

THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY



VOL. 1 No. 4

JULY 1973

THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY

Published by Yayasan Proklamasi, CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC
AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, Jakarta

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A periodical on contemporary life in Indonesia, dedicated to promote greater understanding of the Indonesian current situation and problems through articles which include documentation, information, studies and evaluations

Subscription Office:

CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES,
Jalan Kesehatan 3/13, Jakarta, Indonesia. Phone 49489

Subscription rate per year by ordinary mail, US\$ 7.50, for students US\$ 5.00. Individual copies, US\$ 2.00. Additional postage by air mail: for ASEAN Countries US\$ 1.50; Japan and Europe US\$ 2.00; Australia, New Zealand and Middle East US\$ 2.50; Africa, North and South America US\$ 3.00

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FROM THE EDITOR

Every human society needs to have socio-political decisions. This leads to a natural institutionalisation of sovereignty in society as a political community. It is in this political sovereignty that the right to make political decisions is vested. Article 1 par. 2 of the 1945 Constitution provides that in the Republic of Indonesia, sovereignty shall be vested in the people and is fully exercised by the People's Consultative Assembly. It is for this Assembly to make basic political decisions in the Indonesian political community. Hence the People's Consultative Assembly has certain basic political functions, such as to determine the Constitution and the Broad Lines of the Policy of the State, to elect the President and Vice-President; and to accept or to reject the President's account of his implementation of the mandate given to him. The Assembly performs these functions through a "musyawarah" or deliberation among the people's representatives.

This is precisely what happened from 12 to 24 March 1973, when the People's Consultative Assembly convened its general session. It is the first People's Consultative Assembly that has been formed in full accordance with the 1945 constitutional system in that its members have been elected through the 1971 general election. The political importance of the Assembly's sessions is therefore evident, especially since the Assembly has aimed at basic political decisions for the life of the Republic in pursuance of the 1945 Constitution. This should guarantee the existing political stability with its dynamics for national progress and development. Among the important decisions are evidently that on the election of the President and Vice-President; and that on the Broad Lines of the State Policy.

Considering the political significance of the People's Consultative Assembly and its decrees, which would affect the life of the nation in its various aspects; THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY offers the present number as a special issue on the People's Consultative Assembly. Informative articles on the Broad Lines of the State Policy and on the Presidency as well as the Vice Presidency are presented respectively by Mr. Rufinus and Mr. Barlianta Harahap. Other authors offered articles which are descriptive and analytical in character. Articles on Social Development and on Demographic Policy are contributed respectively by Mr. Soelaeman Soemardi and Prof. A. Hafid, and that on Regional Government by Mr. Imam Sukiyat. An article on Education is presented by Mr. Mashuri and one on the Press System by Mr. Jakob Utama. Meanwhile Mr. H. Rosihan Anwar, a journalist and member of the People's Consultative Assembly, gives his notes on the socio-political aspects of the 1973 People's Consultative Assembly's sessions. THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY is further provided with Documents.

SOCIO-POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE MPR

ROSIHAN ANWAR

The election of General Soeharto for a second presidential term (1973 — 1978) has never been in doubt. When the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) unanimously elected Soeharto on the night of March 22, 1973, it was the most natural outcome of the state of affairs in Indonesia.

Not only had he achieved much in a relative short time to wit the restoration of public order and security, the establishment of political stability, the successful cessation of galloping inflation, and the undertaking of economic development but there was also just a very simple reason. As the editor of the Golkar paper *Suara Karya* and member of the MPR Rahman Tolleng put it "as a strong man there is yet no other alternative (to Soeharto)", and he added succinctly: "This may be felt to be not wholly palatable to a democratic life which requires alternatives and other choices as far as possible but that is the reality in the present socio-cultural conditions and of a developing society".

The political configuration is such — with the Armed Forces (ABRI) predominant in the power structure — that General Soeharto must be reelected as President. This was quite obvious right from the start when the 920 members of the MPR convened on March 12.

A novelty was the election of the Sultan of Yogyakarta Hamengku Buwono IX as vice-President. For 17 years this post was vacant since Dr. Mohammad Hatta, the first vice-President, had left the political scene because he could then no longer endorse the policies of the late President Soekarno. Now with a President and a vice-President at the helm of the State as required by the 1945 Constitution this was generally regarded not only as no mean

achievement on the part of the MPR but also as an act completely correct from the constitutional standpoint, something which may be important for the self-image of a nation like Indonesia.

Another important achievement of the MPR was its Decision to adopt the Broad Lines of the Policy of the State (*Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara* or GBHN) encompassing political, economic, social-cultural fields which will serve as a binding guidance for the President during his tenure.

Mention must be made also of the Decision on procedures and requirements for future election of the President and the vice-President by the MPR as this procedure was the first of its kind.

This "first-ness" has indeed been emphasized in characterising the MPR session of March 1973. Was it not the first MPR in the history of the Republic which resulted from general election? All the previous People's Consultative Assemblies were after all mostly the result of appointment by the late President Soekarno or came into being under extraordinary circumstances which did not always reflect the political realities. Today those 920 members represent the political parties and the functional group which had contested the July 1971 election.

Former vice-President Dr. Mohammad Hatta, however, made the remark that Indonesia has not yet obtained full democracy because part of the members, notably of the Armed Forces faction, has been appointed. This is true. But it is also the result of a deal between the political parties and the Armed Forces when the election law was framed some years back whereby the Armed Forces would refrain from exercising the right to vote and to field candidates in return for a certain number of seats in the Parliament (DPR) as well as in the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR).

Be that as it may, the present MPR is more representative than the former MPRS because it reflects the social political forces of the country more closely than it otherwise could have without going through the motion of general election.

So the point often stressed that the present MPR is the first assembly being a product of general election serves to lend it a special character namely that hence the legitimacy and the prestige of the President elected by it are strong indeed.

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II

One way of looking at the MPR is that it constituted a watershed in the political history of Indonesia. The MPR testified to the fact that the entire nation is now committed to development. This has been expressed by Major General Amir Murtono, chairman of the Golkar. Whereas before the people were oriented towards "politics" today they are oriented towards "development".

"Our struggle today is in the field of mental attitude geared towards development. If our mental attitude is all similarly directed to it then there will be no more hubbub towards group interest struggle, politics and so forth", said Amir Murtono. Assuming it is true that the people are no more "politics-oriented", and instead are now solely committed to "development" there nevertheless remain problems that cannot be swept under the rug, and need serious considerations.

The chairman of the Golkar faction G. A. Soegiharto while addressing the plenary meeting of the MPR has contributed "13 points" which in his opinion should be taken into account during the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan, starting from 1974. Soegiharto talked about the need to expedite rapid economic growth with special attention to the development of the agricultural sector.

There is need for equal distribution of income and the benefits of production in order to attain social justice.

Guidance should be given to the economically weak groups the majority of which is indigenous in order to promote wider and meaningful participation in the process of development. Conversely guidance should be given to the economically strong groups so that their activities will not weaken the indigenous entrepreneurs.

Employment must be widened enabling it to absorb the growing number of labour force each year.

Regional development should be stepped up in pace with national development and in concord with the potentials of the provinces.

Increasing internal resources through state revenues as well as through savings of the society to finance adequately the Second Five-Year Plan must be undertaken. In addition to it external resources should be benefited from in accordance with the national

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interest and which will not result in continuous dependability on outside aid.

If economic development is to be accompanied by more social welfare the increasing number of the population must be dealt with.

The development of the social cultural field is another concern pertaining to religion, health, family planning, education, science, art and tradition, protection of women's rights, and the like.

To increase the Pancasila political consciousness in order to strengthen the unity of the people, to increase the quality of leadership in the society at all levels, to build a sound political system as a dynamic and efficient vehicle for development, all these deserve attention.

To build an effective government apparatus and to build a national law towards order and security with justice and human dignity so that national law becomes an effective vehicle for national development have been mentioned.

In short Soegiharto gave an extensive checklist regarding the problems to be considered and to be solved.

As if this is not already a tall order, by any standard, other statements were made by political parties to the effect of pointing out certain weaknesses of the administration.

III

The spokesman of the Development Unity Party (*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan*), the combined Muslim parties in commenting on President Soeharto's speech before the MPR stated "it is very ironical to see that while on the one hand agriculture constitutes the main sector of activity in the First Five-Year Plan, on the other hand the year of 1972 saw a decline in the production of rice, and an increase in rice prices that had shocked the nation".

He thought that this case showed how still very weak are the stabilization of prices, the planning, the system of supervision, and the analysis of data. "We are very much concerned with this decline of rice production, and the increase of rice prices, because both the

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production as well as the price of rice are the most strategic problems in the First Five-Year Plan", said Hassan Mataerum, spokesman of the Muslim parties.

His opinion is of course not alone in this respect. There are many other observers who believe that the breakdown of the hardwon price stability of the past four years that suddenly emerged in late 1972, together with the drop in rice production, cannot only be regarded as serious short-term setbacks but perhaps also demonstrate how fragile economic progress in Indonesia remains.

