Students' Union in the United States) was born.³

Today, the number of Indonesian students overseas have increased, as there are 51 PPI in the world. Indonesian students tend to be organized as they belong to the PPI. This is not only in the Netherlands and the United States, but in Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, Australia, Turkey, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Morocco, among others. These students association are familiar among Indonesian under the name of *Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia* (PPI). Although the associations are geographically separated, they seem to have similar form of organization, source of funding, and activities. I did not observe this pattern of association in other international students' association, thus it is worth comparing with other students' associations.

For this research on the Indonesian Students' Association, I want to look specifically at the existing Indonesian students association in the Netherlands (*PPI di Belanda*), which is divided into two: The Indonesian Students' Association Netherlands (*PPI Belanda*), and city offices of the Indonesian Students' Association Netherlands (*PPI Kota di Belanda*).

² See more on Berkeley mafia on http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/JA28Ae02.html (Access on 17 May 2016).

³ See <http://permiasnasional.org/about.html> (Accessed on 28 June 2016).

Indonesian students have a long history in the Netherlands, which can be traced to a century back. However the association itself has changed its name many times from *Indische Vereeniging* (Indies' Association) to *Indonesische Vereeniging* (Indonesian Association) to *Perhimpunan Indonesia* (PI, Indonesia Association), *Persatuan Peladjar Indonesia* (PPI, Indonesian Students' Union) until its current manifestation *Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia*.

I believe it is possible to see the phenomena of the PPI around the world from the case of the PPI in the Netherlands. There are several arguments that support this opinion. First, PPI in the Netherlands has a deep root to the earliest Indonesian students' association, and the term PPI was born in the Netherlands. Second, the members of the PPI Belanda have had a significant impact on the development of the nation, which I explain in later chapters. Third, organizationally the establishment of the PPI Belanda occurred in the national and the city level with 17 city branches. Fourth, it has been related with the country's representative The Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia (KBRI)⁴ since 1963.

In this study I address how the PPI Belanda developed during the different regimes in Indonesia from *Orde Lama* to *Post-reformasi* and how the PPI Belanda reacted to each regime. Next I question how the previous and current PPI organize itself in terms of constitution, purpose, membership policy, and medium of information, activities and source of funding. I also became interested in the PPI Belanda's political connection with Indonesian domestic politics, as it is acknowledged that the PPI often deliver the *Pernyataan Sikap* (Position Statement) on current issues in Indonesia. Thereafter I discuss the longstanding relationships between the PPI and the government's representatives, particularly the *Atase Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia (Atdikbud)*⁵ that is in the KBRI in The Hague. By examining these topics I hope the dynamic of the PPI Belanda will be more acknowledged in the future.

⁴ Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia.

⁵ Educational and Cultural Attaché of the Republic of Indonesia.

In the current situation, Indonesian students in Netherlands consist of three groups: bachelor's, master's, and doctorate students. Most bachelor's students are self-funded, so are being funded by their family or relatives. Conversely, master's and doctorate students are commonly supported by scholarships, such as from Indonesian Government, Indonesian state-owned companies⁶, and the Dutch government, although some of them are privately funded. From the research conducted by *PPI Belanda*⁷ in 2015 on student funding, the 10 most common sponsors for Indonesian students are: *Nuffic Neso*⁸, Indonesia Endowment Fund for Education (LPDP)⁹, Ministry of Education of Indonesia, sponsorship from the university where they are enrolled, SPIRIT¹⁰, Islamic Development Bank, Ministry of Transportation of Indonesia, *PT. Telekomunikasi Indonesia*, Ministry of Communication and Information of Indonesia, and Erasmus Mundus.

There is no exact data on the total number of Indonesian students in the Netherlands. The Educational Attaché of the Republic of Indonesia in Den Haag stated that in 2015, approximately 1600 Indonesian students were pursuing their education in the Netherlands¹¹. This was the same number estimated by the Dutch government in 2014.¹² However, based on the *Lapor Diri*¹³ report the

⁶ In Indonesia these are known as *Badan Usaha Milik Negara* (BUMN).

⁷ http://public.tableau.com/shared/RX4MPN4K7?:display_count=yes (Accessed on 7 May 2016).

⁸ Nuffic is the international organization that focuses on higher education in the Netherlands. The organization is non-profit and based in The Hague. Nuffic offers four scholarship programs for Indonesians: StuNed, Orange Tulip Scholarship, Netherlands Fellowship Program, and Holland Scholarship. Quoted from <http://www.nesoindonesia.or.id/beasiswa> (accessed on 25 May 2016).

⁹ Indonesian Education Scholarship (BPI) for Master and Doctoral Programs is a scholarship program funded by the Indonesian government through the use of National Trust for Education Development (DPPN) and is managed by LPDP to finance higher education in master's or doctoral program in higher education in Indonesian or overseas institutions. Quoted from <http://www.lpdp.kemenkeu.go.id/en/scholarship/master-and-doctoral-scholarships/> (accessed on 1 June 2016).

¹⁰ SPIRIT stands for the Scholarship Program for Strengthening the Reforming Institutions, which was initiated by the Indonesian Ministry of The National Development Planning (Bappenas), Indonesian Ministry of Finance and World Bank to strengthen the bureaucracy reform in central government offices. Taken from <http://pusbindiklatren.bappenas.go.id/spirit/index.php/profile> (Accessed on 19 June 2016).

¹¹ Author's Interview with Educational Attaché of the Republic of Indonesia, Bambang Hari Wibisono, at Schiphol, 10th April 2016.

¹² See <https://www.government.nl/topics/international-relations/contents/indonesia> (accessed on 27 June 2016).

¹³ *Lapor Diri*, which translates into English as "self-report", is a system created by the Embassy of Indonesia in the Netherlands to screen and count Indonesian students in Netherlands. This happens twice a year,

number of students that are registered are around just 600. The gap results from the lack of briefing from the embassy to the students. In the Netherlands, Indonesian students are in many cities such as Amsterdam, Den Haag, Groningen, Enschede, Tilburg, Maastricht, Leiden, Leeuwarden, Deventer, Delft, Rotterdam, Wageningen, Nijmegen, and Utrecht.

CHAPTER II – RESEARCH SETTING AND METHODOLOGY

Previously, there has been no academic research about the current Indonesian Students' Association in Netherlands. Existing studies are mainly about the Indonesian Students' Association in the pre-independence time. Luckily, there are enough resources to support the study of the contemporary although the archiving system of the associations is disorganized: some archives are available, but most of them are not. To address this issue, I undertook participant observation wherever and whenever possible among the Indonesian students associations. I participated as fully as possible in the community life by attending many events held by Indonesian students' associations, such as discussions, sports events, regular meetings, and cultural events.

I also conducted an interview with the current and ex-general secretaries of PPI Belanda and ex-chief of PPI Kota: Ali Abdillah (PPI Belanda 2015-2016), Reynaldo Rante Allo (PPI Belanda 2010-2011 & PPI Den Haag 2009-2010), Niken Edgina (PPI Amsterdam 2014-2015), Hellena Yoranita Soussa (PPI Leiden 2004-2005), and Ghamal Satya Mohammad (PPI Leiden 2015-2016). At the time of the research, Ali Abdillah was on a master's program in the Law Faculty of Leiden University. Reynaldo had graduated from NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences and had been living in the Netherlands since 2009. Hellena did an MA in International Relations and Diplomacy at Leiden University from 2003-2005. Niken did MA in Law and International Politics at Vrije

normally in February and September as school starts. (Based on the interview with Atdikbud Hari Bambang on 10th April 2016).

Universiteit Amsterdam from 2014-2015. And Ghamal was on a research master's program in the History Department of Leiden University. Additionally, I interviewed the project officer of Indonesian students events, and members of PPIs: Alqiz Lukman from PPI Leiden 2015-2016, Dyah Kathy Kartika from PPI Kota Den Haag 2015-2016, Santy Kouwagam from PPI Leiden 2015-2016, and Tamara Soukotta from PPI Kota Den Haag 2012-2013.

Lastly, I interviewed the current educational attaché of The Republic of Indonesia (Atdikbud)¹⁴, Mr Hari Bambang Wibisono, who is the main actor in the relationships between the PPI and the Indonesian Embassy. He has been working as Atdikbud since 2013 and has established the relationship with the PPI, succeeding the previous Atdikbud. The interview with him was conducted in his office in the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Tobias Asserlaan, The Hague. Also I interviewed Farina Lomboan, a local staff in the Indonesian embassy who has been working for almost twenty years and had witnessed the interactions between students and embassy since then. And as for the other students' association in Netherlands, I interviewed Sungbin Lee, the current president of KSAN (Korean Students' Association in the Netherlands) to know how her association going on.

Furthermore I collected articles, online articles, archives, bulletins and magazines that discuss the Indonesian Students Association in previous years such as: *Madjallah Perhimpoean Peladjar Indonesia di Belanda*, *Suluh*, *Ganeca*, *Chattulistiwa / De Evenaar*, *Bulletin PPI Delft*, *Bulletin PPI Uni-Soviet*. I also researched the book *Konperensi Pelajar Indonesia Se-Eropah 1955 Hannef* and *Seminar Pembangunan II dan Konferensi V Peladjar*, *Pikiran Gagasan: Pedoman Penjelenggaraan Konperensi Ilmiah*, *Sanggar Perantau*, and the journal *Api Pemuda Indonesia*.

I also obtained documents from the archive of the current PPI Belanda and PPI city branches such as the constitutions of PPI Belanda which I could access from

¹⁴ Atase Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

the website of PPI Belanda and city branches, *Laporan Ketua 1987/1988 Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia Rotterdam*, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Presidium PPI Di Negeri Belanda 1991/1993*, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Historun PPI Leiden 2016*, *Undangan Simposium Perspektif Ekonomi Indonesia, Amandemen AD/ART PPI Belanda 19 Juli 1986*, and *Decree of the Minister of Education and Culture Number 064/MPK/LN/2013* dated 5th April 2013. I got these rare documents from interviewees .

CHAPTER III – HISTORY OF ESTABLISHMENT

III.I. Colonial Era: Years of Awakening

In 1925, Indonesian students in the Netherlands renamed their organization *Perhimpunan Indonesia*. This was the Indonesian equivalent of the Dutch name *de Indonische Vereniging*, which had been adopted in 1922. As is clear from the emphasis on the word Indonesia and use of the Indonesian language, the organization was known in the 1920s for wanting independence from Dutch colonial rule. In an article of *Perhimpunan Indonesia dan Peranannya dalam Perdjuangan Kemerdekaan Kita* (The Role of *Perhimpunan Indonesia* in Our Independence) by Sunario –an ex member of PPI from March 1924 to June 1926 –five phases of PPI taken from the article by A. Maramis *Terugblik* in *Gedenboek 1923* are outlined, namely¹⁵:

1. 1908-1913: Period of striving for goals and means, despite already noticeable patriotism.
2. 1913-1919: Political orientation toward Indonesian independence under the influence of three leaders of the Indies Party (prominent political party in Indonesia) deported to the Netherlands: Dr. Douwes Dekker, Dr. Tjipto Mangunkusumo, and R.M. Suwardi Surjaningrat.

¹⁵ See Sunario. (1970) "*Perhimpunan Indoensia dan Peranannja Dalam Perdjuangan Kemredeaan Kita*" in *Seminar Sedjarah Nasional II 26-29 Agustus 1970 di Yogyakarta*. Jakarta: Higher Education General Directorate: 6-9.

3. 1919-1923: Rise of nationalist spirit, leading to a change in name. In 1922, the name of *Indische Vereeniging* changed to the *Indonesische Vereeniging*.
4. 1923-1930: Change from a student organization to a political organization. Published the magazine *Indonesia Merdeka* in 1924 and altered the name of *Indonesische Vereeniging* to *Perhimpunan Indonesia (PI)* in the same year. *Perhimpunan Indonesia* had a spirit of democratic nationalism and non-cooperation with the Dutch government. The PI also developed an international anti-colonial network among occupied nations like India, Egypt, and the Philippines.
5. 1930 and after" the decline of the *PI* due to the return of Mohammad Hatta and Achmad Soebardjo to Indonesia in 1932. Afterwards there was change from anticolonial to antifascist policy due to German occupation of the Netherlands in 10 May 1940. The *PI* was engaged in the movement of Communist International in Europe. Sometime later the *PI* was disbanded, although there are no details available about exactly when.¹⁶



Figure 1 The Reunion of *Perhimpunan Indonesia* in Leiden, around 1924 - 1925). In the pictures there is Winarjo Projodikaro, Soenario, Achmad Soebardjo (First

¹⁶ Idem: 10.

Indonesian Foreign Minister), Mr. Singgih, Ali Sastroamidjojo (First Indonesian Representative to the United Nations), and Mohammad Hatta (Indonesian First Vice-President), Boedhiarto) (Source, KITLV: 2016).

III.II. Students' Association during Soekarno's regime (1949-1966)

After the military aggression in 1945-1949, and the recognition of Indonesian sovereignty by the United Nations, the relationship between the newly formed Indonesian Republic and the Netherlands deteriorated. Consequently, the number of Indonesian students departing to study in Netherlands declined for the next few years. Many students began to study in other countries such as Romania, Albania, Germany, and the Soviet Union. In these countries they also formed Indonesian students' association.

The story of *Perhimpunan Indonesia* ended after World War II, Japanese occupation in Indonesia and the Indonesian revolutionary war of 1945-1949. Correspondingly it was also mentioned by Sunario that the PI was disbanded sometime in the 1940s.¹⁷ The only known story on the activity and movement of the PI in the 1940s was the tale of Irawan Soejono who died during the German occupation of the Netherlands in 1942. He together with other Indonesian students joined forces with the Dutch to resist the occupation. Later in the war his name was remembered in one of the resistance troops called *Barisan Soejono (Soejono's Front)*.¹⁸

¹⁷ Idem.

¹⁸ See <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/06/30/irawan-soejono-a-dutch-indonesian-hero.html> (accessed on 16 June 2016).



Figure 2 Indonesian resistance fighters called their resistance "Barisan Irawan (B.I)". Here they parade on the Breesstraat during the liberation celebration of Leiden on May 7, 1945. (Source: *Leids Universitair Weekblad* 21 April 2016, 39ste jaargang, nr. 27)



Figure 3 Irawan's Gravestone in Leiden (Source, PPI Leiden, 2016)

Seven years after independence, the *Persatuan Peladjar Indonesia* (PPI, Indonesian Students Union) was established on 19th April 1952 in Delft, as can be seen in the magazine of *Chattulistiwa/De Evenaar*, 5e Jaargang, No, 7, Mei/Juni 1952: 3, along with four branches of PPI: Amsterdam, Leiden, Utrecht, and Delft. Also in 1952, another branch (*cabang*) of *Persatuan Peladjar Indonesia* was formed, namely PPI Cabang Rotterdam.¹⁹ I consider this was also the first time the abbreviation of PPI for *Persatuan Peladjar Indonesia* was established.

The first chair of the PPI was Soemantri Brodjonegoro, a prominent academic who was later appointed as minister and Rector Magnificus of *Universitas Indonesia* from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s.²⁰ This finding shows the great involvement of PPI after independence. The main achievement by the *Persatuan Peladjar Indonesia* was the consolidation of the *Chung Hwa Hui* (The Indonesian Chinese descendants students organization) with the PPI on 2 October 1952. This was a big step of ethnicity integration within Indonesian students in the Netherlands, which was not seen in the previous pre-independence association: *Perhimpoean Indonesia*.²¹ In later years, one of the prominent Indo-Chinese members is Kwik Kian Gie²². However, I believe that in the newly established association, the objectives and focus was less political than PI and more focused on the life of its association members.

¹⁹ Taken from the magazine *Chattulistiwa/De Evenaar: Maandelijks Contact met Oosterse Studenten di Eropa*, 6e Jaargang, No.3, December 1952: 4-5.

²⁰ His name is commemorated as the name of a multi-function sports stadium in South Jakarta, Stadion Soemantri Brodjonegoro.

²¹ See *Bord of PPI Delft, PPI Delft by Yearbook '87 of the Society of Aerospace Students Leonardo da Vinci in Laporan Ketua 1987/88 Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia Rotterdam*.

²² Kwik Kian Gie was the Indonesian Coordinating Minister of Economics and Finance from 1999–2000, and the Minister of National Development Planning from 2001-2004. He is a prominent Indonesian economist who often wrote columns in the newspaper *KOMPAS* criticizing the policies of the Suharto administration in the late 1980s and 1990s. He is well known for being outspoken and is regarded as an honest politician and economist although his writings are sometimes considered controversial. When he was in Netherlands he studied in the *Nederlandse Economische Hogeschool* (currently Erasmus University) in Rotterdam. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kwik_Kian_Gie (accessed on 28 June 2016).

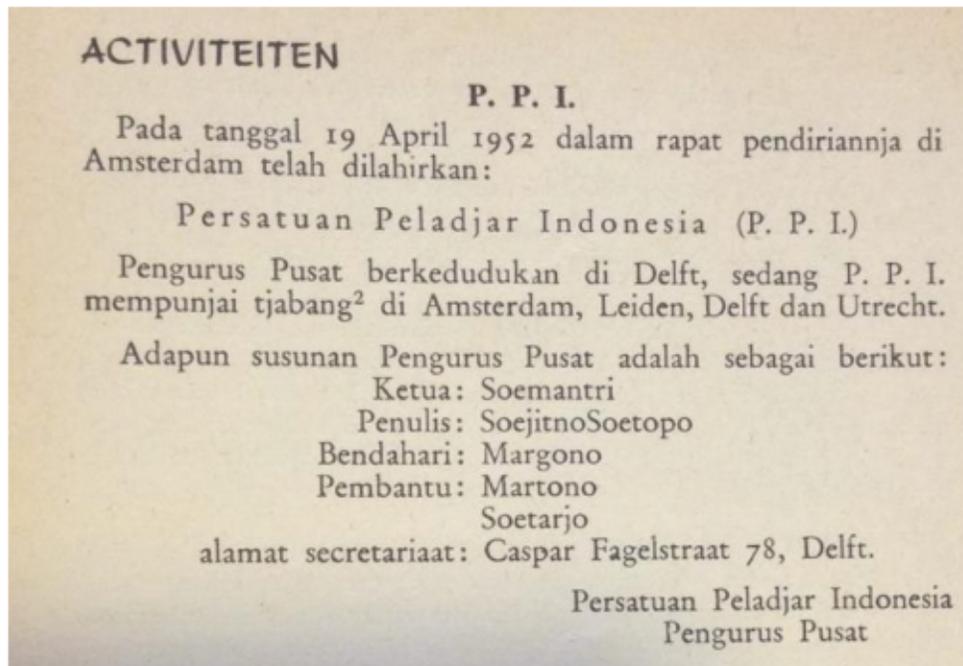


Figure 4 The announcement of the establishment of *Persatuan Peladjar Indonesia* (Indonesian Students Union) in the Netherlands (Source, *Chattulistiwa/De Evenaar*, 5e Jaargang, No. 7, Mei/Juni 1952 in http://www.kompasiana.com/suryadileiden/ppi-belanda-di-zaman-orde-lama_577f6d975eafbd9c06fd9c36).

Some years after 1952, due to the conflict between Indonesia and the Netherlands on West Papua, some of the students got deported and moved to Germany and Belgium, so the *Persatuan Peladjar Indonesia* had to be halted.²³ Nevertheless in 1956 the *Persatuan Peladjar Indonesia* Amsterdam branch still existed and had just recently chosen its board.²⁴ In addition, *Chattulistiwa/De Evenaar* informed about student activities such as thesis defences, weddings, and births, as well as the activities of various other Indonesian groups/organizations in the Netherlands. This magazine, which was prominent until the 1970s, also published poems and reviews of Indonesian art, and one Dutch student A. Teeuw often wrote Indonesian literary criticism. He became a renowned professor of Indonesian studies at the University of Leiden.

²³ The Information was taken from *Laporan Tahunan Ketua PPI Rotterdam Tahun 1987/1988* by: Heryanto, 1988: page 4

²⁴ See *Chattulistiwa/ De Evenaar*, 10 Jaargang, No. 57, Musim-Dingin, 1956.

Afterwards the source of information for the activity of the Indonesian Students' Association is the *Madjallah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda* (*Magazine of Indonesian Students in the Netherlands*) that was first published in October 1963.²⁵ In that magazine, it stated that *Persatoean Peladjar Indonesia* (PPI, Indonesian Students Union) changed its name to *Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda* (maintaining the same abbreviation PPI) on 11th May 1963 in Delft, and a new constitution followed.²⁶ In this constitution it was stated that the PPI was formed to preserve the 1945 revolution, thus achieving justice, prosperity, and glory for Indonesia. Concretely, Indonesian students overseas should unite and the PPI should be a tool for bonding. This must be done not just by Indonesian students in Netherlands but also in other European countries.²⁷

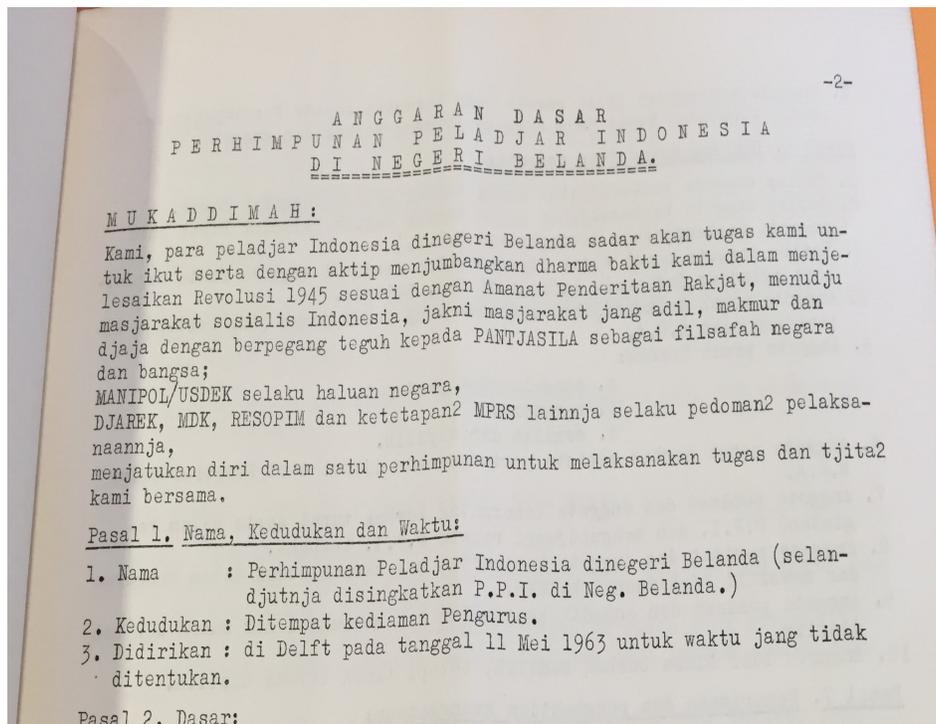


Figure 5 The announcement of the establishment of the *Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda* on 11 May 1963 (Source, *Madjallah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia*)

²⁵ *Madjallah Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda* was first published in 1963. Its publishing address was Zwaerdecroonstraat 53a, Rotterdam.

²⁶ See *Madjallah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda*, October 1963: 2.

²⁷ Idem.

di Negeri Belanda, October 1963:2).

In the early 1960s, PPI Belanda was divided into 5 Regional Commissariats: the Amsterdam Commissariat and its surroundings such as Utrecht; the Den Haag/Leiden Commissariat; the Rotterdam/Delft Commissariat; the Nijmegen/Wageningen/Tilburg/Eindhoven/Maastricht Commissariat; and lastly the Commissariat for the Indonesian School in Wassenaar.²⁸ However, on 25 May 1967, PPI Belanda changed the terminology of “Commissariat” into “Branch” due to the socio-political situation at that time. Hence, there were 6 PPI Branches: PPI Delft, PPI Amsterdam, PPI Nijmegen, PPI Eindhoven, and PPI Utrecht.²⁹

Madjallah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia/Suluh also showcased PPI’s activities during the early 1960s, such as data collection and sorting.³⁰ This process was conducted by PPI to account for the number of Indonesian students in the Netherlands. According to information from the *Ministerie van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, there were 282 Indonesian students registered in Dutch universities and academies (*Hogeschool*) during the academic year of 1961/1962, which were divided into the following universities: 30 in Leiden, 26 in Utrecht, 6 in Groningen, 85 in Amsterdam U.G., 28 in Amsterdam V.U., 5 in Nijmegen, 78 in Delft, 4 in Eindhoven, 5 in Wageningen, 14 in Rotterdam, and 1 in Tilburg.³¹ However, out of this total number of students, only 50 enrolled in the association. For unknown reasons, the magazine’s preface also stated that *Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia* in the Netherlands was established on 11 May 1963 rather than tracing back to their roots of *Persatuan Peladjar Indonesia*, which was founded in 1952. As quoted from the address of the Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia in Den Haag, Mr. Sharif:

“Since May 11th, the Indonesian Students Association in the Netherlands

²⁸ See *Madjallah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda/ Suluh*, year 5 number 1, August 1966: 19.

²⁹ The Information is taken from *Laporan Tahunan Ketua PPI Rotterdam Tahun 1987/1988 by: Heryanto*. 1988: 4.

³⁰ See *Madjallah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda*, October 1963: 1.

³¹ *Idem*.

was also founded as an independent Indonesian students organization. To all Indonesian students who have not yet received this information, it is expected of you to assemble yourselves within this association, so that we can collectively keep track of and study the developments of our own country, which due to its distance cannot be kept track of and studied thoroughly.”³²

Apart from this, *Madjallah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda* also contained information that Indonesian students in the Netherlands needed to know about their students' association, such as the constitution, agenda, budget, seminar and conference reports conducted by Indonesian students throughout Europe, as well as the association's current board. The magazine's preface stressed that the magazine would not be published regularly, but would instead be published in accordance with PPI's needs.³³ I believe that this is what diminished the magazine's continuity in times to come. Concerning Ambassador Sharif's date of the reestablishment of the Indonesian students association, it is unknown what happened before 11th May 1963, and why PPI Belanda had just been re-established.

The 1960s Gathering of PPI Networks in Europe

The earliest record of the Indonesian students gathering in Europe after the Independence was in 1955. It was entitled *Konperensi Peladjar Indonesia Se-Eropah* (The Conference of Indonesian Students in Europe) and was held from 4th to 15th July in Haneff, Germany.³⁴ It is also stated in the foreword of the book that this 1955 assembly was the first for Indonesian students in Europe and designed to bring Indonesians together so that they could discuss current domestic issues.³⁵ However, the committee together with the participants didn't represent the PPI; they ran independently although the *Persatuan Peladjar*

³² Idem.

³³ Idem.

³⁴ See *Buku Konferensi Peladjar Indonesia Se-Eropah, Hannef, 1955: 8*

³⁵ Idem, page 11.

Indonesia was established in 1952. From 143 Indonesian students that participated in this conference, 64 of them were from Netherlands coming from universities in Leiden, The Hague, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Tilburg, Wageningen, Delft, Nijmegen, and Enschede.³⁶

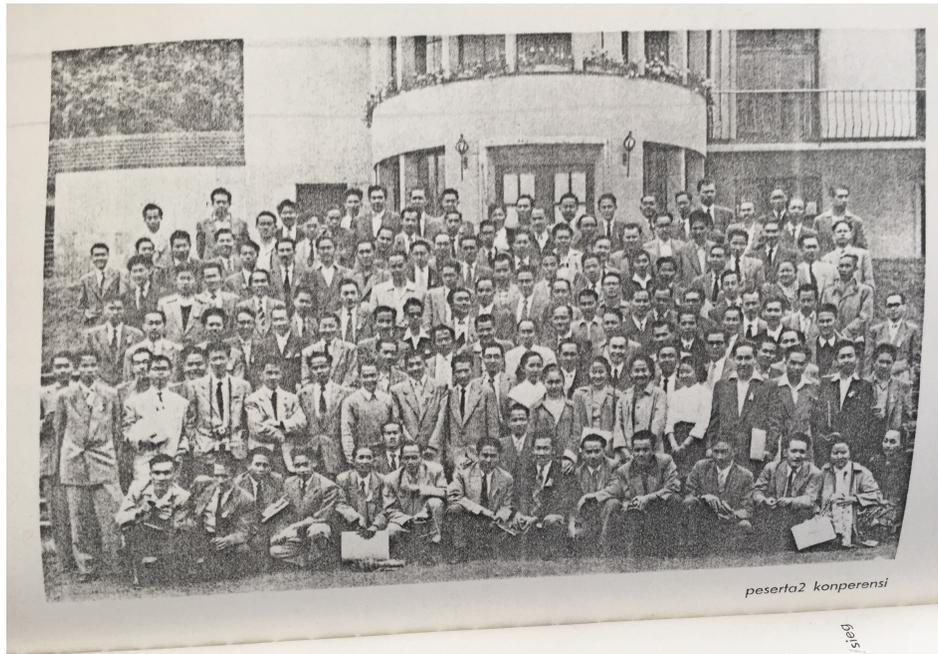


Figure 6 The Participants and Committee of *Konferensi Pelajar Se-Eropah* 4-15 July 1955 in Hanef, Germany (Source, *Buku Konferensi Pelajar Se-Eropah*, 1955: 12).