Sadjarwo as spokesman of the Indonesian Democratic Party (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia*), a party that consists of the former PNI (Nationalists), the Catholic, the Christian party etc. has touched upon the problem of political democracy.

He stated before the plenary session that "political democracy must make it possible for the emergence of an active role of the people with a mechanism that ensures the functioning of the institutions of the political life of the people and of the institutions of the State in a natural manner".

He reminded that the idea of the "floating mass" meaning that political parties and functional groups are banned from operating on the village level will weaken the people's active role and therefore should not be implemented.

Domestic politics, he added, should guarantee and develop a balance between the need for freedom and the need for political stability, between auto-activity of every element of the social-political force and the strong, progressive national leadership. With regard to general elections, these should be held truly free and with secret ballot, and by a body which is independent from the executive agencies, said the member of the former PNI.

Thus it would be wrong to regard the MPR merely as a yes-man. The MPR did speak out her mind for whatever it was worth.

IV

Turning to the not always visible on the surface problems, the MPR had her bit of shares therein too. To mention just one example in this connection: "the religious issue".

Prior to the general session of the MPR during the months when the Working Committee of the MPR (*Badan Pekerja MPR*) was preparing a draft for the Broad Lines of the Policy of the State (GBHN) the story circulated that religious instruction hitherto obligatory from primary school to university level, would be abolished.

This naturally created considerable stir among primarily the Muslim parties since they saw it as an attempt by the so-called "secularists" to curb further the Islam. The "secularists" conceive the Republic of Indonesia as a State based on Pancasila (the Five Principles) which is essentially a secular state, although the first principle of Pancasila is Belief in the One God. The Muslim parties now accept Pancasila as the foundation of the State. They no longer press for an Islamic, theocratic state because they are politically speaking not in the position to back up their demand. But to abide by a decision to abolish religious instruction in the schools would be extremely hard for them to swallow. In effect it would mean the erosion of their identity as a religious-socio-cultural group.

Another thing that upset them was the idea to give the so-called *Kebatinan* groups, that is to say the mystical, Javanese groups an equal place as the other organized, officially recognized religions in the Republic such as Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Some of these *Kebatinan* groups are considered to be unsympathetically inclined towards Islam as a social manifestation, and no wonder the Muslim parties felt threatened when the story circulated that the *Kebatinan* was to be accorded similar ranking as the Islam.

In the eyes of some of the Muslims some of the *Kebatinan* groups are paying only lip-service when they say they believe in the One God.

In the final outcome of the GBHN as adopted by the MPR there appeared to be no ground for the earlier anxieties of the Muslims with regard to religious instruction in the schools. The idea to abolish it was abandoned. Hence obligatory religious instruction was retained.

On the other hand, the *Kebatinan* was officially acknowledged, albeit the designation was changed into *Kepercayaan* or Belief, and also thanks to President Soeharto's personal intervention, a qualification was added to it namely those *Kebatinan* groups who "believe in the One God" thereby softening eventual resistance on the part of the Muslims.

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Thus a *quid-pro-quo* deal apparently had taken place behind the curtain between the "secularists" and the Muslim parties. A direct confrontation has been avoided, and the path of "consensus" was pursued. But no matter how one looks at it, this "religious issue" will be long remembered as one of the sensitive points during the deliberations of the MPR whereby Muslim feelings were ruffled in a not too delicate manner.

True, no explosions emerged from it, but as one MPR member, a University Professor put it "this is like planting a time-bomb".

V

Yet the Professor could be wrong too. He might have viewed the issue too much from certain doctrinaire standpoints or he could not detach himself from historical developments in the past in relation to the Muslims while overlooking that in the meantime some new fact has arisen. This brings us to another aspect of the MPR of March 1973 namely that the "politics of consensus" has been successfully applied there.

Although the procedures of the MPR provided for voting on Decisions to be adopted, although the combined three factions of the Golkar, the Armed Forces and Regional representatives constituted an overwhelming majority vis-a-vis the political parties, never had any voting been taken on any difficult subject or the so-called "crucial points".

Always the path of consensus was followed, and this required lots of long and patient talks away from the open, plenary sessions. *Inter camera* all the difficulties were ironed out so that finally everyone agreed to the wording of the text, and the decision could be referred to the plenary session for unanimous adoption.

In this game of give-and-take the faction of the Armed Forces often acted as "honest broker" sometime giving concessions in order to avoid open outbreak of the conflict with all its concomitant effects in the society. Consensus and harmony were indeed the key-words.

A case in point was on the position of the press.

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Under the political system of Indonesia in relation to the participation of the society the press is accorded a particular function. Together with the Village Councils, the Parliament and the University, the Press was the chosen institution to channel people's participation.

In the original draft of the GBHN as prepared by the Working Committee mention was made of the development of a "healthy" press, and this was felt to be inadequate by many members of the MPR who opined that in accordance with article 28 of the 1945 Constitution the press should be a free press.

During the general sessions of the MPR the faction of Partai Demokrasi Indonesia was rather insistant on this point, that the wording should be changed into a "free and responsible" press. On the other hand the Armed Forces faction claimed that a "healthy" press automatically will come to mean a "free" press. For the champions of democracy all this was something fundamental, not merely a matter of semantics.

The Armed Forces faction in order to overcome a deadlock finally agreed to the wording of a "healthy press that is to say a free and responsible press". This was accepted by all factions. So the politics of consensus has done its work.

VI

Criticism has been raised against the MPR as of having made a mockery of democracy.

The excitement of public debate in the plenary sessions was lacking. The 920 members assembled in the hall merely to play their bit part of the scenario that has been written long before the general sessions started. The MPR became a stage to preactice ritualism and ceremony. There was no voting, there was only one single candidate for the Presidency and the vice-Presidency. Everything has been masterminded and railroaded into the one overriding aim namely "to make the MPR a success".

However, in evaluating this kind of criticism one should bear in mind certain unique conditions of Indonesia. According to the 1945 Constitution the election of the President and the vice-President

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is not a direct election by the voters like in the United States. It is an indirect election, and the MPR, the highest State organ, is the body of electors.

In October 1972 when the 920 members of the MPR were sworn in they decided for the sake of efficiency to form a Working Committee from among their midst consisting of 45 members and 45 alternate members, representing all the five factions, entrusting them with the task to draw up the draft for the Decisions to be taken in March 1973. Thus the true hard core work of the MPR was really done by the Working Committee.

The Committee finished its job on January 31, 1973, and all the drafts of the Decisions were submitted to the 920 members before the general session started for study and scrutiny. When the plenary sessions started members were given an opportunity to "make improvements in the wording of the text" but naturally no drastic and fundamental amendments could be allowed as this would undo and damage the results attained by the Working Committee after laborious efforts during the process of "consensus politics".

The fact that no counter candidate was fielded against General Soeharto or against the Sultan of Yogyakarta was again a manifestation of "consensus politics". If a vote had been taken the political parties would not have a chance anyhow because the majority of the MPR was in the hands of the combined factions of Golkar, Armed Forces and Regional representatives who supported the nomination of General Soeharto and the Sultan of Yogyakarta. So the political parties decided to give their support to the single candidate too, thus perhaps avoiding "loss of face" in a straight contest through voting.

This act of unanimous support for the single candidate was also thought of to be in harmony with the political culture and prevailing value-system.

Was all this democracy or not? One can argue about it endlessly. However, in the final analysis this much can be said: The MPR was a manifestation of Pancasila democracy.

VII

If one looks at the GBHN one will get the impression that overall there will be no fundamental change in policies to be implemented during the next five years. There must be continuity.

The strategy of development still stressed on the primacy of economic development, that is to say to increase the GNP, to give priority to the agricultural sector.

Indonesia will continue to be outward-looking, encouraging private foreign investment, soliciting a steady flow of foreign aid as additional element to strengthen the economy.

In the field of foreign policy Indonesia will adhere to its active and non-aligned policy. Special attention and effort will be put into regional cooperation namely the ASEAN.

In the field of defence and internal security all efforts shall be directed towards increasing national resilience. The Armed Forces will continue to be watchful against the underground and subversive activities of the remnants of the banned Indonesian Communist Party (PKI).

Nobody in the MPR had any quarrel with continuation of such strategy and policies, and yet a slight new note has been detected in the statements of the members.

Economic development is fine, they say, but one should also not overlook the need to give more attention to social welfare. One spokesman of the Armed Forces faction stated that "in accordance with the spirit of the 1945 Constitution the State is meant to create conditions in the spiritual, political, economic, legal and cultural fields that make it possible for every Indonesian to develop and experience his humanity; in other words, the political life that should be developed is not one that is oriented towards power and might but to man and to the development of humanity".

One of the Muslims' spokesman said that "economic development should be directed simultaneously towards increase of production and social justice". While a Catholic reminded that the final aim of our developmental efforts is after all the Indonesian man in all his wholeness.

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Thus seemed to be the mood of the MPR, and no wonder that vice-President Hamengku Buwono IX in his acceptance speech chose this particular point as the main thrust of his remarks.