From then onwards, the first recorded Indonesian students' conference in Europe, which bore the name PPI, was *Seminar Pembangunan II dan Konperensi ke V Peladjar Indonesia Se-Eropah* (Second Development Seminar and Fifth Conference of Indonesian Students throughout Europe), which was held from 2-16 August 1963 in Moscow. The First Development Seminar (*Seminar Pembangunan I*) was also held in 1963, in Prague, but there is no documentation for this.³⁷

³⁶ Idem, page 104-112.

³⁷ See *Madjallah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda*, Oktober 1963: 7.



Figure 7 The Book of *Seminar Pembangunan II dan Konferensi ke V Pelajar Indonesia Se-Eropa* (Second Development Seminar and Fifth Conference of Indonesian Students throughout Europe), 2-16 August 1963, Moscow, USSR.

The *Seminar Pembangunan II dan Konferensi ke V Pelajar Indonesia Se-Eropa* was attended by delegations from PPI branches in Belgium, Bulgaria, West Germany, East Germany, Hungaria, Italy, the UK, France, Poland, Romania, Scandinavia, the Soviet Union, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Denmark.³⁸ The aim of this

seminar was to involve Indonesian students in Europe in realizing the *Pola Pembangunan Semesta Berencana* (Planned Overall Development Design).³⁹ The topics covered during this seminar encompassed: electro-engineering, chemistry, culture, social studies and education, ship engineering, metallurgy, mining and geology, exact and natural sciences, construction, agriculture, public health, economics, aeronautics, machine engineering, and politics, PPI Belanda sent nine delegates to participate in Moscow, including two renowned figures, Ferry Sonneville⁴⁰ and Kwik Kian Gie.⁴¹

³⁸ Idem.

³⁹ Eight years of National developmental design from 1961-1969 created by Soekarno. See <http://www.hukumonline.com/pusatdata/downloadfile/lt50598084c7c50/parent/lt5059801bcced1>

⁴⁰ Ferry Sonneville was an Indonesian badminton player noted for his touch, consistency, tactical astuteness, and coolness under pressure. He won numerous international singles titles from the mid-1950s through the early 1960s and his clutch performances helped Indonesia to win its first three Thomas Cup (men's world team) titles consecutively in 1958, 1961, and 1964, setting the pattern for his country's continued formidable presence in world badminton. After his higher-level playing days ended Sonneville was elected to terms as both president of the International Badminton Federation (now World Badminton

In addition, the seminar that was held by *Badan Pekeraja Badan Koordinasi PPI Se-Eropa* (Coordination and Running Body of Indonesian Students throughout Europe) produced resolutions and position statements on relevant issues of that time. PPI Se-Eropa sent a letter to the leader of the Soviet Union, the president of the United States of America, and the prime minister of the UK, that fully supported the signing of a treaty to stop all land-based atomic and thermonuclear weapons' tests.⁴² They also sent a letter of condolence to the president of Yugoslavia regarding an earthquake that hit the city of Skopje on 26th July, 1963. Lastly, PPI Se-Eropa fully supported the politics of confrontation that was being spearheaded by Soekarno towards Malaysia and the then-upcoming Games of the New Emerging Forces (Ganefo). PPI Se-Eropa's support of Soekarno was also broadcast on the national news, Antara.⁴³

PPI Belanda as well as other PPIs in Europe supported the *Orde Lama* development plans, showing that PPI was in sync with the ruling status quo. The choice of the conference's location in Moscow also showed that there was a strong communist influence attached to Indonesian students' associations in Europe, reflecting what was occurring in domestic politics.⁴⁴ In each and every word that PPI Belanda used to address Soekarno, Soekarno was the Great Leader of the Revolution (*Pemimpin Besar Revolusi*). This title glorified Soekarno as a revered figure. I believe that the voice of Indonesian students in Europe who held the conference in Moscow and their support of Soekarno intensified the political climate between Indonesian students in Europe and the Indonesian government.

Federation) and president of the Badminton Association of Indonesia (PBSI). He also studied in the Rotterdam. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferry_Sonneville (Accessed on 29 June 2016).

⁴¹ See *Madjallah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda*, Oktober 1963: 7.

⁴² *Idem*, page 9.

⁴³ *Idem*.

⁴⁴ In the mid-1960s, Indonesia was in the midst of social and political turmoil. Dutch colonial rule had ended just 20 years ago, and tensions were high amongst those of differing political ideologies, especially the right-wing military and the left-wing communist party. Indonesia's president at the time, President Sukarno—the nation's first president and a key player in ousting Dutch rule in 1945—shunned Western powers and supported communism. With an estimated three million members, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was the largest such party outside of a communist nation. Quoted from <http://www.pbs.org/pov/theactofkilling/background/> (Access on 6 July 2016).

Throughout the *Orde Lama*, PPI Belanda was constantly up-to-date with the latest political news from the motherland through the *Madjalah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda*. Three years after the first publication of the *Madjalah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda*, the magazine was still up and running. In 1966, the magazine altered its name to *Suluh*,⁴⁵ and in the February 1966 edition—six months after the 30th September movement (*GESTAPU, Gerakan September Tiga Puluh*) incident—PPI Belanda sent a *Surat Pernyataan* (Position Statement) to President Soekarno that stated⁴⁶:

1. PPI Belanda will be forever loyal and trustworthy in supporting the President/Great Leader of the Revolution/Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces/Mandataray of the Temporary People's Consultative Assembly (Mandataris MPRS)/*Bung Karno* in finding a political solution to the GESTAPU incident;
2. Obeying the teachings of the President/Great Leader of the Revolution/Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces/Mandataray of the Temporary People's Consultative Assembly (Mandataris MPRS)/*Bung Karno* that are based on the *Pantja Azimat Revolusi* (the Five Charms of the Revolution), to continue to be upheld as the only legitimate teaching of the Indonesian Revolution;
3. Fully supporting the entire struggle to make the *Dwi Komando Rakyat* (*Dwikora*)⁴⁷ successful. Ultimately all neocolonialist-imperialist factions and sides will meet their demise across the globe.

After the 1965 anti-communist massacre, in which over 500,000 Indonesians were murdered, the new Suharto government accused those studying abroad of

⁴⁵ Differing from 1963, the Indonesian Students Association magazine, *Suluh*, was published by the Consulate-General of the Republic of Indonesia in Amsterdam and had its publishing address at Kiefskamp 99, Buitenveldert, Amsterdam (*Suluh*, February 1966: 1).

⁴⁶ This position statement was made by PPI Belanda and signed by the Head of the Presidium, Erwin Akib, and the General Secretary, Istidjab, on 20th January 1966 in Den Haag. This letter was also sent to the Coordinating Body of PPI throughout Europe as well as the Indonesian Ambassador in the Netherlands. From *Suluh*, (February 1966: 6-7).

⁴⁷ *Dwikora* was a campaign created by Soekarno in the Malaysia-Indonesia confrontation in the 1960s. See Zaedun, *Sejarah Operasi Dwikora 1962-1966*, (2014).

supporting Sukarno and revoked their passports and citizenships. Left stateless, such students were forced to seek asylum overseas and up to this day have largely remained *persona non grata* in Indonesia.

Non-political activity

Besides PPI Belanda's political movement, it also conducted non-political activities. For example, on 28th January, 1966, during the birthday of the Institute of Social Studies Den Haag's Rector, Prof. Dr. de Vries, PPI Belanda contributed to the party through by showcasing *tari payung* (the umbrella dance) and music, which was led by Ireng Maulana.⁴⁸ In addition, on 25th February 1966, PPI Belanda participated in an event held by the Leiden International Students' Foundation, in which PPI Belanda showcased Indonesian traditional dances such as the *Pendet*, *Payung* (Umbrella), *Kupu-kupu* (Butterfly), *Minahasa*, and *Klasik Minakdjingga*.⁴⁹ This was undertaken by PPI as a form of introducing Indonesian culture to foreign citizens in order to deepen mutual understanding among the younger generation. As a form of bond-deepening between Indonesian students and citizens in the Netherlands, the February and August editions of *Suluh* also provided a page for leaving greetings and messages. For example, in the February edition, PPI Belanda gave birthday wishes to the Indonesian Ambassador to the Netherlands, Soedjarwo Tjondronegoro, whose birthday was on 2nd March 1966.⁵⁰ In addition, there was also news on engagements, weddings, as well as deaths. It can be imagined that at a time when communication was still difficult, the publication of a magazine such as this was a vital bridging-media among the people.

⁴⁸ See *Madjallah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia/ Suluh*, February 1966: 8.

⁴⁹ *Idem*.

⁵⁰ *Idem*, page 23.



Figure 8 Indonesian students in Netherlands, 1951. (Source: *De Evenaar*, 5e Jaargang, No. 2, November 1951: 20. From http://www.kompasiana.com/suryadileiden/ppi-belanda-di-zaman-orde-lama_577f6d975eafbd9c06fd36)

Similar to the Netherlands, the Indonesian Students' Association in Germany and the former Soviet Union still exist. The students' association in the former Soviet Union changed its name to “Indonesian students' association in Russia” some time after the collapse of Soviet Union. PPI Russia, known in Russian as *Ассоциация Индонезийских Студентов В России* was re-established on 1st September 1998 and has its office in Mikluho-Maklaya Ulitsa, Building 13, Block 5, Room 515, Moscow, Russian Federation.⁵¹ Germany's Indonesian Students Association (PPI Jerman e.V) was founded on 4th May 1956 in Bad Godesberg.⁵² PPI Jerman is also known as the Indonesian Student Association in Germany/Vereinigung Indonessischer Studenten in Deutschland. PPI Jerman was registered as a legal entity in Bonn on 22nd October 1963, with the legal number of 2912. PPI Jerman then continuously experienced transformation, and is currently based on the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. This PPI holds the

⁵¹ See <http://ppi-rusia.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/AD.ART-Permira.pdf> access on 29 June 2016.

⁵² See <http://ppi-jerman.de/sejarah-ppi-jerman/> access on 25 June 2016.

traits of being non-partyist, scientific, social, and independent.⁵³ A PPI Cabang (branch) in the city of Delft, Netherlands, was established on 21st November 1967.⁵⁴

III.III. Students' Association in Soeharto's Regime (1967-1998)

The transition of power in the post-30th September movement in Indonesia had ramifications for the lives of Indonesian students in Europe. It could be said that in general, PPI in Europe supported Soekarno's regime, so that when Soeharto seized power, many PPIs disagreed with this political process. Several PPIs in Europe had strong affiliations with the Indonesian Communist Party, such as the PPI Uni-Soviet and PPI Albania.

In 1964, with the political jargon of *Amanat Penderitaan Rakyat* (Ampera), Soekarno envisioned Indonesia becoming economically independent. Thus Soekarno's government sent Indonesian students mostly to Russia and Communist-block countries, which aligned with Soekarno's anti-imperialism foreign policy, to study various disciplines like engineering, medical, agriculture, and arts. It is believed by Hill (2014)⁵⁵ that Sukarno's 1956 visit to the Soviet Union gave the first opportunities for Indonesian students to go there and Premier Nikita Khrushchev's return visit to Indonesia in February-March 1960 really opened up study opportunities for Indonesians in Russia. According to Hill (2014, 624): "Khrushchev offered hundreds of scholarships to Indonesians wanting to study at the newly established Patrice Lumumba People's Friendship University in the Soviet Union". Students in the communist block countries also formed PPIs. Two PPIs for which the documentation still exist are PPI Uni-Soviet (now PPI Russia) and PPI Albania. PPI in Albania printed the journal *Api Pemuda Indonesia* (Flame of Indonesian Youth).

Api Pemuda Indonesia was one of the main organs of the pro-communist wing of

⁵³ Idem.

⁵⁴ See *Bulletin PPI Delft* No. 3, December 1992: 3 & 19.

⁵⁵ See David T. Hill (2014) Indonesian Political Exiles in the USSR, *Critical Asian Studies*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2014.960710> (Accessed on 1 July 2016).

Indonesian students in Europe and strongly opposed Soeharto's regime.⁵⁶ One of the PPI Albania members, Chalik Hamid, still lives today and is residing in Amsterdam, Netherlands. His passport was taken away some time after 1965 by the Indonesian embassy under the Soeharto government due to his connection with the PKI, so he became stateless and he lived in Albania for another 25 years. In the 1990s he moved to the Netherlands because of economic and political instability in Albania.⁵⁷

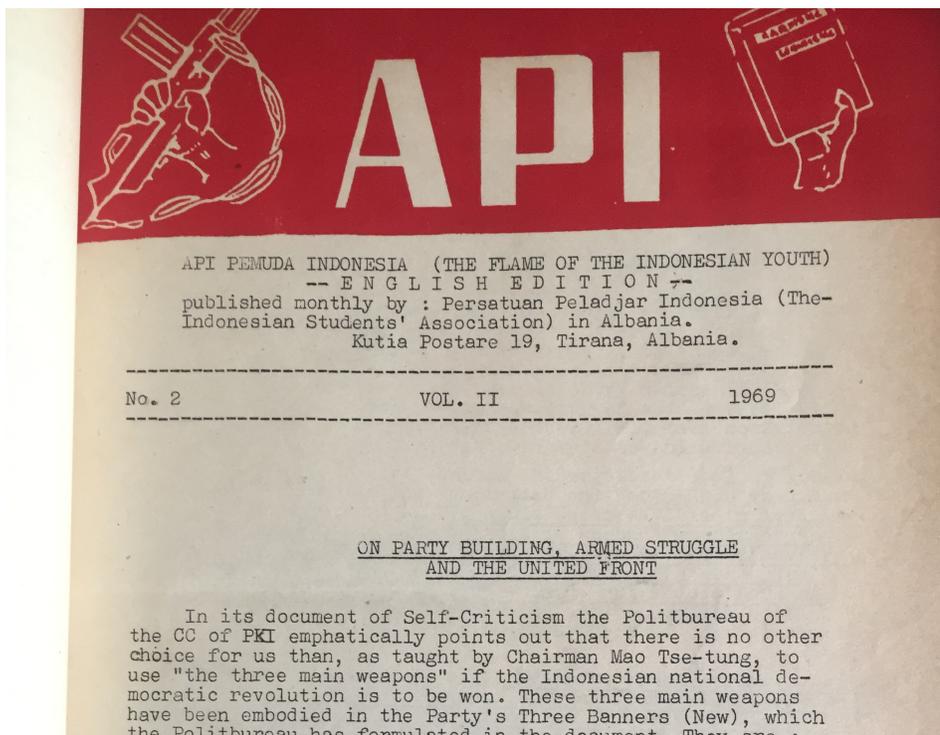


Figure 9 The Journal of PPI Albania; *Api Pemuda Indonesia* (Flame of Youth) Vol. 2 No. 2, 1969.

A bulletin published by PPI Uni-Soviet⁵⁸ in 1967 strongly denounced the new

⁵⁶ See Tang Tsou; Ping-ti Ho (1968). *China in Crisis, Volume 2: China's Policies in Asia and America's Alternatives*. University of Chicago Press. p. 390.

⁵⁷ See http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2015/09/150928_indonesia_lapsus_eksil_bui (accessed on 8 July 2016).

⁵⁸ In 1967, PPI Uni-Soviet's secretariat was located at Pavlovskaja Dom 8, korp. 5 -201 Moscow. PPI Uni-Soviet spread its organization's presence and influence to other cities such as Kiev (p. 6).

government led by Soeharto. They considered Soeharto's regime to be a fascist one, which therefore had to be fought against and overthrown. They wrote:

“In fully accepting the laws of the progress of society, we students, fully conscious of the duties of the revolution of August 1945, with full responsibility and courage take part in the Indonesian people's struggle to overthrow the fascist dictator headed by the rightist generals, Soeharto-Nasution ... In realizing the duties that we must still undertake together, we ask you our brothers to tighten the ranks, strengthen the revolutionary unity among progressive Indonesian students, and to intensify the revolutionary student offensive in the Soviet Union ...”⁵⁹

In the documentation available, PPI Belanda does not demonstrate the resistance and political dynamic shown by PPI Uni-Soviet and PPI Albania when Soeharto took power. The transition from the Old Order to the New Order had significant consequences for the lives of Indonesian scholars abroad. Soeharto recalled all ambassadors that had affiliation with Soekarno and the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) and replaced them with new officials. Students who had a proven connection with PKI would be detained. As stated by Bambang Alfred Sipayong in his article *Exiled Memories: The Collective Memory of Indonesian 1965 Exiles*,

“1965 brought about a sudden change for them. The friendly embassies started to become hostile, and military attachés played an influential role in screening every Indonesian for their individual and familial ideological background. The screening process started in 1966, and every Indonesian was asked to sign a loyalty statement to the New Order regime. Those who refused to do so had their passports revoked and finally lost their citizenship. Among the students, the 1965 event divided them into the pro-

⁵⁹ See *Bulletin PPI-Uni Sovjet*, 1967: 1 & 3.

New Order and the pro- Sukarno groups.”⁶⁰

Afterwards, there was no further information about PPI Uni-Soviet and PPI Albania.



PPI in the 1970s

Figure 10 the bulletin of *Sanggar Perantau / Bulletin Pemuda-Pelajar Indonesia di Amsterdam (16/09/1973) No. 6 Yr. 1*. Published by Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia (Cabang Amsterdam).

Entering the 1970s and the *Orde Baru*, the political movement of PPI in Europe and resistance against the Soeharto regime was not much heard as much as in the late 1960s. In 1973,

Amsterdam's PPI Belanda branch published the bulletin of *Sanggar Perantau*⁶¹ for the first time. Therefore from 1973 onwards, PPI had two media: the *Sanggar Perantau* bulletin and *Madjallah Perhimpunan Indonesia di Negeri Belanda*.

Similar to the previous media like *Madjallah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia, Suluh, and Chattulstiwa/ De Evenaar* the *Sanggar Perantau* bulletin wrote about the social life of Indonesian students, such as participation in sport competitions, Independence day celebrations, and social drinks in the Indonesian embassy. One of their sources of funding was from advertising space, which they sold to

⁶⁰ See Sipayung, Bambang Alfred. (2011, December 15). *Exiled Memories: The Collective Memory of Indonesian 1965 Exiles: 16. Conflict, Reconstruction and Human Security (CRS)*. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/2105/10793> (Access on 29 June 2016).

⁶¹ *Sanggar Perantau* is a newspaper organized by the PPI branch of Amsterdam and had its office in Grunder 397.

companies like travel agencies, restaurants, and banks⁶². This was not seen in previous media. In 1976, the *Majalah Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda* came into existence. This published information on social activities like movie screenings, 1976-77 New Year's celebration plan, wedding congratulations, and get-well messages. The new distinguishing factor of the PPI media in Soeharto's regime in the 1970s was that they had a section for the Indonesian Ambassador in The Hague or General Consulate of Indonesia in Amsterdam to inform the readers about general affairs.⁶³



Figure 11 Mr. Ambassador Alamsyah Ratu Prawiranegara (middle) with PPI members in 1973 (Source: *Sanggar Perantau / Bulletin Pemuda- Pelajar Indonesia di Amsterdam* (16/09/1973) No. 6 Yr. 1, 1973: 5).

Another activity that sprang up during *Orde Baru* was the *Konferensi Imilah* (Scientific Conference) pioneered by students of PPI in Belgium, West Germany,

⁶² See *Sanggar Perantau / Bulletin Pemuda- Pelajar Indonesia di Amsterdam* (16/09/1973) No. 6 Yr. 1, 1973:1.

⁶³ See *Sanggar Perantau / Bulletin Pemuda- Pelajar Indonesia di Amsterdam* (16/09/1973) and edition of (17/08/73).

the Netherlands, and Switzerland.⁶⁴ This conference was first held on 12-18 April 1966 in Zurich, Switzerland, and was followed by a second *Konferensi Ilmiah* held in Vogelenszang, Netherlands, on 5-9 August 1969, a third in Haasrode (Belgium) on 28 March-1 April 1970, a fourth in Frankfurt (West Germany) on 8-11 April 1971, a fifth was unknown and the sixth was in Konigswinter (Germany) on 18-25 April 1973.⁶⁵ The conference was a joint project between four PPIs that was hoped to encourage Indonesian students to be better in articulating problems that could be traced back to problems in the motherland. In this activity, several keynote speakers talked about social and political issues happening in Indonesia and around the globe. One speaker in the 3rd Scientific Conference was Daed Joesoef. Hadi Soesastro was one of the conference's initiators.⁶⁶

PPI in the 1980-90s

Page 9 of *Laporan Ketua Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia Rotterdam 1987/1988* stated that PPI Belanda was immobilized for 6 years from 1979 to 1985. I believe this was due to the implementation of *NKK/ BKK*⁶⁷ (Normalization of Campus Life/Body for the Coordination of Student Affairs), which affected not only student activism in Indonesia but also Indonesian students overseas.

In 1985, there were attempts by Indonesian students to resuscitate PPIs in Netherlands.⁶⁸ Five that were revived in the mid-1980s were Delft⁶⁹ (19 April

⁶⁴ See *Pikiran dan Gagasan: Pedoman Penyelenggaraan Konperensi Ilmiah, 1971*. Published by PPI in Belgium, West Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland.

⁶⁵ Idem, 1.

⁶⁶ Hadi Soesastro was an Indonesian economist, academic and public intellectual. He was one of the founders of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), a think tank founded in 1971, where he served as an executive director and economist. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadi_Soesastro (Accessed on 3 July 2016).

⁶⁷ *Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus / Badan Koordinasi Kemahasiswaan* is a policy in which campus bureaucracies were given greatly extended rights to intervene in student activities. This resulted in the immobilization of student councils, and a permanent ban was placed on political activities on campus. Quoted from Aspinall: "The effect of NKK/BKK was further to marginalize student activism from the mainstream of Indonesian political life. During the 1980s it was virtually impossible for students critical of the government to organize openly on campus." More in: Edward Aspinall. (1995). *Students and the Military: Regime Friction and Civilian Dissent in the Late Suharto Period*. Indonesia, (59), 21-44. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3351126> (Access on 8 July 2016).

⁶⁸ See *Laporan Ketua Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia Rotterdam 1987/1988*, page 9.

⁶⁹ Idem, 9.

1985), Rotterdam (19 October 1985)⁷⁰, Wageningen (1987)⁷¹ The Hague (1988-89)⁷², and the PPI Belanda itself (19 July 1986), which was restored in Delft with a new constitution.⁷³

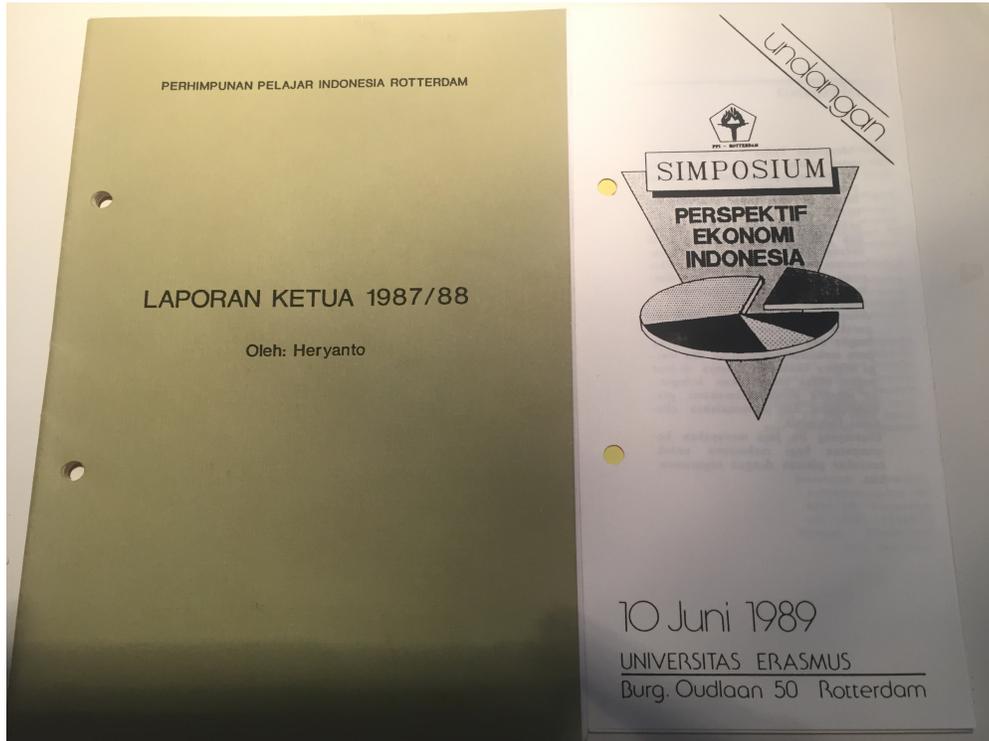


Figure 12 The documentation of *Laporan Ketua Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia Rotterdam 1987/88 Oleh: Heryanto* (Source, Dirgantara Reksa Ginanjar, 2016).

⁷⁰ Idem, 7.

⁷¹ See <http://www.ppi-wageningen.org/en/about-us-2/> (accessed on 13th July 2016).

⁷² See *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Presidium PPI di Negeri Belanda 1991/1993*: 5.

⁷³ See *Laporan Ketua Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia Rotterdam 1987/1988*, page 10.



Figure 13 The anonymous board of PPI Rotterdam 1987/1988 (Source, Laporan ketua Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia Rotterdam 1987/1988: 3)

Four years after its reestablishment, PPI Rotterdam held the *Symposium Perspektif Ekonomi Indonesia* (Indonesia Economic Perspective Symposium) in Erasmus University on 10 June 1989⁷⁴, for which they invited notable alumni of Erasmus University and PPI branch Rotterdam such as Radius Prawiro⁷⁵, Arifin Siregar⁷⁶, and Kwik Kian Gie. These three names could be compared to the *Berkeley Mafia*⁷⁷, which Soeharto appointed for successive Finance Minister position in his 1970-1980s administration.

⁷⁴ See *Undangan Simposium Perspektif Ekonomi Indonesia, 10 Juni 1989*.

⁷⁵ Radius Prawiro was the Coordinating Minister of Economics, Finance, and Industry of the Republic of Indonesia from 1988 to 1993, and was the Governor of *Bank Indonesia* from 1966-1973. During the 1950s, he studied at the *Nederlands Economische Hogeschool* now known as Erasmus University, Rotterdam.

⁷⁶ Arifin Siregar was the Minister of Trade of the Republic of Indonesia from 1988-1993 and was the Governor of *Bank Indonesia* from 1983-1988. From 1953-1956 he studied in *Nederlands Economische Hogeschool* now Erasmus University, Rotterdam.

⁷⁷ The *Berkeley Mafia* is a name for a group of mostly US-trained Indonesian economists, as several had PhDs in economics from the Berkeley, who lead Soeharto's economic reform program in 1970-80s. The famous members are Widjojo Nitisastro, Mohammad Sadli, Emil Salim, Subroto, and Ali Wardhana. More in: Revrisond Baswir. (2006). *Mafia Berkeley dan Krisis Ekonomi Indonesia*. Indonesia: Pustaka Pelajar.



Figure 14 President and ex-president of PPI Delft in early 1990s, from left to right: Leo, Irlan, Judi and Adjie (source: Buletin PPI Delft 1992: 20)

As one of several PPI branches that stood during the *Orde Baru*, PPI Delft still continued to display its existence in the 1990s by publishing a magazine named *Buletin PPI Delft*. From what I have discerned, this bulletin managed to be autonomous—like its predecessor *Sanggar Perantau*—by including many advertisements in their issues, such as an advertisement for a travel agency for Indonesians in the Netherlands who wanted to buy plane tickets to Jakarta/Singapore,⁷⁸ an Indonesian restaurant in Delft, and a photocopying office that could be accessed by students. 200 copies of the magazine were printed. In addition, the bulletin also contained transparent financial reports of PPI Delft, complete with activities that they had undertaken throughout 1992. It is known that PPI Delft had around 220 members at this time, and that their income came from membership dues and sponsorships from corporations, universities, and the Indonesian Embassy. I perceive that PPI Delft's relationship with the Indonesian Embassy was quite close. In 1992, the Embassy gave a donation to PPI Delft of 3000 Dutch Guilders.⁷⁹ Furthermore, PPI Delft invited the Indonesian ambassador

⁷⁸ See *Buletin PPI Delft* No.3, December, 1992: 0 & 29.