"If we really pay heed to the balance between prosperity and social justice in our further national development then we certainly will be able to inspire more the development potentials and energy which still lie hidden in our society", said the vice-President, and he added:

"Thanks to the activities of the Government and the People much has been achieved already in the economic field which gives hope to the society with regard to its future. Now the time has come to explore non-economic sources in order to continue our efforts of development on a wider basis".

This aspect of social development in addition to economic development *pur sang* that has been touched upon by the MPR will most likely be registered as an important milestone in the search for a better life of the Indonesian people.

VIII

Now the MPR March 1973 session is already a thing of the past. It has elected the President and the vice-President of the Republic. It has hammered out the GBHN, the State program for the next five years. All in all, "mission accomplished". But what about the future ?

The astute observer will certainly not be inclined to accept that the rest will be just smooth sailing. He will ponder on certain problems.

What will civil-military relationship look like ? Will there be enough latitude for the civilians to develop their organizations and their aspirations ?

The political parties have been pretty emasculated by now but is it wise to see them continuously in that position ?

What will be the development of the Golkar? Will it continue to propound the Army's policies or will it be forced to follow its own independent course? The chances for this are dim but the frustration

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of some of the articulate Golkar civilian members will be increased accordingly.

The GBHN has been adopted, and the next arena is the Parliament (DPR). What sort of legislation and how fast will it emerge from there ?

How is Indonesia going to cope with its mounting problems of unemployment, education, increasing population, and so forth ?

How does the national leadership envisage the work of harnessing the energy, the commitment of the people and inspiring them for the purpose of nation-building ?

What sort of society really does it want to achieve ?

One can continue with these questions but after all that has been said and done, the remark of the Golkar member David Napitupulu before the plenary session must be regarded as the most relevant and acute one. As stated in the Constitution, he said, ultimately "everything depends on the man that implements" on the quality, integrity, ability of the man. Years ago one of the popular slogans in Indonesia was "the man behind the gun". David Napitupulu could have rightly said, and it would mean the same also that everything depends on "the man behind the gun". But apparently he wisely refrained from using such a metaphor because it could be interpreted as having certain political connotation by the powers that are in Indonesia ?

We do not know the exact truth, and we never will. But one thing seems true indeed. As David Napitupulu said "everything depends on the implementing man".

THE BROAD LINES OF THE STATE POLICY

RUFINUS LAHUR

THEIR UNDERSTANDING ACCORDING TO THE 1945 CONSTITUTION

The expression "Broad Lines of the State Policy" is found explicitly only in the 1945 Constitution, and is one of the tasks of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). In other Constitutions which were at one time operative in Indonesia, namely the RIS Constitution of 1949 and the Provisional Constitution of 1950, the term "Broad Lines of the State Policy" as mentioned above, does not appear. However, an idea similar to the Broad Lines of the State Policy, namely "Directive Principles of the State Policy" is found in these constitutions, namely in Articles 34 through 41 of the RIS Constitution of 1949 and in Articles 35 through 43 of the Provisional Constitution of 1950. One of the differences is that the Broad Lines of the State Policy remain to be determined by the MPR while according to the other two constitutions, they are already included in the articles of these constitutions. This brings as consequence that the contents of the Broad Lines of the State Policy must be re-validated periodically, that is, every five years, by the MPR, in accordance with the needs of the nation in raising the level of development, in order to carry out the ideals of the Proclamation as expressed in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. Or according to the Elucidation of the 1945 Constitution, concerning Article 3 :

"..... in view of the dynamic of society, once in five years the Majelis reviews everything which has happened and considers all the trends at that time and determines what policies it desires to be used for the future."

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It appears, then, that the Broad Lines of the State Policy intended here, at the same time give content to and balance the fact that the 1945 Constitution is so succinct and flexible. As explained in Part IV of the Elucidation of the Indonesian Constitution:

"..... we must always remember the dynamic of the life of Indonesian society and state. Indonesian society and state are growing, the era is changing, especially during this present period of physical and spiritual revolution.

Therefore, we must live dynamically, we must watch every kind of movement in the life of Indonesian society and state. In that connection, let us not precipitately crystallize, provide form to (*Gestaltung*), ideas which can still easily alter we must guard, against the constitutional system being left behind the times. Let us not go so far as to make a constitution which is quickly outmoded (verouderd)."

At the time the Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence, was considering the Constitution on July 15, 1945, Prof. Supomo, as member of the Committee for the Formation of a National Constitution had this explanation to give concerning the Broad Lines of the State Policy:

"..... the People's Consultative Assembly will decide upon the Constitutions and the broad lines of our policy, in view of the dynamics, life, and growth of society. This means that once in five years, it is certain that the people or their consultative will remember what has happened and current trends, determining which are valid for the future."¹⁾

Therefore, according to Prof. Supomo, every five years the MPR regards itself critically, that is, decides on the lines which will be subsequently carried out"²⁾

Concerning the connection between the Broad Lines of the State Policy and the President, the 1945 Constitution affirms in the General Elucidation as follows:

¹ Citation from *Naskah Persiapan UUD 1945* (Preparatory Document of the 1945 Constitution) by Prof. Mr. H. Muh. Yamin, Yayasan Prapanca 1959, vol. I, page 309.

² *Ibid.*, p. 341.

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"..... the President must execute the policy of the State according to the broad lines which have been determined by the Majelis. The President is subordinate and responsible to the Majelis."

Prof. Supomo, in discussing the Constitution (as member of the Committee to form a National Constitution) as quoted above, said:

"..... the President may not have his own policy, but must carry out the policy of the state already decided upon, and enforced by the MPR."²⁾

The position of the Broad Lines of the State Policy is so strategic, that besides being a command of the MPR to be carried out by its executive (the President), it is also a means of exercising control over the President in carrying out these Broad Lines. This task of control is given by the Constitution to the House Representatives (DPR), whose members are also MPR members. If the DPR considers that the President has actually gone against the state policy already determined by the Constitution or by the MPR, then the Majelis can be invited to a special session to ask the President to account for his actions.¹⁾

IMPLEMENTATION (OF THE BROAD LINES OF THE STATE POLICY)

After the declaration of independence, it was evident that the instruction of the 1945 Constitution, as expressed in the "Additional Provisions" could not be carried out, because of later developments.

These Additional Provisions are as follows:

1. "Within six months after the end of the Greater East Asia War, the President of Indonesia shall regulate and

²⁾ Ibid., p. 407. According to Drs. G.J. Wolhoff in his book *Pengantar Ilmu Hukum Tata Negara RI*, Jakarta, Timun Mas, 1955, p. 68: the Broad Lines of the State Policy intended (by the Constitution) are the "broad lines of a political policy, both national and international"

¹⁾ See *Penjelasan UUD '45* (Elucidation of the 1945 Constitution) concerning the System of Government of the State, No. VII.

implement all things which are stipulated in this Constitution.

2. Within six months after the Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat has been set up, the Majelis shall sit in order to determine the Constitution".

Thus it was that the Broad Lines of the State Policy intended by the 1945 Constitution, were not determined. Indeed, the possibility of determining these Broad Lines of the State Policy was eliminated with the setting aside of this Constitution for the RIS Constitution of 1949 which was in turn replaced by the Provisional Constitution of 1950. Despite the fact that the Broad Lines of the State Policy were neither formally nor explicitly determined in the period between 1945 and 1950 nevertheless this does not mean that during that period the government of the State was "*without Direction*". Because this "State Policy" was essentially determined in the 1945 Constitution.⁵⁾ In the same manner, the policy established by the Central National Committee⁶⁾, including what was intended by the "Transitional Provisions", Article IV of the 1945 Constitution⁷⁾, is essentially scattered elements of the implementation of the state policy contained in the Constitution. For example.⁸⁾: The KNIP (Central Indonesian National Committee) Declaration concerning the question of State Employees of the Indonesian Republic (Declaration of September 25, 1945) concerning the establishment of vakbonden (professional guilds) and farmers' organizations in order to

5 *Ibid.*

6 Pres'dential Proclamation No. X: "That the KNP (Central National Committee) in the period preceding the formation of the MPR and DPR is g'ven legislative power and joins in deciding on the Broad Lines of State Policy"; cited in the *Himpunan Undang-undang, Peraturan-peraturan, Penetapan-penetapan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 1945. (Collection of Laws, Regulations, and Decrees of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia 1945)* edited by Koesnodiprojo and S.K. Seno, Jakarta, 1951. Penerbitan Baru. pp. 58—59.

7 A.K. Pringgodigdo, *Kedudukan Presiden, menurut tiga Undang-undang Dasar dalam teori dan praktik (The Office of President according to the three Constitutions, in theory and in practise)*, Jakarta, Pembangan, 1956, p. 11 states that in the Transitional Provisions; "Sovereignty of the People is fully in the hands of the President"

8 See Koesnodiprojo, *op. cit.*, p. 70. It can also be found in the records of the Central Office of the Indonesian National Committee, as well as in the announcements of its Steering Committee on pages 117—161.

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strengthen the Republic of Indonesia (KNIP instruction of October, 1945); the suggestion that there be a ministry of navigation, laws concerning crimes against the state, concerning citizens, laws and regulations concerning the press, political parties, education, as well as the Political Declaration of November 1, 1945.....