⁷⁹ *Idem*, 27.

to the Netherlands at that time, Prof. Bintoro Tjokroamidjojo, to a lecture held in Delft on 29th November, 1992.⁸⁰

Not much information on PPI Belanda or PPI Cabang in subsequent years could be found in the documents available. The last existing document from the 1990s was the *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Presidium PPI di Negeri Belanda 1991/1993* which I acquired from the archive of PPI Belanda and which had been stored in Rotterdam. In that document it is stated that in 1993 there were only 6 PPI branches: Delft, Den Haag, Eindhoven, Enschede, Rotterdam, and Wageningen. Afterwards for unknown reasons PPI went into a temporary period of inactivity, though many of them then began to reestablish themselves around 2003–2004.

CHAPTER IV – POST *REFORMASI* SITUATION

After Indonesian *Reformasi*⁸¹, many city branches in PPI were established or reestablished. From 1998-2004 five PPI were revived and thrived: PPI Leiden (somewhere around 1998), PPI Groningen (10 June 1998)⁸², PPI Enschede (12 December 1998)⁸³, PPI Amsterdam (4 December 2004)⁸⁴, and PPI Maastricht⁸⁵.

To understand the early years of establishment I managed to interview the ex-

⁸⁰ Idem, 15.

⁸¹ *Reformasi* is the time when Soeharto left office in May 1998 due to the monetary crisis and turmoil in Indonesia. Shortly thereafter, the parliament decided to decentralise state administration and fiscal and economic relations with the regions. See more in Franz von Benda-Beckmann and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann. (2013). *Political and Legal Transformations of an Indonesian Polity* [Online]. Cambridge Studies in Law and Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Available from: Cambridge Books Online <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139839082> (Accessed on 10 July 2016).

⁸² See <http://ppigroningen.nl/profil-2/sejarah/> (Accessed on 9 July 2016).

⁸³ See <https://www.utwente.edu/indonesia/perkumpulan/> (Accessed on 7 July 2016).

⁸⁴ See <http://ppiamsterdam.org/page/organisasi> (Accessed on 7 July 2016).

⁸⁵ Information on the establishment of PPI Maastricht was obtained from the interview with Fitri Octaviani; a committee of PPI Maastricht 2015-2016 and a master student in Neuropsychology Department of Maastricht University. Interview was held on 7 July 2016 in The Hague.

president of PPI Leiden 2004-2005, Hellena Yoranita Soussa.⁸⁶ She explained that during that time PPI Leiden was occupied with discussions and social activities for the members. Following the 26 December 2004 tsunami catastrophe in Aceh, Indonesia, PPI Leiden had cooperate with Leiden University to donate “two containers of book” to Syiah Kuala University.⁸⁷ As it established after the *Reformasi* event, Hellena also said that the PPI Leiden was actively vocal on the Indonesian government. Such as in 2005, they published pictures of the people’s representative council members when they did shopping in Netherlands during their *studi banding* (comparison study) to the website of PPI Belanda.

PPI Belanda itself was reestablished in 2003 by several members, and was supported by the Cultural and Educational Attaché of the Republic of Indonesia (Atdikbud) Dr Andi Lolo, who evidently also supported the establishment of PPI Groningen in 1998⁸⁸. Based on the information from the website of PPI Belanda⁸⁹, Andi Lolo was very active in facilitating students by inviting the PPI Kota to a conference in Den Haag. This conference gave birth to the idea of the re-establishment of PPI Belanda, followed by the formation of the steering committee that helped reestablish PPI Belanda in Rotterdam. The next *Atdikbud* Muhajir also supported the PPI Belanda to resurface among Indonesian students. On 24 January 2004, there was a seminar in Arnhem in which the *Atdikbud* Muhajir stressed the significance of the PPI to the students, so that they would give more commitment to the PPI. Furthermore, Atdikbud Muhajir explained that the role of educational attaché was as a liaison between Embassy of Republic of Indonesia (KBRI) and PPI.⁹⁰ The relationship between two subjects will be discussed further in the following sub-chapters. Following the seminar by *Atdikbud* Muhajir, on 18 June 2005 the PPI Belanda was restored

⁸⁶ Hellena was the president of PPI Leiden 2004-2005. She did an MA in International Relations and Diplomacy in Leiden University from 2004-2006. At the moment she’s a PhD candidate in the Asia Institute of Melbourne University, Australia. The interview was conducted in The Hague, 5 July 2016.

⁸⁷ Syiah Kuala University is the oldest state university in Banda Aceh, Indonesia, founded on 2 September 1960.

⁸⁸ See <http://ppigroningen.nl/2007/07/sejarah-ppi-groningen/> (Accessed on 9 July 2016).

⁸⁹ See <http://ppibelanda.org/tentang-kami/> (Access on 5 May 2016).

⁹⁰ Idem.

with a new constitution amending the constitution of 19 July 1986, and declared 8 PPI city branches: PPI Amsterdam, PPI Arnhem-Nijmegen, PPI Enschede, PPI Groningen, PPI Maastricht, PPI Rotterdam, and PPI Groningen. This declaration was called the *Deklarasi Arnhem* (Arnhem Declaration) and the secretary general chosen was Albert Simorangkir from Amsterdam.⁹¹ This declaration marked the first use of term general secretary replacing the word *ketua* (chief) in the PPI Belanda organization. On 20 and 27 March 2010 the constitution of the PPI Belanda was renewed again and signed by 17 PPI Branches in Tilburg.⁹² The 2010 constitution is still being used today.

To make an assessment of the current state of PPIs in the Netherlands, I have made a table where I list the existing PPI along with its date of establishment, existence and reestablishment. For some PPIs only the year of establishment was known, while for others the exact date is known. Certain PPIs have never been reestablished whereas others have been reestablished due to immobilization for some periods of time. The details missing here are due to the incapability of PPIs to store their archives.

No.	Name of PPI	Date of Establishment or Existence	Date of Reestablishment	Current Status
1	PPI Belanda (Netherlands)	19 April 1952	11 May 1963 19 July 1986 18 July 2005	Active
2	PPI Amsterdam	19 April 1952	4 December 2004	Active
3	PPI Arnhem	2003-10	No	Inactive

⁹¹ Idem.

⁹² Idem.

			reestablishment	
4	PPI Delft	19 April 1952	11 May 1963 19 April 1985	Active
5	PPI Den Haag	1988-89	2006	Active
6	PPI Kota Den Haag	1988-89	Unknown	Active
7	PPI Deventer	2003	2008	Active
8	PPI Eindhoven	1967	31 August 2008	Active
9	PPI Emmen	2010	No reestablishment	Inactive
10	PPI Enschede	1993	12 December 1998	Active
11	PPI Groningen	10 June 1998	No reestablishment	Active
12	PPI Leiden	19 April 1952	Unknown	Active
13	PPI Maastricht	1 April 2004	No reestablishment	Active
14	PPI Nijmegen	1967	2009	Active
15	PPI Rotterdam	1967	19 October 1985	Active
16	PPI Tilburg	2008	No reestablishment	Active
17	PPI Utrecht	1967	7 October 2007	Active

18	PPI Wageningen	1987	No reestablishment	Active
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Table 1 Year of Establishment and reestablishments of PPI in Netherlands.

In the 2010 constitution of PPI Belanda, Article 5 has three sentences concerning the membership policy⁹³:

1. The Members of PPI Belanda are the PPI Kota (city branches).
2. PPI Kota is the Indonesian students' organization, based in the cities of the Netherlands and representing the Indonesian students there.
3. PPI Belanda acknowledges the autonomy of each city.

Compared to the membership regulations in the initial constitution of 1963, PPI Belanda regulated that⁹⁴:

1. The members of PPI Belanda are Indonesian citizens who study in the Netherlands with a minimum age of 16.
2. The extraordinary members are students who after one year are no longer registered in any educational institution.
3. The enthusiast members are those (of any nationality) who have interest and give material support to the Association with the agreement from the board.
4. The honorary members are those who give merit to the association as decided by the general assembly of PPI members.

Reflecting on the constitutions above, there are differences in how the PPI Belanda regulates its members. The current PPI Belanda no longer regulates membership, thus the approach is of an organization for organization rather than organization for people. Ali Abdillah also admits this system in the interview,

⁹³ Idem.

⁹⁴ See *Madjallah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda*, October 1963: 3.

which I conducted in Leiden.⁹⁵ He explained that the PPI Belanda now has the role as a coordinator for the city branches.



Figure 15 Logos of PPIs in the Netherlands (Source: PPI Belanda, 2016).

PPI Belanda do coordination for city branches such as making the annual plan of activities for the PPI in Netherlands, ensuring that the city branches do not hold an event in the same date, and liaising between the city branches and the *Atdikbud* and Indonesian Embassy (although in practice, PPI city branches can also contact *Atdikbud* and Indonesian Embassy without the assistance of PPI Belanda). To manage the existing 15 PPIs in Netherlands, Ali Abdillah created a *WhatsApp*⁹⁶ group of the chiefs of PPI city branches to discuss ongoing issues. He also explained that each city branch is dominated by students from a certain group: in Eindhoven, Tilburg, Groningen, Enschede and Rotterdam, bachelor's students are dominant, whereas in Leiden, Amsterdam, Maastricht, Utrecht, The Hague, Wageningen, and Nijmegen master's students are dominant. For the 17 PPIs in 2015-2016, the chiefs are comprised of 2 PhD students, 4 bachelor's

⁹⁵ Ali Abdillah is the current general secretary of the PPI Belanda (2015-2016). He is on the master's programme of European Law in Leiden University. The interview was held in 7 May 2016 in Leiden.

⁹⁶ WhatsApp Messenger is a cross-platform mobile messaging app that allows you to exchange messages without having to pay for SMS. See <https://www.whatsapp.com/> (accessed on 6 July 2016).

students, and 11 master's students.

To explain more about the activities and PPI Networks, I now present five subchapters which explain about the PPI City branches, the activities of PPI, PPI Involvement in Domestic Politics, the relationship with the state representative (KBRI and Atdikbud), and the PPI Network of OISAA (Overseas Indonesian Students' Association Alliance).

IV.I. City Branches of PPI di Belanda

Regarding relationship to society, PPI Kota has more privilege than PPI Belanda in interacting and getting in touch with the students. The importance of facilitating and advocating the needs of Indonesian students within the related city is stressed by the constitution of PPI Kota. Moreover, the membership policy of PPI Kota is also exclusive as students can only join the PPI Kota in the place they are studying. Here I discuss the constitutions of PPI Kota, which stress the relationship between the PPI Kota and its constituents. Those constitutions are from PPI Leiden, PPI Delft, and PPI Amsterdam.

Article 8 of the 2015 constitution of PPI Delft states that its objectives are to become the centre of information and communication for its members regarding Indonesian student life, and to promote unity and togetherness among its members. Additionally in article 9, it is stated that the membership of PPI Delft is only open to Indonesian students who currently study or live in the city of Delft.⁹⁷

Similarly Article 5 in the 2016 constitution of PPI Leiden states that the objective of the association is to strengthen the unity and brotherhood of the PPI members and thus contribute to the development of Indonesia. It is explained more in the Article 5 Paragraph 2 that advocating for the needs of students, improving the academic life of students, and promoting Indonesian culture in Leiden and in Dutch society generally embody the objective of PPI Leiden. In Article 6 PPI Leiden underlines Indonesian citizenship as a requirement for membership, plus

⁹⁷ See <http://www.ppidelft.net/organisasi/adart-ppidelft/> (Accessed on 11 July 2016).

being a student at one of Leiden's educational institutions.⁹⁸

The PPI in Amsterdam, unlike those in Leiden and Delft, has to cover Indonesian students in four cities—Amsterdam, Diemen, Haarlem, and Amstelveen—although most of the members are students from the Universiteit van Amsterdam and Vrije University. In Article 3 Paragraph 2 of the 2015 constitution of PPI Amsterdam, it is mentioned that PPI Amsterdam is a member of PPI Belanda. This statement doesn't exist in the constitutions of PPI Leiden and Delft. Hence the relationship between the PPI Amsterdam and PPI Belanda is more mutual than PPI Leiden and Delft.⁹⁹

Another PPI that is unusual in terms of the membership is the PPI in Den Haag. The PPI in Den Haag is divided into two: PPI Den Haag itself and PPI Kota Den Haag (PPI Den Haag City). The two signed an agreement of separation on 9 August 2011.¹⁰⁰ Almost all the members of PPI Kota Den Haag are master's and PhD students at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) The Hague, whereas the members of PPI Den Haag are bachelor's students at The Hague University. The two PPIs run independently. For the rest of the PPI in Netherlands, I present in the table below the channels of PPI Kota to connect with people and distribute information to members. In 2016, most of the PPI Kota have websites to spread association news to the public; only Kota Den Haag and Deventer don't. The two least popular media for dissemination are magazines/bulletins and radio; only PPI Wageningen owns a radio, and only PPI Amsterdam and PPI Delft have magazines/bulletins.

⁹⁸ See <https://ppileiden.org/anggaran-dasar-dan-anggaran-rumah-tangga-ppi-leiden/> (Accessed on 15 June 2016).

⁹⁹ The 2015 Constitution of PPI Amsterdam was obtained from the ex-chief of PPI Amsterdam 2014-2015, Niken Edgina.

¹⁰⁰ The document of *Pemberitahuan dan Keputusan Bersama PPI Kota Den Haag dan PPI Den Haag 9 Agustus 2011* was obtained from Dyah Kathy Kartika, board of PPI Kota Den Haag 2015-2016.

PPI	Instagram	Website	Twitter	Facebook	Blog	Magazine / Bulletin	YouTube	Radio Channel
Amsterdam	■	■	■	■		■	■	
Delft		■	■	■		■	■	
Den Haag	■	■	■	■			■	
Kota Den Haag					■			
Deventer								
Eindhoven		■						
Enschede		■	■	■			■	
Groningen	■	■	■	■			■	
Leiden	■	■		■				
Maastricht		■	■	■			■	
Nijmegen		■						
Rotterdam		■	■	■				
Tilburg		■		■				
Utrecht	■	■	■	■			■	
Wageningen	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■

Table 2 Channels of 16 active PPI to distribute information. The coloured block ■ means the PPI has the listed media.

IV.II. Activities

The PPI Belanda and city branches always organize events and activities for their members. Some activities are small, while others are big and intended for the wider public. The main source of funding is from the Educational and Cultural Attaché of Indonesian Republic (*Atdikbud*), previously there was another source of funding, namely sponsors from a private institution or company. But now, such sponsors no longer exist. In 2014, PPI Belanda signed an economic agreement with Indonesian airline company *Garuda Indonesia* due to the launch of the first direct Jakarta-Amsterdam and Amsterdam-Jakarta flight.¹⁰¹ However, after some time the agreement stopped and *Garuda Indonesia* no longer supports PPI Belanda. Since then both PPI Belanda and city branches fund themselves privately with donations from members, profits from events and the *Atdikbud*¹⁰².

From what I observed, there are three big events held annually by the PPI in the Netherlands. Over 100 people, not only Indonesian but also other nationalities, usually attend the events. These events are also strongly supported by the embassy and *Atdikbud* as the ambassador attended the events as well as providing material support. The two events are *Historun* by PPI Leiden and *International Conference on Indonesian Development* by PPI Belanda (ICID; in 2016 it changed its name to *International Conference on Asean Development*). These two events also bring surplus to the PPI, for example *Historun* 2016 made a profit of 365 euros by selling tickets for the event.¹⁰³

Historun

On April 23rd, 2016, the Indonesian Students Association in Leiden (PPI Leiden) invited various circles to better discover Indonesian history related to the city of Leiden, through the *Historun Indischoveria* event. This event was not only

¹⁰¹ See <http://ina.indonesia.nl/index.php/all-category/86-ekonomi/740-penadatangan-mou-garuda-indonesia-dan-ppi-belanda> (Access on 7 July 2016).

¹⁰² Information was taken from the Interview with Ali Abdillah.

¹⁰³ I obtained the information from the *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Historun 2016* which I received from its project officer Alqiz Lukman.

attended by Indonesian students pursuing their education in various Dutch cities, from Amsterdam to Maastricht, but also by international students and citizens as well as other Indonesian citizens living in the Netherlands. This year's Historun had the concept of "city tour (*wisata kota*)" and "playing while learning about history". Around 100 attendants were divided into 9 groups, each led by two tour guides.

The Indonesian ambassador to the Netherlands, Mr. I Gusti Agung Wesaka Puja, opened the Historun Indiscoveria 2016 event. Cloudy skies and some morning rain did not lessen the enthusiasm of the attendants to go on a tour of Leiden, including Mr. Puja and his wife who went along with the others for the historical tour. The Historun's route started from the Museum Volkenkunde that had its own special portion filled with collections of Indonesian culture such as *keris*, gold, and textiles. Attendants were divided into two groups with English-speaking guides and seven groups with Indonesian-speaking guides, and in turns started the trip from Rembrandtplaats. The trip was then followed by going through the house of Indonesia's first foreign minister, Achmad Soebarjo, as well as the house of Snouck Hurgronje, a Dutch who studied Islam and Aceh during the colonial era.



Figure 16 Participants of Historun event in Leiden (Source, PPI Leiden, 2016).

The next place that was visited was Academiegebouw; the University of Leiden's first and oldest building that had just been visited by President Jokowi (22/4). In this building was the statue of a young Husein Djajadiningrat, the first Indonesian to succeed in acquiring a PhD in the Netherlands. The tour was then followed by visits to several of Leiden's other iconic places, such as De Burcht that was the highest point of Leiden that was also a historical building because it used to be a refuge when the Dutch were warring against the Spanish. The tour resumed with visiting the former headquarters of *Indische Vereeniging*, which after changing its name to *Indonesische Vereeniging* in 1922 became the oldest Indonesian student organization in the world.



Figure 17 International participation in Historun events (Source, PPI Leiden 2016).

International Conference on Indonesian Development (ICID)

To gather the information on the 2013, I questioned Reynaldo Rante Allo as he did observation and participation in this event. Primarily, ICID was a conference organized in 2013 designed to become a hub between Indonesian policy maker

(executive and legislative), student, professional and public. The ultimate output of this event is a recommendation of an ideal Indonesian development. The recommendation will cover four main pillars on Indonesian development as follows: Economics and Business, Science and Technology, Law, Government and Defense, and Social, Education, and Cultures.¹⁰⁴ This conference was designed as a bridge between ideas and knowledge on issues in Indonesia's development between policy makers, university graduates, professionals, and the people. At the conference there were at least 60 scientific papers presented in the two-day conference, as well as 100 observers who joined and liven up the conference's discussion.

The Minister of International Trade and Development Cooperation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Lilianne Ploumen, along with the Vice-Minister of the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas), Dr. Lukita Dinarsyah Tuwo, and the Vice-President Director of BNI 46, Felia Salim, also gave keynote speeches during the opening of ICID 2013 at the Lecture Hall Auditorium of the Institute of Social Sciences.¹⁰⁵

In 2016, the second international conference organized by PPI Belanda (now called ICAD) will also be held under the theme of "Innovating ASEAN Economic Community: Looks to the EU for the Lesson". The following conference is expected to invite H.E. Mr. Le Luong Minh, the Secretary General of ASEAN as the keynote speaker.¹⁰⁶

IV.III. PPI Involvement in Domestic Politics

In speaking of political affiliation of the Indonesian Students' Association in the Netherlands, every association states that they have no affiliation with any

¹⁰⁴ To gather the information on ICID, I interviewed Reynaldo Rante Allo, General Secretary of PPI Belanda. Although he was no longer the General Secretary in 2013 he was still actively participate in the PPI Events up to now. In 2013 to 2015, Reynaldo studied in NHTV Breda University of Applied Science and now currently residing in The Hague.

¹⁰⁵ See <http://ppibelanda.site11.com/development/wordpress/international-conference-of-indonesian-development-icid/> (Accessed on 10 July 2016).

¹⁰⁶ See <http://www.icad2016.ppibelanda.org/the-speaker-and-reviewer/> (Accessed on 14 July 2016).

political party or political institution in Indonesia, as is stated in their constitution. However, the PPI in the Netherlands still pays attention to issues in Indonesia, as reflected in PPI's "Position Statement". The Position Statement is an act done by PPI to express its views on issues in Indonesia and has been done by PPI since the 1960s. From 2004 to 2016, there are many position statements announced by PPI to the Indonesian public. However I will only give samples of three position statements concern the corruption in Indonesia, the Papua issue, and regional election law. For the position statements of PPI, I collected documentation of media in Indonesia such as *Kompas*, *MetroTV*, *Republika* and *Detik.com*.

Position Statement concerning the Papua Issue

In 2013, concerned with the continued unrest in Papua, PPI Belanda and PPI Utrecht, pressured the government to speed efforts in finding a peaceful solution.¹⁰⁷ According to them, the Papua conflict had been prolonged and is triggered by many factors that must be resolved from their roots. The students pushed forth that the law must be upheld impartially in Papua for those that who do not want Papua to be in peace. This just position must be applied not only towards those who wish to separate themselves from the Republic of Indonesia and those who are pro-integration, but also towards certain parties from Indonesia that reap benefit from the continued violence in Papua.

The students used the film *Alkinemokiye*, a documentary themed on violence in Papua that covers the bloody conflict between Freeport workers and management, as their reference.¹⁰⁸ Dhandy Laksono, the film's director, was present to expound on the film, followed by an analysis by Mr. Cahyo Pamungkas, an anthropologist specializing in the Papua conflict from LIPI (Indonesian Institutes of Science) and a PhD candidate from Radbound

¹⁰⁷ <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2013/02/26/23134390/PPI.Belanda.Tegakkan.Keadilan.di.Papua> accessed on (1 July 2016).

¹⁰⁸ See movie *Alkinemokiye* in youtube <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x3OWOu88BhY> accessed on (1 July 2016).

University in Nijmegen. One of the issues in the Papua predicament is the presence of PT Freeport that has entrenched itself in Papua since 1967. The forum referred to the film *Alkinemokiye* concerning the labor strikes conducted by PT Freeport's labor union, as an accumulation of disappointment that has been occurring throughout the previous decades, among other reasons because of the low wages that they receive in return for the high labor risks that they face, the absence of pension funds, and the ambivalent stock agreements given by PT Freeport to its workers.

There were four recommendations for the government formulated in this forum by the PPI. First, fulfill the basic rights of the Papuan people and fight for the sovereignty of Papua's natural resources. Second, a dialogic approach in conflict-resolution that is heart to heart and avoids a military approach. The conflict-resolution in Aceh is a good example, even though the issues and solutions need not be identical. Third, follow up on the results of the Papuan peace conference held from 5-7 July 2011 and focusing on the agenda of peace in Papua. Fourth, evaluate the Labor Law, especially the sections relating to workers in foreign corporations.¹⁰⁹

Position Statement on the Regional Elections Law

During the time Willy Sakareza was General Secretary (2013-2014), PPI Belanda made a statement denouncing the Regional Elections Law passed by the House of Representatives (DPR RI) on 26 September 2014, which in essence removes the constitutional right of Indonesian citizens to directly vote for their regional heads.¹¹⁰ PPI Belanda hoped that DPR RI would accept and approve the Governmental Decree in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2014 (*Perppu*), previously released by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono on October 2nd, 2014. In the event that DPR RI refuses the *Perppu*, PPI Belanda would with respect ask President Joko

¹⁰⁹ See <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2013/02/26/23134390/PPI.Belanda.Tegakkan.Keadilan.di.Papua> Accessed on (1 July 2016).

¹¹⁰ See <http://news.detik.com/berita/2709665/kemelut-uu-pilkada-vs-perppu-ini-sikap-ppi-belanda> Accessed on (3 July 2016.)

Widodo, who at that time was to be elected on October 20th, 2014, to propose a revision of Law No. 22 of 2014 in order to restore the rights of Indonesian citizens to directly vote for their regional heads. In addition, if DPR did not welcome the Perppu, as an alternative solution, PPI Belanda would facilitate Indonesian students in the Netherlands who disagree with Law No. 22 of 2014 to collectively with other Indonesian people use their constitutional rights to file a Judicial Review addressed to the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia. PPI Belanda stressed that this statement was an agreement among the PPI Belanda and City branches and that PPI Belanda was not in a position to either support or oppose the political steps taken by any Indonesian political party.¹¹¹

Position Statement concerning Corruption

In 2015, PPI Belanda released over six position statements on the cancellation of the appointment of the Commissioner-General of the Police, Budi Gunawan, as Head of Police, due to a corruption case.¹¹² PPI Belanda, which at that time was led by Hapsari Cinantya Putri, stated that they supported President Joko Widodo's step in cancelling Budi Gunawan's candidacy as Head of Police. PPI Belanda also pressured Indonesia's House of Representatives (DPR RI) to objectively conduct a fit and proper test, in the hope that the new candidate for Head of Police, Commissioner-General Badrodin Haiti, could be proven to be a figure of integrity with a clean record.¹¹³

IV.IV. Relation to the State's Representative; Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia (KBRI) and Atdikbud.

To understand the longstanding bond between the PPI and the Embassy, I interviewed Mr Hari Bambang Wibisono the Atdikbud in his office in the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Tobias Asserlaan 8, 2517 KC Den Haag on 4 May 2016. Mr Hari plays a great role in determining the connection between the PPI

¹¹¹ Idem.

¹¹² See <http://news.metrotvnews.com/read/2015/02/21/361035/enam-harapan-ppi-belanda-dalam-konflik-kpk-polri> (Accessed on 25 June 2016).

¹¹³ Idem.

and the embassy as he has spent 4 years taking care of Indonesian students in the Netherlands.

Mr Hari firstly explained that his job to handle the PPI was based on *the Decree of the Minister of Education and Culture Number 064/MPK/LN/2013* dated 5th April 2013, stating the eight main duties and functions of Atdikbud. The connection with the PPI is referred to in point number 5 of the attaché's Main Duties and Functions stated "Building and shaping society, especially scholars and students in the Netherlands, in order to increase the sense of nationality and image of the Indonesian nation".

The Embassy and Atdikbud see the PPI as a professional partner for them in undertaking the Embassy's mission, namely that of carrying out the mandate of being the protector and server of the people. The duty is to protect the entire Indonesian nation and to serve Indonesians that are in the Netherlands. The Indonesian Embassy believes that they cannot reach everyone without the support of PPI. However, until today there hasn't been any written agreement or declaration between the KBRI/Atdikbud and PPI. Thus it has been solely a consensus without clear distribution of rights and obligations. Mr Hari also clarified that the previous Atdikbud did not pass on information about any agreements about dos and don'ts with regard to the PPI. He stated:

"I think that what needs to be formed is a charter of cooperation between the Indonesian Embassy and PPI, being two inseparable institutions. Not every place that has an Indonesian Embassy also has a PPI. But every place that has PPI has an Indonesian Embassy. Everything is for now is based on consensus. It seems that there must be a written document that makes it a right and a responsibility between PPI and the Indonesian Embassy. And I am only learning from previous attachés."

So it is then not necessary for PPI Belanda and Embassy to always be in agreement. Mr Hari said:

“What’s important is conveying in a correct and proper manner. As someone who has received a mandate for working with PPI, I say that that is an extremely strong starting point. Communication and conveyance of important ideas (aspirations) can be made to those who hold formal responsibility.”

Mr Hari also sees the PPI as a place to voice the aspirations of students, an organization with well-educated members. In terms of the relationship to both PPI Belanda and PPI Kota, Mr Hari asserted that now the bureaucracy is much less complex than it was. Each PPI Kota could directly contact Atdikbud without link to PPI Belanda. The work between PPI and Atdikbud is often regarding as the funding of events, thus at the beginning of every new board of PPI, Atdikbud asks for a one-year plan so that it can budget the funding which can be given to the PPI. Atdikbud receives an annual budget from the Education and Cultural Ministry for 3-4 Billion rupiahs (200,000 euros). However, not all this money is spent on the PPI; it is distributed to other Atdikbud needs such as the *Sekolah Indonesia Nederland* (Indonesia Netherlands School) in Wassenaar. Therefore it is unknown how much exactly of the 200,000 euros goes to the PPI.

PPI’s Financial Reliance on KBRI

With regards to financing, the early constitution of the PPI Belanda in 1963 stated that the financing was funded through: Routine financials contribution from members; ad-hoc contribution; and other sources of fund, which do not contradict the values of the organization.¹¹⁴ In the 1960s administration of the PPI Belanda, it was not known whether KBRI (the Indonesian Embassy) gave its material support to the PPI Belanda. Nonetheless, it is known that in the 1970s, KBRI provided much material assistance to the PPI Belanda, as evidenced by the KBRI serving as venue for events, or even sponsor of the consumption needs.¹¹⁵ In the 1980s, KBRI also continuously provided financial assistance of thousands

¹¹⁴ See *Madjallah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda*, October 1963: 4.