As explained above, the RIS Constitution of 1949 became effective on December 12, 1949 and was later replaced by the Provisional Constitution of 1950, which became effective on August 17, 1950. Judging by the contents, then those things which may be seen as fulfilling the function of a kind of Broad Lines of the State Policy in these two constitutions, can be found in the part concerning "Basic Principles", which might also be translated as "directive principles of State-Policy."⁹⁾ At the time of the Constituent Assembly of 1958, the material of these "Basic Principles" were accepted by the full constituent assembly as questions which should be included in the Constitution. The entire section includes 53 main points under basic principles, classified according to the special headings of politics, economy, social life, and culture.¹⁰⁾

After the Presidential Decree of July 5, 1959

After returning to the 1945 Constitution, according to the decree of the President, there was again the possibility of implementing this Constitution. In connection with the MPR, which was to determine

⁹ See J.C.T. Simorangkir and Drs. B. Mang Reng Say, *Tentang dan Sekitar Undang-Undang Dasar 1945* (On the 1945 Constitution). Jakarta: Jambatan, 1971, p. 31. Articles 35—53 of the Provisional Constitution of 1950 contain "the fundamental duties of the government toward the people..... ." See also Drs. G.J. Holhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 151 But Soemarno in his book *Susunan Negara Kita I* (The Structure of Our State, I), Jakarta: Penerbitan Jambatan, 1953, pp. 53—56, states that "articles 34 — 40 of the 1950 Constitution, are more in the nature of a program for the government. In these articles are evident the results of the struggle for independence and several matters are mentioned which must be attended to by the government, apart from the question of cabinet changes, and these are an overall plan for development which includes development in democracy, in social life, in the economy, as well as the spiritual and material development of the people, and development in health. "It is clear that these articles present a national program, which is minimal....."

¹⁰ Decree of the Constituent Assembly of the Indonesian Republic No. 41/K/1958, on the Formulation of the Basic Principles on the 53 major items connected with these Principles. Cited in *Bukti Kedua* (The Second Book), MPRS Publication, 1972; pp. 113 — 118.

the Broad Lines of the State Policy, the President formed the (Provisional) People's Consultative Assembly (MPRS) on July 22 1959, in his Presidential Decree no. 2/1959. On August 17, 1959, the President delivered an address entitled "Rediscovery of our Revolution" which became known as the "Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia" (Manopol). Later, on September 25, 1959, the Supreme Advisory Council (DPA) made a decision concerning "The Specification of the Political Manifesto of August 17" (see Presidential Decree no. 12/1959, Article 4d). In accordance with the wish of the President, on November 14, 1960, in its first session, the MPRS determined its Rule of Order No. 1/MPRS/1960. This Rule of Order in article 1a, stated as the task of the MPRS: "To the Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia as the Broad Lines of the State Policy".

And according to the explanation of this Rule of Order:

"The task of the MPRS is to *confirm* the establishment of the Political Manifesto as the Broad Lines of the State Policy, because its establishment has already taken place through the Presidential Decree No. 1, 1960....."

It is evident, then, that the Broad Lines of the State Policy had been determined by a decree of the President, and not by the MPR(S) as intended by the 1945 Constitution. Whereas it was considered sufficient for the MPRS to merely *confirm* this decree. In this connection, Prof. Mr. H. Muh. Yamin gave his interpretation, known as Interpretation XLII, namely:

"Before the formation of the MPR (Article IV) the Political Manifesto as enunciated by the President on August 17, 1959 and which contains the broad lines of the state policy was decreed effective on the strength of the Presidential Decree 1960 No. 1, in accordance with the decision of the Depernas (National Planning Council) — August 23, 1959) and the Supreme Advisory Council (DPA) in 1959."¹¹

Finally, the Broad Lines of the State Policy mentioned above were also decreed by the MPRS in its First General Session of 17—19 November 1960. But Article 1 of this Decree still contained the statement "To confirm the Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia and its specification as the broad lines of the state policy."

¹¹ H. Muhammad Yamin, *Pembahasan Undang-Undang Dasar RI* (Discussion on the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia), p. 520.

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So, then, the mechanism of the decree of the Broad Lines of the State Policy, which originated in the President's address, and which then became a condition for membership in the MPRS, and was decreed by the President as the Broad Lines of the State Policy, and was finally confirmed by the MPRS Decree No. I/MPRS/1960 in its First General Session. Furthermore, the MPRS decreed that the President's address before the plenary session of the Depernas on August 28, 1959, concerning Pembangunan Semesta Berencana (Overall Development Plan) contained the broad lines of development policy. And the President's speeches every August 17, beginning in 1960 through 1964, as well as his addresses to the United Nations on September 10, 1960, to the Third General Session of the MPRS on April 11, 1965, his speech to the conference of Ministers of the African - Asian nations on April 10, 1964 and his speech before the Second KTT (Summit Conference) of non-aligned nations in Cairo on October 6, 1964 — all were decreed by the MPRS as guidelines in the implementation of the Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia on both national and international levels.

In carrying out its "constitutional function", the MPRS also formulated the following statement on the duty and authority of the President: : In extreme circumstances, he can set aside the Constitution when this appears necessary....."¹²⁾ What is very interesting here concerns the position of the Broad Lines of the State Policy, known as Manipol; it was not only regarded as one determined policy, but was also regarded as an ideal. In its status as an ideology, this Manipol became matter for indoctrination, in order to form people inspired by Manipol. In this way, it clouded over the ideology of Pancasila. This pattern of applying The Broad Lines of the State Policy or Manipol, was not only carried on by members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), but also by the people generally, including scholars, who regarded Manipol as "a truth and something blessed by God."¹³⁾

¹² See MPRS Decree No. II/MPRS/1960, Supplement A, III, 9j. Cited in Muhono, ed., *Himpunan Ketetapan MPRS dan Peraturan Negara yang penting bagi anggota Angkatan Bersenjata* (Collection of MPRS Decrees and Government Regulations of special importance for members of the Armed Forces), 1966, p. 396.

¹³ Speech of General Nasution on receiving the honorary title of Doctor of Political Science at the University of Pajajaran, Bandung, April 2, 1962. Cited in his book *Mengamankan Panji-panji Revolusi* (Saving the Banners of the Revolution), Jakarta: Delegasi, 1964, p. 200.

Fourth General Session of the MPRS/1966

In connection with the Broad Lines of the State Policy, the General Session of the MPRS of 1966 declared that "Objective fact makes evident that in the pre-Gestapu period, PKI intrigues with their sloganism and mental terrorism gave rise to a general opinion that the State Policy was something permanent."¹⁴⁾

According to the MPRS, the view that the State Policy was something permanent, undermined the democratic system, namely against the factor of popular control, because such a view blurs the function of accountability of the President, particularly with regard to his term of office.

Thus it was decreed by the MPRS that the Broad Lines of the State Policy according to the 1945 Constitution are "A general program which must be carried out by the government," and implicitly both as to the contents of the program as well as to the period of time allotted for it. In general, this Fourth General Session of the MPRS affirmed the meaning of the Broad Lines of the State Policy according to the 1945 Constitution.

In the Special Session of the MPRS in 1967 it was further affirmed that the MPRS Decree No. I/MPRS/1960 concerning the Political Manifesto (Manipol) of the Republic of Indonesia as the Broad Lines of the State Policy no longer applied in the circumstances and situation at that time. For that reason it had to be replaced, in accordance with the results of the Fourth General Session and the Special Session of the MPRS; it was noted, however, that before a new statement of the Broad Lines of the State Policy, those parts of Manipol which were not contrary to Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, the MPRS Decrees of the Fourth General Session and the Special Session, might still be used as guidelines.

In the Fifth General Session, on March 21 — 27, 1968, The Broad Lines of the State Policy intended by the 1945 Constitution were still not formulated.¹⁵⁾

It became evident that the Draft of the Decree on the Broad Lines of the State Policy presented by the Ad Hoc Committee I, of the MPRS steering committee, was not acceptable to several groups

¹⁴ MPRS Decree No. XXVI/MPRS/1966 on the formation of a committee to investigate the teachings of Bung Karno.

¹⁵ See the Report of the Leaders of Commission II, MPRS Fifth General Session as contained in the *Eighth Book*, volume III A, Penerbitan MPRS 1972, 146.