¹¹⁵ See *Sanggar Perantau / Bulletin Pemuda- Pelajar Indonesia di Amsterdam* (16/09/1973) No. 6 Yr. 1, 1973: 3-7.

of Dutch guilders to PPI Rotterdam and PPI Delft to support PPI funds, which had been running for decades. For instance, the PPI Belanda received 4500 Dutch guilders¹¹⁶ from the KBRI in 1990, while PPI Delft received 3000 Dutch guilders in the same year.¹¹⁷ In the 2010 article 9 of the Bylaws (*Anggaran Rumah Tangga*) of the PPI Belanda with regards to the finances, the PPI Belanda can receive funds from the contributions of the PPI Kota organizations, as well as other parties as long as they are not binding and not contradictory to the Constitution (*Anggaran Dasar*) and the Bylaws of the PPI Belanda. As such, the donation from the KBRI would be categorized under the second group. In fact, the 2015 constitution of PPI Delft clearly states in the article 11, point (e), that one source of PPI Delft funds comes from subsidy by the KBRI,¹¹⁸ thus further legitimizing the KBRI as the main source of funds especially in the context of PPI Delft.

Conversely, there have also been instances in which the PPI rejected financial assistance from KBRI. Examples include PPI Leiden in 2004-2005 as well as PPI Den Haag of 2012-2013. Hellena, the head of PPI Leiden 2004-2005, admitted to rejecting the financial assistance by KBRI, with the rationale that PPI Leiden had sufficient funds by itself, and in order to sustain its autonomy and independence from KBRI. The amount of the financial assistance is not known. Similarly, the PPI Den Haag of 2012-2013 under Tamara and other student officials rejected the financial assistance from KBRI with the same reason of sustaining its independence from KBRI.¹¹⁹ However it became apparent that such policies were unpopular, as evidenced by how all PPI Belanda and PPI Kota rely on KBRI as a source of quickie and easy funds. In each newly elected administration of PPI Belanda or in towns, the Atdikbud KBRI would normally gather all the heads and collectively arrange the timeline of the funds allocation to avoid clashes of interests. This is recognized by both the Atdikbud as well as

¹¹⁶ See the The Accountability Report of the Presidium of PPI Belanda (*Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Presidium PPI Di Negeri Belanda*) 1991/1993, pages 8-10.

¹¹⁷ See the Buletin of PPI Delft, 3 December 1992, page 26.

¹¹⁸ See <http://www.ppidelft.net/organisasi/adart-ppidelft/> (Accessed on 22 August 2016).

¹¹⁹ The interview with Tamara was held in The Hague, 7 August 2016.

the head of PPI Belanda. This reliance also emerged as the evidence that the relationship between PPI and KBRI is one of “father and son” (*Bapak dan anak*).¹²⁰ As a result, whenever the “son” requests for money, the “father” would obligingly provide the funds. Similarly, whenever the “father” forbids the son from having a certain activity, the “son” would ideally also obey. PPI Belanda and PPI in towns now organize a myriad of activities, based on the list of Atdkibud, which can number close to 50 annually. A majority of these events now rely on KBRI for funding.¹²¹

This financial reliance clearly has political consequences. Known instances of rejection of financial assistance are very rare, as highlighted earlier, in PPI Leiden in 2004 and PPI Den Haag in 2013. There have been no other such instances reported. The interviews I conducted with the heads of the PPI have indeed shown that the KBRI does not intervene with the activities of the PPI, or believe that the KBRI does not interfere with their organizations. My results instead showed that KBRI intervention came not through the PPI as an organization, but through individual Indonesian students. Tamara Soukotta, Santy Kouwagam and Ghamal Satya Mohammad experienced first-hand the intervention from the KBRI.¹²² Ghamal served as the head of a city PPI, while Tamara was part of the administration, and Santy a member of the association.

A human rights activist, Tamar Soukotta underwent the Ph.D program at the Erasmus Institute of Social Sciences, at the city of Den Haag. She began her studies in 2011, and has since been active in the PPI Kota Den Haag. Tamara shared that upon becoming an official of PPI Den Kota Haag in 2012, she attended a discussion forum on the independence of Papua held at the city of Den Haag itself. The event was also attended by Benny Wenda, a Free West

¹²⁰ This “father and son” relationships was first introduced by Heryanto Hubungan in the Report of the Head of PPI Rotterdam 1987/ 1988, page 25. However, later this term is confirmed by Ali Abdillah, Reynaldo, and Tamara during the interview.

¹²¹ For instances in the event of Historun in Februari 2016, KBRI endowed PPI Leiden for financial support of 600 Euro (see the report of accountability of Historun 2016 by Alqiz Lukman) and PPI Belanda for their event *Lingkar Inspirasi* for 798.5 Euro (see the report of accountability of PPI Belanda 2015-2016).

¹²² I interviewed Tamara for this research on 7 August 2016, interviewed Santy on 11 August 2016, and interviewed Ghamal on 28 August 2016. Both Santy and Ghamal I met in Leiden, where Tamara I met in The Hague.

Papua movement (*Papua Barat Merdeka*) figure who had been in exile in the Britain since 2003.¹²³ Tamara admitted that she attended out of curiosity and concern towards the free Papua issues. Yet, according to her, any KBRI or government official did not attend the event. A few days later, the KBRI contacted and invited Tamara to attend a gathering with meals (*makan-makan*) at Tobias Asserlaan. At first, she thought that it would be a normal outreach event by the KBRI towards Indonesian students in the Netherlands. However, upon entering the venue, members of the Lemhanas¹²⁴ (National Resilience Institute) had been waiting for her, and the event quickly turned into an interrogation by the KBRI and Lemhanas, with the subjects being the students who had attended the Free Papua discussion forum. According to Tamara, the Lemhanas officials interrogated the students on their intents behind attending the event, as well as the content of the discussion forum.

Santy Kouwagam provided a second account with regards to KBRI's supervision of Indonesian students in the Netherlands. Santy is a Ph.D researcher at the Van Vollenhoven Institute for Law, Governance, and Development, at Leiden University. In January 2016, she was invited by International Lawyers for West Papua (ILWP) to become a speaker at the discussion forum "Transforming our World – UN Goals for West Papua" to be held on 10 March 2016 at the Humanity House, Den Haag. She was invited for her expertise of the legal system in Indonesia. Santy accepted the invitation and was willing to speak at the event.

¹²³ See <https://www.bennywenda.org/biography/> (accessed on 25 August 2016).

¹²⁴ Stands for Lembaga Pertahanan Nasional.

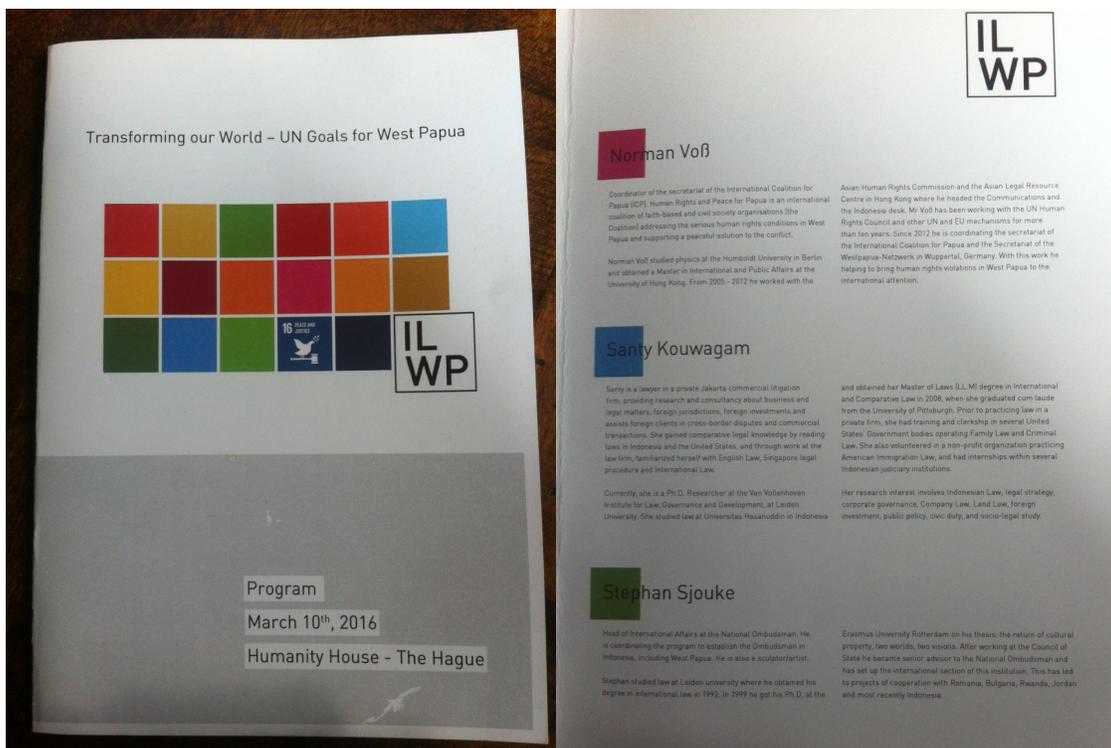


Figure 18 ILWP forum leaflet (Source, Dirgantara, 2016).

About one month before the forum, an official at the political division of KBRI Netherlands contacted Santy to have a coffee talk (*“mengopi-ngopi”*). While at first Santy was not alarmed with the invitation, the official continuously contacted Santy before eventually stating that the new Ambassador, Mr I Gusti A Wesaka, would also attend the meeting. The meet up then transformed from a coffee talk to a lunch with the Ambassador. Eventually, a week before the discussion forum, Santi met the Ambassador at Puntjak Restaurant along with three other officials from the KBRI on 4 March 2016. After 1.5 hours of small talk, the Ambassador began to ask Santy to share her views on the Papua issue as well as her involvement in the ILWP discussion forum. However, the Ambassador didn't ask Santy to leave the Forum he only suggested Santy if she had something to enquire to the Ambassador, the door would always open for. Eventually, Santy still did attend the event as one of the speaker and afterwards there had never been the call anymore from the Ambassador.

Ghamal Satya Mohammad, the head of PPI Leiden for 2015-2016, had a similar experience in the early November of 2015. The PPI Leiden was going to take participation in the 10-13 November International People's Tribunal (IPT) for the 30 September 1965 tragedy. As the head of a PPI Kota (ketua PPI kota), Ghamal

strove to channel the aspirations by the PPI members before forming his opinion on a developing issue. These aspirations were gathered through a post he made in the Facebook group of PPI Leiden members. Not long after that, Ghamal received a Whatsapp message from *Atdikbud* Indonesia in the Netherlands, Mr Hari Bambang, According to Ghamal, the Whatsapp message began with small talk (*basa-basi*), before Ghamal asked for the real intent of the *Atdikbud*. Eventually, the *Atdikbud* admitted that he had concern for the Indonesian students who were involved in the IPT activity. In Ghamal's explanation, the advice from the *Atdikbud* for him not to attend the event had to do with the highly sensitive scholarship that he received, from the Republic of Indonesia. Eventually, Ghamal decided not to attend the event, and extended the advice from the *Atdikbud* to other students in the Netherlands. However, Ghamal did not see this as a threat, but instead as an advice for him both as an individual and in capacity as the head of a PPI Kota. Based on these two sharings, the news of the *Atdikbud* advice and Ghamal was reported in local news outlets in Indonesia, seen as the form of state's intervention to the students political activity overseas.¹²⁵

Based on the three facts above, it is indeed clear that the KBRI does interfere with the political activities of Indonesian students in the Netherlands. However, this intervention was directly towards particular individual students, instead of an intervention with the PPI as an organization. Nonetheless, based on the three above facts, KBRI's intervention towards PPI as an organization was most probable in the Ghamal case, due to his appointment as the head of PPI Leiden, as the decision affected the organization and its members. Such political consequences occurred between the PPI and the KBRI.

Such close relations between the PPI and the KBRI can be attributed to the absence of any other formal organizations to serve as a platform for Indonesian

¹²⁵ See <https://m.tempo.co/read/news/2015/11/05/078716260/tragedi-g-30s-1965-akan-diadili-benarkah-ada-intimidasi> (accessed on 21 August 2016) and <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/11/05/embassy-tells-ri-students-not-attend-1965-tribunal.html> (accessed on 21 August 2016)

students to socialize and communicate. As a result, the PPI is the sole organization for Indonesian students overseas, which receive recognition from the KBRI. As reflected in the interview with Ali Abdillah, Reynaldo, Ghamal and Niken, the PPI organizations today are indeed relying on the KBRI to financially support the PPI activities. As a result, the PPI organizations accept the political consequences of this financial reliance, in order to sustain the cordial relations with the KBRI. It is not known for certain whether the PPI organizations in the previous years and decades had as cordial a relationship with the KBRI. However, according to Farina Lomboan, a local staff at KBRI Den Haag for 20 years, remarked that prior to the Reformasi era, students hardly came down to attend meetings with the *Atdikbud* and did not have as strong a collaboration with the KBRI / *Wisma Indonesia*. Farina feels that the communication levels between the PPI and the KBRI before the Reformasi era are not as intense and close as they are in the present.

IV.V. Overseas Indonesian Student Association Alliance (OISAA)

The increasing number of Indonesian students studying abroad has triggered the establishment of PPI in countries all over the world. Currently there are 51 PPI *Negara* (PPI Countries), all of which are part of the OISAA¹²⁶. Those 51 PPI are divided into three regions such as PPI Region of Asia-Oceania, America-Europe, and Middle East-Africa. The region of Asia-Oceania consists of 14 PPI Countries: Australia, Brunei Darussalam, China, the Philippines, India, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh¹²⁷. The Region of America-Europe consist of 23 PPI countries: the United States, Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany, Canada, Norway, France, Portugal, Russia, Serbia, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Poland, Hungary, Ireland, and Iceland¹²⁸. And lastly, 13 PPIs in the Middle East-Africa region: Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Iran, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia,

¹²⁶ <http://ppidunia.org/category/kawasan-ppi-dunia/> (accessed on 2 July 2016).

¹²⁷ <http://ppidunia.org/regional-asia-oseania/> (accessed on 2 July 2016).

¹²⁸ <http://ppidunia.org/amerika-dan-eropa/> (accessed on 2 July 2016).

Yemen, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE)¹²⁹.