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in the General Session for various reasons and due to other technical difficulties.¹⁶⁾

Despite the fact that the Fifth General Session of the MPRS did not succeed in formulating the Broad Lines of the State Policy explicitly and formally, this does not mean that there was no "State Policy", mandate or guide for mandatory (the President). Because if the decrees of the Fourth, Special, and Fifth Sessions are examined carefully, it is evident that they are adequate and constitute aspects of the Broad Lines of the State Policy, although in a scattered form.¹⁷⁾

For example: the following may be considered as policy in the sectors below:

Government and Political Fields:

MPRS Decree No. XII, XXI, XXII, XLI, XLII

Economic Field: MPRS Decree No. XXIII

Social Field: MPRS Decree No. XXVIII

Cultural Field: MPRS Decree No. XXVII

Defense and Security Field: MPRS Decree No. XXIV

Briefly, then, all MPRS decrees, beginning with the Fourth General Session through the Fifth General Session, except for the decree concerning the election of the President, which occurs only once, are essentially and in their entirety Broad Lines of the State Policy, even though in the form of separate decrees, not yet systematically integrated in the form of one text of "Broad Lines of the State Policy".¹⁸⁾ But what is certain is that the sum of these

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 146

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ In the MPRS Decree No. XLI/MPRS/1968 concerning the main task of the Development Cabinet it is clearly stated that is deemed necessary to form the Development Cabinet in order to carry out the Broad Lines of Government Policy and the 5-Year Development Plan. Therefore, the MPRS itself acknowledges and regards the Decree in their entirety as the Broad Lines of the State Policy. And in consequence the President/Mandatory of the MPR is to implement "all state policies already outlined in these MPRS decrees, as the foundation of the primary task of the Development Cabinet. In this connection see also the Address of President Soeharto's address of State before the DPRGR on August 16, 1968. *Departemen Penerangan RI.*, p. 17; see also *Keterangan Pemerintah* (Government's Explanation) on the top level discussion of the RUU APBN (Draft State Budget), 1969/1970, as well as the explanation of the 5-year Development Plan 1967/1970 — 1973/1974, *Departemen Penerangan RI.*, p. 7.

Also in the President's report to the General Session of the MPR on March 12, 1973, p. 9, there is the explicit affirmation that: "..... the GBHN which are to be found throughout the MPRS decrees of the Fourth General Session, the Special Session, and the Fifth General Session -- do in fact, direct the steps of our people on their way....."

decrees form a mandate and must be accounted for the mandatory before the General Session of the MPR in 1973. At the beginning of this session on March 12, the President presented his report of account-ability. It is the task of the House of Representatives to exercise day-to-day control over the implementation of the MPR decrees, as well as to make laws and determine the budget. It was especially after the MPR formed as a result of the 1971 general election had been inaugurated, that there was again talk in certain quarters about matters connected with the Broad Lines of the State Policy for the coming years¹⁹). The experiences during 28 years of independence, with several constitutions which have been tried, as well as several plans and attempts at development provide valuable material for reflection. Such is the case also with experiences in implementing the 1945 Constitution, particularly concerning the Broad Lines of the State Policy. And of no less importance is the experience of carrying out the MPRS Decrees of the New Order, including the implementation of the First Five-Year Development Plan by the government.

All of this give rise to new problems, which must be met in an integral way by the MPR through the determining of the Broad Lines of the State Policy. Therefore, these Broad Lines of the State Policy, are a kind of "General Program", which form the mandate of the MPR, to be carried out by mandatory of the MPR and for

¹⁹ Much material on the GEHN was also set forth by the political parties and by Golkar at the time of their campaign speeches before the General Election of 1971, and these were often broadcast over RRI (the Official Indonesian Radio Station). It can be seen furthermore from the programs of the political parties and Golkar in the book: *Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga dan program perjuangan Partai-Partai politik dan Golkar yang turut serta dalam Pem'lhu 1971* (Statutes and Organic Rules, Campaign programs of the Political Parties and Golkar participating in the 1971 General Election) edited by the Lembaga Pem'lihan Umum, Jakarta.

On March 6, 1972, by the presidential decision No. 15/1972; there was formed a group known subsequently as the "Daryatmo Team" which was to prepare material for the MPR Session of 1973, which would include the GBHN. This material was intended as a suggestion and it was up to the MPR to use it or not. The result of the work of this "Daryatmo Team" became the supplement to the President's speech on the occasion of the installation of the MPR members on October 1, 1972. Also, on November 15 — 18, 1972, a discussion on Civics, was held sponsored by the Extension Department of the Faculty of Law of the University of Indonesia, which was intended as a contribution to the General Session of the MPR. The results of this discussion were given to the MPR Steering Committee on January 12, 1973.

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which he must render account, and at the same time are the means or guide whereby the House of Representatives (DPR) exercises control over the President.

By the MPR itself these Broad Lines of the State Policy have been made one of the implied for electing the President and vice-President as well as a measure of evaluation at the end of a President's term, so that the Broad Lines of the State Policy are a guide for evaluating a President's responsibility.²¹⁾ After 5 years, the Broad Lines of the State Policy are reviewed by the MPR and are changed or adapted to the dynamics of the society at the time.

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According to the General Session of the MPR of 1973

The Broad Lines of the State Policy (GBHN) were decreed by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) in its General Session of March 1973. Discussion of the contents took place not only in this General Session, but six months beforehand, the MPR held preparatory sessions²²⁾, entrusting the MPR Steering Committee with the task of making all the necessary preparations, including the GBHN.²³⁾. This Steering Committee was in session for 2 months and a half, since October 25, and the results were handed over by this MPR Steering Committee to the MPR Leadership on January 31, 1973.

One of the major items discussed by the MPR Steering Committee was the supplement to the President's speech of October 1, 1972 on the occasion of the installation of the members of the

²⁰ Cf. the conclusions of the Team to work out a draft rule of order for the MPR No. III on the GBHN from the Eighth Book, volume V.N., Penerbitan MPRS 1972, p. 29.

²¹ See Dr. Mohammad Tolchah Mansoer, SH in his book *Pembahasan beberapa aspek tentang kekuasaan-kekuasaan eksekutif + legislatif Negara Indonesia*. (Discussion of Several Aspects of executive and legislative powers within the Indonesian State). Dissertation at Gajah Mada University, December 17, 1969. P.D. Percetakan Radya Indira, p. 284.

²² See Memori penjelasan (Explanatory Note) MPRS decree No. XLII/ MPRS/1968.

²³ See MPR Decree no. 4, 5, 6, 1972 (3 October).

MPR. The supplement to this speech is known to be the work of the "Daryatmo Team", entrusted by the President with the task of preparing the necessary materials that would be put forward to the MPR General Session. (Presidential Decision no. 15/72. For almost six months the Daryatmo Team, aided in their task by experts, held meetings with political leaders, university presidents, student senates, organizations of professional scholars, the Indonesian Press Association, labour leaders, and representatives of the Indonesian women's congress ("Indonesia Raya", May 12, 1972).

If we compare the concept of the Daryatmo Team for the GBHN Document with the final decree of the MPR General Session of 1973, it is evident that certain aspects were changed. This material is that which was most seriously considered at the time of the MPR Steering Committee sessions. These matters were even reported by the press as crucial points, such as: limitations in the structure and organization of the political parties and Golkar to the level of second level regions (district level) as an implementation of the concept of what is known as "floating mass", the problem of indigenous and non-indigenous groups, the question of the appointment of governors by the President, religion and belief, education, and undivided loyalty of government employees ("Indonesia Raya", December 29, 1972). That these changes were made may also be said to indicate that the MPR and its steering committee have critically dealt with all the problems in hand and have later transformed or formulated them in the present Broad Lines of the State Policy. (Decision of the MPR no. VI, 1972, concerning the task given to the MPR Steering Committee on October 3, 1972).

The General Session of the MPR of the Republic of Indonesia in decreeing the Broad Lines of the State Policy, affirmed the meaning of these Broad Lines as follows:

1. **Basis:** The Broad Lines of the State Policy are formulated on the ideological basis of Pancasila and on the constitutional basis of the 1945 Constitution.

2. **Meaning:** The Broad Lines of the State Policy are a state policy along broad lines which is essentially a general pattern for national development, decreed by the MPR. This pattern is a series of programs of development in all sectors which are to

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be continuously carried out, in order to achieve the national goal, as embodied in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution.

3. **Aim and Purpose:** The aim of establishing the Broad Lines of the State Policy is to give direction to the endeavours of the State and the people of Indonesia, which at present are engaged in national development with the goal of achieving the conditions in the next five years as well as in the long run, so that gradually the aspirations of the Indonesian people may be realized.
4. **The System Envisioned by the Broad Lines of the State Policy:** The Broad Lines of the State Policy 1973, envision the following plans:
 - a. Basic Pattern of National Development
 - b. General Pattern of Long-Range Development
 - c. General Pattern of the Second Five-Year Plan (Pelita II)
5. **Implementation.**
 - a. The Broad Lines of the State Policy decreed by the MPR are to be implemented by the President/Mandatory of the MPR by way of legislations, including the passage of the RAPBN (State Budget) for each fiscal year, and/or along the lines of government policy.
 - b. Every five years these Broad Lines of the State Policy shall be reviewed so as to be adapted to developments in the life of the Indonesian people and nation.

CONCLUSION

1. Several matters expressed in the 1945 Constitution concerning the GBHN are:
 - that this GBHN is to be determined by the MPR (Art. 3)
 - once in five years, the MPR decides upon the policies required for the coming years (elucidation of Art 3)
 - it is to be carried out by the President who is to render account to the MPR (general elucidation no. III); this is also a means

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- whereby the DPR exercises control over the President (elucidation no. VII)
- it is also the criterion by which the MPR is to measure the President's responsibility at the end of his term of office. (eluc. no. III)
 - it is an implicit criterion by which the MPR evaluates the President.
 - it must be adapted to the dynamics of society (eluc. Art. 3)
2. In carrying out the 1945 Constitution, previous to the General Session of 1973, it is evident that the GBHN intended by the Constitution, had not yet been sufficiently implemented. It is clear that during the period in which the 1945 Constitution has been in effect, there have occurred variations which reflect the character of each period:
- August 18, 1945 — August 17, 1950
- July 5, 1959 — March 11, 1966
- March 11, 1966 — MPR General Session 1973
3. The GBHN of the Manapol clearly deviated in many ways from the GBHN intended by the 1945 Constitution, as to contents, the method of formulating them as well as the way they were implemented.
4. The effort to carry out the ideals of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution which is the firm resolve of the new order, is evident enough in the MPRS decrees, beginning with the Fourth General Session, the Special Session and the Fifth General Session. At that time the GBHN was not yet formally decreed, nevertheless the whole of these decrees may be regarded as aspects of the GBHN, albeit in scattered form.
5. The GBHN which resulted from the MPR Session of 1973 is formally and constitutionally in accord with the GBHN intended by the 1945 Constitution. There remains the follow up of carrying them out including control and the rendering of accountability.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT AND REGIONAL AUTONOMY

THE PROBLEM SEEN FROM ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITARY REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

SUKIJAT

INTRODUCTION

A perenially critical question, even until now, is that of regional government which includes two aspects, namely that of autonomy and that of deconcentration.

Concerning the problem of general government and regional autonomy, whether we like it or not we necessarily associate this with the colonial era when Indonesia was still under the Dutch domination, and with the systems of government applied to Indonesia during that period.

For that reason, in order to complete the material for this survey it will not be superfluous to return briefly to the history of government, its development and its reorganization.

The idea to reorganize the government, although certainly not in the interests of the Indonesian people, but only for the interests of the Dutch colonial regime, had already been developed since the 1860's.

At that time this problem was raised: how best to organize a regional government in such a way as to draw a line between the fields of competency, duties, powers as well as responsibilities

of the Central Government (*Algemeen Bestuursleiding*) on the one hand and those of the Regional Government (*Dagelijks Bestuur in de Afdelingen van het Gewest*) on the other.

Through a process of study which took no less than forty years the Dutch government finally decided on the need for a **decentralization in government organization**. And this was then regarded as a must.

For a colonial government, it is evident that the basis of this decision on the necessity of decentralization was not the welfare of the Indonesian people. The delegation of duties, powers and responsibilities from the Central Apparatus to regional units and sub-units was meant to facilitate and bring to success its colonial program.

So there was issued what was known as the "Law of Decentralization" in 1903 which opened up the possibility for a region or for a portion of a region to have a government which would regulate its own household affairs.

Although in essence this Law of Decentralization of 1903 merely outlined a form of decentralization which was still a decentralisation of functions (*ambtelijke decentralisatie*), it was the realization and embodiment of the idea of an autonomous government which had been the basis and had played an important role in the development and realization of autonomous life in the regions.

As a matter of fact until 1903, the governmental system in Indonesia was strongly centralized, so that with the realization of this Law of Decentralization, there occurred very basic changes.

As the organ of the Central Government was concerned with the duties and powers, including the duty of participation, which were entrusted to the regions as part of their autonomous life, it would have a limited function of guidance and general control.

The Central Government did not directly execute and regulate certain duties and powers, but left these to the autonomous regions; for example: public health, public education, public works, guidance in agriculture, livestock, forestry — with the exception of civil service; automatically the task and power of the central government became deconcentrated, so that in the end it was minimal and was limited to national tasks and powers which necessarily and by definition could only belong to the central government.

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If it was said above except for civil service (*bestuursdienst*) it is not because it is not necessary that this also be transferred, but only that its transfer must be delayed until all tasks and powers concerned with public welfare have been transferred which is the ultimate step in autonomous rule. Therefore it must be transferred only after the transfer of the other services of welfare has been accomplished.

However, this is not the line of development in the Republic of Indonesia. It is a fact in the governmental history of the Republic of Indonesia that the civil service (*bestuursdienst*) has been too hastily given to the autonomous regions before the welfare services, most of which have not been transferred up to now. This has given rise to particular problems.

To return to the Law of Decentralization, which is the origin of the realization and development of decentralization, it may be noted that several further policies have been evolved from its major provisions, such as the issuance of a decentralization decree (*Decentralisatie besluit-stbl. 1905*), ordinance on the election of regional councils (*Kiesordonnantie voor de Gemeente Raden — Stbl. 1908*), and various ordinance on institutional bodies (*instellings-ordonnanties*) followed by the first budget, rules for elections (*Kiesregelingen*) as well as the establishment of large modern cities in western style, such as Batavia, Semarang, Surabaya, Bandoeng, and many others.

There were also efforts which developed to effect reforms in the government such as the formation of regencies and councils of government.

These are but a few notes from history on the reorganization of government in the period before the 1945 Constitution.

STATE AND REGION ACCORDING TO THE 1945 CONSTITUTION

Article 1 of the 1945 Constitution provides that the Indonesian State is a Unitary State in the form of a Republic and that sovereignty is in the hands of the people and fully exercised by the People's Consultative Assembly.

In Article 2, paragraph 1 it is stated that the People's Consultative Assembly shall consist of the members of the House of Representatives augmented by delegates from the regional territories and the groups in accordance with regulation presented by statute.

Furthermore, Article 18 rules that the division of the area of Indonesia into large and small regional territories together with the structure of their administration shall be prescribed by statute, with regard for and in observance of the principle of deliberation in the governmental system of the State, and the traditional rights in the regional territories which have a special character.

The term *regional territory* is only used in two articles in the 1945 Constitution, namely in Article 2, paragraph(1) and in Article 18 as mentioned above.

By the mention of *regional territory* in Article 2, paragraph(1) and in Article 18 of the 1945 Constitution, it is clear that the regional territories are civic institutions within the Unitary State whose formation has already been set up in broad outline, namely their organization and their system of government which must be determined by statute.

In the elucidation to the 1945 Constitution it is stated that there are Autonomous Regions and Administrative Regions and that for Autonomous Regions there is a Regional House of Representatives, so that regional government, like the central government, is founded on the principle of deliberation.

We should recall that regional governments are the inner framework of government each of which must be stable, strong, and possess authority, which will guarantee the continuation and growing strength of the Unitary State. They must also be interwoven with the form, structure and system as well as with the rights and duties of the Unitary State Government, that is, the Central Government. This central government in turn, must be in keeping and harmony with the development and social dynamics within the areas of the regional governments and in harmony with the dynamics of the nation as a whole. For these reasons, legislation on regional governments is extremely important.

Such a legislation should regulate the form, structure and system of government as well as the rights, powers, and duties of regional governments, their relationship to the Central Government and relations among themselves as well with areas subordinate to them.

The problem of regional autonomy is a problem which lives, grows and develops in pace with the life, growth and development of the society within a region. For that reason it is necessary that

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the government be continually adapted to the growth and development of the society, so that it will become a framework which can embrace all aspects of government and at the same time become the organ which can absorb the process of development which differs from region to region.

Autonomy and everything connected with it is a complex and difficult problem. It is a kind of fluid process. Therefore it must be carefully examined and regulated as well as possible so as to guarantee the stability, authority and strength of the Unitary State as a whole.

THE INDONESIAN REPUBLIC IS A UNITARY STATE

It is clear that regional autonomy must be real and broad: that to the regions should be given the broadest possible autonomy, but this broadest possible autonomy must remain realistic, that is, within the limits of objective viability, so that it can be realized by the regions concerned; and this autonomy must always be seen within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. A region may not become a "state" within the State of the Republic of Indonesia.

Based on the form of our state as a Unitary State, the President, representing the central government holds the power of government according to the Constitution. He is the highest executive of the government of the state and is responsible to the MPR. Thus, the central government is the wielder of highest general government authority throughout the nation.

The meaning of "general government" includes the authority to take whatever measures are necessary to serve the interest of the people. The authority of "general government" belongs to every governmental body within the limits of its respective powers and therefore belongs also to every regional government within the limits of its jurisdiction and territory.

So it is that the general government of the central government is an *attribute of a higher order* than that of the general government of a regional government, and so cannot be entirely transferred to a region.

In order to give substance to regional autonomy, as much as possible and as really as possible, certain affairs in the field of general government can be entrusted to regional governments; but it cannot be said that the general government of the central government is transferred to the regions, because a central government without the authority of a general government is not possible in a unitary State. In our nation, the general government of our central government is carried out by the central government or its vertical departments and in a deconcentrated way by the regional head as an organ of the central government.

The clear aim and purpose of this regional autonomy is to establish democracy and to give a democratic structure to the government of the Republic of Indonesia. It must become a means for the success of development programmes. It should no longer be a political struggle of groups as in the past when this autonomy was used to achieve political aims instead of to develop and nurture democracy in the interests of the nation and the state. By using the political slogan: "give regional autonomy", their purpose was to set aside the role of the central government entirely and to so strengthen the regional position that there were unhealthy signs indicating a tendency toward those practises proper to a federation.