Figure 19 OISAA logo (Source, PPI Australia, 2016).¹³⁰

OISAA itself was established in October 2007 at the International Student Conference on Indonesia (KIPI) in Sydney, Australia. Since then, OISAA has organized 9 international symposiums, in Sydney, New Delhi, Ankara, Singapore, Tokyo, Den Haag, Istanbul, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, and London.¹³¹ In the symposium of OISAA, PPI countries mostly discuss recent issues regarding Indonesia. For instance in the 2015 Singapore symposium, the theme is about the preparation of Indonesia in facing the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC).¹³² To look at historically, OISAA is a breakthrough in terms of the PPI network in the modern era. In previous times, the PPI network was limited to one region (PPI Eropa), but now the network has expanded worldwide due to the advance of the technology. OISAA now has an active website, Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram accounts. Moreover, it also has a streaming radio that first broadcast on 18 May 2009 as the official publication media of the International Symposium in Den Haag. This radio is online for 24 hours a day and has presenters from PPI all over the world¹³³. Radio PPI Dunia was founded as an embodiment of the contribution to Indonesian society, as well as

¹²⁹ <http://ppidunia.org/timur-tengah-dan-afrika/> (accessed on 2 July 2016).

¹³⁰ See <http://ppi-australia.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/OISAA-Banner.jpg> (accessed on 25 August 2016).

¹³¹ See <http://ppidunia.org/category/simposium-internasional/page/2/> (Accessed on 2 July 2016).

¹³² See <http://ppidunia.org/simposium-internasional-2015-kali-ini-dengar-bangga-mempersembahkan-kontes-fotografi-dengan-tema-indonesia-bisa-dalam-rangka-menghadapi-masyarakat-ekonomi-asean-2015-dalam-perlom/> (Accessed on 3 July 2016).

¹³³ See <http://radioppidunia.org> (Accessed on 8 July 2016).

connecting Indonesian students all over the world.

CHAPTER V – OTHER STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION IN NETHERLANDS

Besides Indonesian Students' Association (PPI), in the Netherlands there are several other international students' associations such as the Korean Students Association in Netherlands (KSAN), Association of Chinese Students and Scholars in Netherlands (ACSSNL), Asian Students in the Netherlands (ASN), Surinamese Students' Union Amsterdam (VSSA), African Student Community (ASC), Association for Latin American Students (ALAS), Groningen Indian Students' Association (GISA), Turkish Students' Association, and Vietnamese Students' Association. Some of associations such as Turkish Students' Association, KSAN, and ACSSNL have branches in many universities in Netherlands, like the PPI. From the eight associations that I mentioned above, the ACSSNL has the most branches in Netherlands with 17 city branches.¹³⁴ GISA is the oldest association among the eight, having been established for 10 years in Groningen. Unfortunately, I was only able to interview the KSAN. I met with its president Sungbin Lee in The Hague on 4 May 2016. Sungbin Lee is a bachelor's student in the International Studies at Leiden University.

Korean Students' Association in Netherlands (KSAN)

KSAN was established in 2014 in The Hague. Its current president Sung Bin Lee is a bachelor's student at the Leiden University Campus The Hague, majoring in International Studies. She stated that the KSAN was established because the South Korean students feel it is important to form an association to counter homesickness. Sung Bin Lee stated that Korean students often feel homesick because life in the Netherlands is very different from South Korea. Moreover, the South Korean Embassy supported this association by giving donation for KSAN

¹³⁴ See <http://www.acssnl.org> (Accessed on 10 July 2016).

events.

KSAN is also open for non-Korean students as part of their mission is to introduce South Korean culture to the international community. At the moment, KSAN doesn't have a constitution. Until now, the events of KSAN focus on social activity. The only political event it has held was preparation for the regional election that was held in South Korea last year.

CHAPTER VI – CONCLUSION

The Indonesian Students' Association in the Netherlands is a dynamic association, with a longstanding history even before Indonesia was independent. The name of the association itself has changed four times: *Indische Vereeniging (IV, 1908)*, *Indonesische Vereeniging (IV, 1922)* *Perhimpunan Indonesia (PI, 1925)*, *Persatuan Peladjar Indonesia (PPI, 1952)* and *Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia (PPI, 1963)*. The constitution was amended twice during 1908-1930, and five four times from 1952-2011¹³⁵. The reestablishment of the Indonesian Students' Association in 1952 marked the beginning of students' activity in the post-independence period. Moreover few people know that in *Perhimpunan Indonesia* there were never been Indo-Chinese members in the association, whereas in 1952 the assimilation process was done by the first chair of PI, Soemantri Brodjonegoro. This brought new vibrancy to PI as the members then became more diverse. Thereafter, the awareness of unity and nationalism is always mentioned in the constitution of PPI in Netherlands.

According to the Constitution of the PPI Belanda in the year 1963, there were 16 articles ruling the workings of the PPI Belanda. These 16 principles were with regards to the regulation of the name of the organizations, its foundation, objectives, activities, membership, administration, rights and obligations, meetings, finance, amendments to the constitution, as well as the dissolution of the organization.¹³⁶ In the 1963 Constitution, there were three stated objectives of the PPI Belanda, namely: The PPI Belanda serves as a platform for Indonesian students in the Netherlands to achieve the goals of the Nation oriented towards the revolution, the PPI Belanda ought to serve the physical and psychological well-being of its members; and create a cohesive relations among the Indonesian students in Europe.¹³⁷ The aim of achieving these goals was

¹³⁵ The constitutions of PPI Belanda had several amendments during timeline. Those years are 1963, 1986, 2004, and 2010.

¹³⁶ See *Madjallah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda*, October 1963: 2-4.

¹³⁷ *Idem*: 2.

reflected in the activities of the PPI Belanda in the 1960s, through seminars on development as well as conferences for Indonesian students throughout Europe.

In the 1963, the membership policy for the PPI Belanda was strictly for Indonesian students in the Netherlands above 16 years of age. However, The PPI Belanda also handed out special membership named “*anggota peminat*” (enthusiast) where non-Indonesian citizens can hold the membership, as long as the person has an interest and is willing to contribute to PPI Belanda. Continuing the 1952 membership policy which was extended to non-Indonesian citizens to participate in the PPI, as pioneered by Soemantri Brodjonegoro. Fifty years later, PPI Leiden shows the same spirit, by granting membership to Dutch students in Leiden who have shown interest in Indonesia and its culture. PPI Leiden in the article 2 of its constitution allows non-Indonesian citizens to join as members. However, it must be noted that the student officials of the PPI are still required to be Indonesian citizens. After the decentralization of the PPI Belanda to the city office, PPI Kota has more privilege than PPI Belanda in interacting and getting in touch with the students. The importance of facilitating and advocating the needs of Indonesian students within the related city is stressed by the constitution of PPI Kota. Moreover, the membership policy of PPI Kota is also exclusive as students can only join the PPI Kota in the place they are studying.

After the reactivation of PPI Belanda in 1963, PPI Belanda formed a new constitution, which resulted to the strong relations between PPI Belanda and domestic politics 1960s. This was evidenced in the preamble of the 1963 constitution of PPI Belanda, which states that the spirit of PPI Belanda is to continue the 1945 Revolution with the spirit of *Amanat Penderitaan Rakyat* (*Ampera*, Message of the People's Suffering), which would be channeled through activities such as organizing development seminars as well as conferences with other PPI bodies from around Europe.¹³⁸ Other means include sending letters of statement to the Indonesian government regarding issues such as the Indonesia-

¹³⁸ See *Madjallah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda*, October 1963: 2.

Malaysia confrontation as well as the 30 September Movement.¹³⁹ Such strong political fervors, however, did not survive into the New Order era. This can be attributed to the policy of NKK/BBK (Normalization of Campus Life/Body for the Coordination of Student Affairs), which curtailed the political activity of Indonesian students domestic and abroad. The policy, which initiated by Minister of Education Daoed Joesoef in 1978 lasted for 20 years, and the main attributes of this policy are to dissolve and ban the students council and senate in all universities to perform political activity.¹⁴⁰ Therefore on the available documents, the activities of the PPI Belanda and the PPI Kota in 1980-90s are only of social nature, such as sports, leisures and arts.¹⁴¹ The relations between PPI Belanda and the KBRI of Soeharto regime in the 1980s and 1990s seemed cordial, as evidenced by documents stating that KBRI provided financial assistance to PPI activities.¹⁴²

The political demonstrations of the 1960s eventually reemerged following the end of the New Order, and the resumption of PPI in the Netherlands. For instance, the PPI Belanda was directly involved in supervising the government's handling of the Munir murder case in 2004, and the criticism towards members of the DPR (People's Representative Council) who were visiting the Netherlands for leisure purposes only.¹⁴³ There are also annual political statements by the PPI Belanda regarding vital issues in Indonesia such as corruption, the Papua issue, Pilkada (regional elections), and the travels of DPR members. These position statements were communicated to the media of Indonesia, which then published these statements. Nonetheless, at times there have been disagreements between the PPI Kota and the PPI Belanda on this matter. For instance, several PPI Kota organizations have disagreed with or rejected the statements made by PPI Belanda. An example is the statement, which opposes the reclamation of the

¹³⁹ See *Madjallah Perhimpunan Peladjar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda*, Oktober 1963: 9.

¹⁴⁰ See

<http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2016/08/08/15330701/daoed.joesoef.kontroversi.nkk.bkk.dan.beda.pendapatnya.dengan.soeharto.?page=all>

¹⁴¹ In the Bulletin PPI Delft (3/12/1992) the headlines of the bulletin titled *Jalan2 ke Paris* (Trip to Paris).

¹⁴² See the report by the head of PPI Rotterdam 1987/1988 and the Bulletin of the PPI Delft, 3 December 1992.

¹⁴³ These information were received from the Interview with Hellena Soussa.

Jakarta Gulf.¹⁴⁴ While the PPI Belanda claimed to have published the statement with the support of Indonesian students representatives in the Netherlands, several PPI Kota such as those in Leiden and Wageningen felt that they did not agree with the statement, and that the PPI Belanda statement was a unilateral and self-claiming one by the organization.

An analysis of the available documents would show that the PPI tends to accommodate and play safe (*main aman*) towards the ruling regime in Indonesia. There is hardly any evidence of confrontation between the PPI and any particular ruling regime. The critique by the PPI is directed not towards any particular regime, but towards particular issues in the Indonesian society instead. These issues include the Indonesia-Malaysia confrontation in the 1960s as well as the rampant corruption in the mid 2000s. The PPI adapts to the changing times and the ruling regime of the day, as reflected by the fact that the PPI Belanda and its 17 PPI Kota, with each having its own constitution and electing its own leaders. This is in stark contrast to the 1960s and 1970s, when the students were focused only on the PPI Belanda, and not the PPI Kota.¹⁴⁵ Despite the several PPI organizations in Rotterdam and Delft had grown increasingly independent in the 1980s and 1990s, the decentralization of the PPI and the growth of the PPI Kota organizations began to accelerate considerably in the aftermath of the end of the New Order. The role of the PPI Belanda was transformed notably from the approach of organization to people, to one of organization to organization, as reflected in the articles 1 and 3 of the 2010 Constitution of the PPI Belanda, and the PPI Belanda fully supported the autonomy of the PPI Kota organizations.

This foundation is the reason why the PPI Belanda have today become the coordinating body of the PPI Kota organizations, headed by a Secretary General. The structure of the PPI consists of the Secretary General, the Deputy Secretary

¹⁴⁴

See <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2016/06/21/05200011/PPI.Belanda.Reklamasi.Teluk.Jakarta.Ide.Kuno.Sudah.Ditinggalkan.Negara.Maju> (accessed on 20 August 2016)

¹⁴⁵ At that time PPI Kota was called as PPI City branches (*cabang*), which didn't have their own autonomy and constitution.

General, the Treasurer, the Deputy Treasurer, as well as the Presidium.¹⁴⁶ The first four appointments are members of the Board of Committees (*Badan Pengurus Harian*). The Presidium itself consists of the representatives of each PPI Kota organizations in the Netherlands, in collaboration with the Secretary General to organized PPI activities in the Netherlands. This system has been in place since at least 2010, when the Constitution of the PPI Belanda was amended and ratified.

In the time of *Orde Lama*, the spirit of the 1945 revolution that was proclaimed by Soekarno was imbued sincerely in the existing documentation. I see PPI Belanda as the absolute supporter of Soekarno regime at least until 1963, because after that the *Suluh* was not published and in the following magazines, the *Madjallah Perhimpunan Indonesia* and *Sanggar Perantau*, such strong statements were not seen. From time to time, PPI Belanda has relied on media to distribute information. There are five identified media that PPI Belanda has utilized since 1952: *Chattulistiwa / De Evenaar*, *Madjallah Perhimpunan Indonesia di Belanda*, *Ganeca*, *Suluh*, and *Sanggar Perantau*. Some other bulletins have also been published by the PPI City branches. Nowadays, media has shifted from printed to digital media, which also characterizes the current PPI Belanda and city branches. The use of social media is now quite extensive: one PPI branch, Wageningen, has 8 media channels. However, how effective the use of those channels is has not been discussed in this thesis.

Concerning the funding, PPI Kota and Belanda mostly rely from the KBRI's donation the contributions from the members. PPI Belanda receives contribution from PPI Kota, and as for the PPI Kota contributions' comes from the students who live in the associated city. However the amount is not much as the contribution is voluntarily, therefore PPI relies on KBRI for their main financial support, even PPI Delft put KBRI as their donator in their constitution. Previously there had been cooperation between PPI Belanda and Kota with sponsors such

¹⁴⁶ See the Constitution of the PPI Belanda, articles 5, 6 and 7. <http://ppibelanda.org/tentang-kami/> (accessed on 10 August 2016).

as Garuda Indonesia, however the collaboration didn't last long thus the reliance return to the KBRI. It has been seen that the relationship between the PPI and the Indonesian government's representative, particularly the *Atase Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republic Indonesia (Atdikbud)*¹⁴⁷ based in the Indonesian Embassy (KBRI) in The Hague, is somehow unique. The PPI and KBRI try to meet each other's needs and interest. Interestingly, although the relationships between PPI and KBRI seem formal, the opposite is true. As stated by the presidents of PPI Kota whom I interviewed KBRI is the most reliable source of funding to their association. PPI has been financially relying to KBRI ever since the reestablishments in 2003. In my opinion the connotation of "father and son" is really appropriate to determine both relationships. Meanwhile the presidents of PPI whom I interviewed appear to understand that financial dependence indeed has political consequences they don't want to disrupt the relationship, which already established. They have to keep the relationship mutually good so the association could run smoothly. Thus there have not been any recognized conflicts between PPI and KBRI. Instead, the conflict of intervention derived not through the PPI as an organization, but through individual Indonesian students as we learn from Tamara, Santy, and Ghamal's case.

To conclude, the PPI Belanda is one of good example of the modern Indonesian students' movement overseas. There is a lot of variation, ranging from the organisational to the ideological level. From the pattern of PPI Belanda, we could probably understand the behaviour of the PPI in other countries.

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