Under the New Order the problem is not that of a power struggle between the center and the periphery, but that of the necessity of creating a balance consonant with respective proportions in a form of regional government which is capable and cognizant if its responsibility for carrying on development for the realization of the general welfare within the region as inspired by Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

Furthermore, in order to secure regional governments which are stable, and possess authority and a real autonomy within the Unitary State of Indonesia, it is necessary to stress the following points:

1. What is required is a real autonomy, and not a mere show of it.
2. A clear formulation and delineation of those matters which are left to the regions, as well as their supportive duties between the regions and the vertical departments in the region.
3. A regional leader with real authority (he cannot be unseated by the regional house of representatives or DPRD).

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4. A DPRD which is clear as to its status and obligations.
5. A healthy financial balance which will give the region real capability.
6. Efficient regional government organization and apparatus.
7. Effective control over the operation of regional governments and over their use of funds.

REGIONAL GOVERNMENT AND REAL AUTONOMY

Giving substance to regional autonomy so that the regions possess a real autonomy must be furthered because precisely this will provide the basis of a sure fostering and strengthening of national unity. What can and should be managed by the regions should be done by them as a form of independent endeavor.

This means that those matters which until the present are under the jurisdiction of a Department with its vertical services and organized by them, should be given over to the region as an autonomous task or at least as a cooperative task and certainly together with its funds as prescribed by law.

This transfer must really be carried on fairly, and must avoid a kind of handing over the head, while holding fast to the tail; for example, by formulating duties in such a way that such duties remain vaguely in a Department or sub-department so that in actual fact authority to act essentially remains in the Department which in practice means overlapping with the regions.

Plainly then, those matters which belong to a Department and are managed by its vertical services must be limited in order to go along with the aim of giving substance to and fostering regional autonomy. They must be so limited that ultimately there remain only those duties and powers which are properly national and which by their very nature cannot be handed over to autonomous direction. These national duties and powers then become automatically a Department's proper task and are managed by the deconcentration apparatus.

Until now this process of giving substance to autonomy has not been carried on as it should have been. Realization of the meaning

of autonomy, of the absolute necessity of a real regional autonomy as well as a readiness to transfer as much as possible the powers and duties of the government to these regions clearly remain to be spread among the majority of officials in the central government.

On the contrary, a tendency toward centralization appears more clearly and strongly among this group.

Vertical services which are still in operation in regions classified as First Level alone number some 70, not to mention those which extend to the area of *kecamatan* (district) as for example the Department of Information which has its vertical services extending even as far down as *kecamatans* (districts).

It must be admitted that the implementation of autonomy will result in a structural change at the level of the central government and of the vertical services in the regions, changes in the set-up of the national budget, changes in so many regulations that the realization of a real regional autonomy will become an extremely broad and important task, one which will be difficult and will demand time if it is to be carried out as seriously and as fully as possible.

However, within the framework of fostering democracy within the regional governments, leading to a mature autonomy, it is an absolute condition that tomorrow or the day after tomorrow this effort must already begin as a stimulus to the people to participate in the task of development and to ensure the durability of the unity of the Indonesian Republic.

Therefore, if all the governmental activities of the whole nation are pictured as one volume then a part of this volume is accomplished by the central government with its departments and vertical services in the regions, and another part of this volume is accomplished by the regional government in its autonomy or cooperative participation (*serla-tantra/medebewind*). On the whole, the more autonomy and cooperative participation tasks, the fewer the tasks which must be carried out by the central government itself.

One matter of importance is that the formulation and specification of this transfer of duties which still belong within the jurisdiction of the central government must be outlined as carefully and in as clear-cut a manner as possible so as to avoid any dispute over competence between one region and another or between a region and its subordinate districts, as well as between a region and the vertical governmental services which remain in the region.

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A job description which is vague and unclear will only give rise to overlappings and a clouding of financial responsibility. And this will open the door or be an incentive to obtaining funds on the basis of self-sufficiency in a false sense of the term. This can have no other result than that of sacrificing the interests of the people in the region.

In connection with the transfer and distribution of duties, there arises the problem of the number and the rank of the regions. The levels of regional government should be so regulated that there are no more than two levels, namely the village government and areas on a par with the village. Regional levels which exceed these will be extremely burdensome for the finances and income of the State. Since autonomy is a costly organization three regional levels alongside the village government and areas on a par with the village, but which are so rooted in the society that it is impossible to blot them out entirely, will likely be too costly for the State to finance and will be harmful to the funds for development to meet the rising demands if not the "exploding demands" of the people for development, which marks the era of the New Order.

HEAD OF REGION

A regional head with a strong position and authority is the essential element for a stable regional government. It is the intention to make sacred the position of the regional head, but he must be as the *sesepuh* (elder or patron) of the region, a leader who inspires admiration.

The sterling quality of the regional head as a servant of the state and as an employee of the state, must be achieved insofar as possible so that he can think and act as regional leader in any situation and condition.

In order to strengthen the position of the regional head as a servant of the state, there is an installation procedure by which he is directly appointed by the central government, which must of course take into account the political constellation of the region, as well as the interests of the region concerned, for example, by heading the desires of the DPRD (regional house of representatives)

whenever those desires can be made known within a short time, but not according to the procedure of appointment outlined in the Law no. 18/1965, which requires too long a period of time.

By regional head is also meant of course the deputy regional head, an office just below that of regional head, which is filled by a person of the region in question.

DPRD (REGIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES) AND REGIONAL SECRETARY

The Regional House of Representatives must be active and possess a mentality in accordance with the demands of the New Order so that they can carry out their true function, especially in raising the level of the common welfare in the region, to explore the sources of riches in the region. This DPRD must be a representative body, both as to the quality as well as to the number of its members; it has its own Chairman.

The Regional Secretary must be capable of ensuring continuity of work, not bound to a specified term of office, and not easily shaken by political disturbances within the DPRD and must work in direct responsibility to the head of the region; his office gives him the status of civil servant.

Therefore, the regional set-up may be outlined as follows:

1. The regional head is the *seseputih* of the region, and thus of the DPRD
2. The deputy regional head is not *seseputih* of the region
3. The DPRD has its own chairman
4. The Regional Secretary has the status of civil servant.

With such a set-up, it would seem that it is possible to achieve a satisfactory balance between the element of the central government and its status with regard to the region within the nation as a unified whole; and the element of regionality, democracy, and technical skill — all for the purpose of stability and authority in carrying on the work of government in the regions.

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FINANCIAL BALANCE

As has already been mentioned above, autonomy is expensive, and in order to realize it effectively, adequate funds are required.

Financial balance, therefore, is an extremely vital factor for the life or continued life of a region, entrusted with the management of its own household affairs.

Autonomy without a healthy financial balance will not provide the opportunity for the development of regional autonomy and will continue to make difficulties for the position of the central government.

Such an autonomous region will remain a "problem child", a burden for the central government and cannot possibly develop toward a mature autonomy.

This new authority relationship must be accompanied by a similar financial relationship if regional autonomy is to be carried out efficiently.

Formerly the Dutch government applied a system of financial relationship which was called *sluitpoststelsel* namely financial help from the central government to cover the deficit between the income and expenses of the normal budget, together with sources of income in the form of State tax(es) or independent taxation, other taxes as well as on State subsidies and debts.

Concerning this *sluitpost* system at that time there were many who posed objections because it was considered a source of dependency and uncertainty and as a hindrance to regional development and an obstacle to regional autonomy. This system of *sluitpost* was therefore considered as a temporary policy which later took the form of permanent aid with additional surplus subsidy. This change, however, brought new difficulties.

In 1929 this *sluitpoststelsel* was abolished and was temporarily replaced by a new regulation, pending the enactment of a definitive regulation.

In this regulation it was stated:

- a. A fixed compensation for services and work already transferred with a fixed percentage for the yearly increase

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- b. Extraordinary compensation for special work, based on the yearly estimate

To decide what system is to be used in achieving financial balance there is required a thorough investigation and serious thought which will surely result in a healthy financial balance will no longer be such a precarious one.

SUPERVISION OF REGIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Giving substance to regional autonomy and the task of a broadened participation brings with it as a logical consequence an efficient and wise supervision of regional government in operation.

Formation and supervision in the accomplishment of the policy of the regional government in all areas, particularly in the area of finances and working out of the budget is the other side of real and broad autonomy within a unitary State.

For these duties of supervision there is required a rational and efficient central structure as well as personnel possessing the required capability and integrity.

THE PROBLEM OF DECONCENTRATION

The problem of deconcentration has not been specifically discussed in this article, because the task of deconcentration is automatically and absolutely coincidental with decentralization.

As has already been mentioned, the task of deconcentration is the proper task of the central or national government and cannot be transferred to the regions in their autonomy.

These tasks will involve the following elements:

1. Security and defence
2. Leadership in policy on police affairs, i.e. the maintenance of public order and security

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4. Coordination
3. Supervision
5. Other matters not transferred to the autonomy of the regions

In order to carry out these tasks of deconcentration in the regions, it is necessary to provide for official areas or administrative divisions which may be hierarchically arranged as follows:

5. *Kecamatan* (district)
4. *Former Kawedanan*
3. *Kabupaten* for second level Regions
2. *Former Residency*
1. *Province* for first level Regions

All of the above form the structure of deconcentration.

PATTERN OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT ACCORDING TO THE BROAD LINES OF THE STATE POLICY

SOELEIMAN SOEMARDI

THE AFFIRMATION IN THE BROAD LINES OF THE STATE POLICY

The Decree of PCA No. IV on The Broad Lines of the State Policy has systematically affirmed the General Pattern of National Development as follows:

1. Basic Pattern of National Development
2. General Pattern of Long-Term Development
3. General Pattern of the Second Five-Year Development Plan (PELITA II)

The aim of this article is, firstly, to explicitly expound the (sub-)pattern of social development in the Broad Lines of the State Policy; secondly, to offer to formulate a more operational policy on social development in PELITA II; thirdly, to suggest types of basic programs of social development in PELITA II; all this is done in relation to the economic development.

The Basic Pattern of National Development — which comprises long-term objectives, basis and principles of the national development equipped with basic capital and dominant factors possessed by the Indonesian people which should be considered, in development with the "Wawasan Nusantara" (the Nusantara Concept) which conceives the Nusantara Archipelago as a political, socio-cultural, economic, defence and security unity — lays down among other things, that:

"National Development aims to establish a just and prosperous society, both materially and spiritually, based on Pancasila in the Unitary Republic of Indonesia....."

"The essence of National Development is the total Development of the Indonesian Man and the Development of the Entire Indonesian Society"

"The principles of National Development are those of benefit, common efforts and family-spirit, democracy, justice and equality, and balanced life realization"

"The realization of the Nusantara Archipelago as a social and cultural unity" is in the sense that:

- a. The Indonesian society is one; the life of the nation must be one which is in harmony with the level of progress of society which is equal, just, and balanced, and with the progress of the nation;
- b. The Indonesian culture is essentially one; whereas the existing cultural variety shows the richness of the culture of the nation which constitutes the capital and basis for the development of the whole national culture, the fruits of which can be enjoyed by the whole nation"

Furthermore, "based on the Basic Pattern of National Development, the General Pattern of Long-Term Development which shall cover 25 to 30 years" The implementation of this General Pattern of National Development was begun in 1969 with the implementation of PELITA I, to be followed by PELITA II and so forth so, that it will constitute a series of PELITA's in a harmonious unity. The Long-Term Development is to be implemented in stages. The objective of each stage is to raise the living standard and welfare of the whole people and to lay down a strong basis for the next stage of development.

The main target of the Long-Term Development is the creation of a strong basis for the Indonesian Nation to grow and develop of its own strength towards the realization of a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila.

The stress of the Long-Term Development is on economic development with the main target to secure a balance between the agricultural and industrial fields, which means that the greater part of development efforts are directed to economic development, whereas development in other fields is supporting and complementary to the economic field.

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Development outside the economic field is implemented in line and in harmony with the progress made in the economic field. At the same time with the increasing result in the economic field, there will be greater development resources available for the increasing development in the socio-cultural, political, and defence and security fields.

Apart from increasing the national income the implementation of development must guarantee the equal distribution of income to the whole people in accordance with the sense of justice in the framework of realizing the principle of *social justice*. On the one hand, therefore, development is not only directed to increasing production, but also to preventing a widening gap between the rich and the poor by implanting the principle of proper and moderate life; not only to build a prosperous society, but also a just society. On the other hand, the social participation in development must be widened, both in bearing the burden of development and in the responsibility for the implementation of development as well as in the enjoyment of the development results.

While the implementation of Long-Term Development is to increase national production, economic growth must also accelerate the increase of employment opportunities, for overcoming the unemployment problem by means of creating new employment opportunities is the main target in Long-Term Development. Employment opportunities possess not only an economic value, but also a human value in that they arouse self-respect, and therefore give substance to humanity.

The new employment opportunities that will be available will require a labour force that has the ability and skills to meet the needs of development. Therefore the increasing of jobs and the development of an educational system that meets development needs or which produces a force needed by development, must be carried out simultaneously and harmoniously.

The efforts to carry out economic development and to increase public welfare speedily, must be accompanied by the management of population growth through a family planning program which must be successfully implemented. The failure of this program would render the result of development efforts insignificant and may endanger the coming generation. The family planning program

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is to be implemented on a voluntary basis, taking into account religious norms and belief in God.

There is also needed a proper policy of population distribution through resettlement as a means to promote development activities throughout the country.

Furthermore, as directing principles of long-term development, which will include five or six PELITA's, in addition to the factors mentioned above, it is of no less importance to mention various aspects of social development: the maintenance of human environment so as not to be destroyed by the exploitation of natural resources, the use of technology and science, and the positive characteristics of Economic Democracy, among the things that "The poor and the neglected children have the right to social security".

More concrete statements on the objectives, priorities, direction and policy of development in various fields can be found in the General Pattern of PELITA II. It is stated that: "In PELITA II all problems which have been recognized from the beginning to be beyond solution in PELITA I, will be more deeply dealt with, such as the problems of increasing employment opportunities, equal distribution of development results, correction of defective market structure, the increase of the rate of economic growth in the regions, resettlement, promotion of the people's participation in development through cooperatives, and more attention will be paid to educational problems and other non-economic factors".

Of great importance is the formulation of a unified and integrated development planning and policy".

The objectives of PELITA II are: firstly, to raise the living standards and welfare of the whole people, and secondly, to lay down a strong basis for the next stage of development. The priority of PELITA II is given to economic development with the stress on the development of the agricultural sector and the promotion of industry processing raw materials into basic materials. PELITA III lays the emphasis on the agricultural sector by promoting the industry processing the basic materials into finished goods; PELITA IV lays the stress on the agricultural sector by promoting industry producing machinery, both heavy and light

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industries which will be further developed in the following PELITA's

In allocating the priorities of PELITA II it is emphasized that:

"The priority given to the economic field does not necessarily imply the neglect of the development of other fields, which will continue to be developed and to support economic development. The progress of economic development in PELITA I provides opportunities and capability for PELITA II to solve various social problems, greater within the implementation of development as a whole"

In the elaboration of the direction and policy of economic development, there are already several aspects relevant to social development because of the application of the unified and integrated development planning and policy. These are among other things, the increase of employment opportunities, promotion of rural development in order to prevent the flow of people from rural to urban areas, resettlement which is linked with regional development, the increase of social facilities in order to reach a higher degree of welfare.

The direction and policy of development in PELITA II in the cultural fields are outlined as follows:

Health and Family Planning:

The efforts to improve public health are directed to a more intensive fight against contagious and popular diseases, the improvement of nutritive value in the people's food, the supply of drinking water, protection of the people against narcotics and drug abuses, wide and ample supply of medicines, medical and para-medical personnel, extension of medical services through centres of public health especially in the rural areas, and the promotion of information on public health.

The implementation of a Family Planning program in the villages as extensively as possible especially in Java and Bali. The implementation of a Family Planning program in other local areas is supporting the promotion of family welfare. Education and training in Family Planning will be more developed towards education on problems of population.

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Education, Science, Tehnology and Development of the Younger Generation.

Development in the educational field is aimed at forming the Indonesian Man who is physically and spiritually healthy, and possesses knowledge and skill, able to develop creativity and responsibility, to promote a democratic attitude and through fullness, able to develop his intellect and lofty character, able to love his nation and his fellow-men.

The policy on scientific and technological development is aimed at the development of ability in science and technology needed for development in accordance with the existing needs and priorities.

Development of the younger generation/youth is carried out through families, schools, youth organizations, scouts and the like.

To foster the family as a means for developing the younger generation, women's rights are guaranteed and their status in the family and in society is protected.

National Culture

The promotion and maintenance of the national culture is aimed at strengthening the national identity, national pride and national unity, including fostering local cultures in order to enrich and to give form to the national culture. To maintain traditions and historical inheritance having values derived from the national struggle and national pride benefit to be bequeathed to the younger generation. The fostering of the national culture in accordance with Pancasila norms are aimed at preventing the growth of feudalistic socio-cultural values; and also at containing the influence of negative foreign cultures, at the same time at providing the society the ability to absorb positive foreign cultures which are needed by modernization in the process of development, insofar as they are not in conflict with the national identity.

CONDITIONS FOR FORMULATION OF OPERATIONAL POLICY

We are now in the middle of decisive moments for the continuation and promotion of national development, especially social development which comprises a number of sectors and sub-sectors

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as stated in the Broad Lines of the Policy of the State, which comprises not only the fields of religion and belief in God, health and family planning, education, science and youth and national culture; but also the fields of politics, government apparatus, law and foreign relations. How could all these aspects be transformed into a number of operational policies, and further elaborated in the programs and projects of PELITA II ?

In determining the operational policy we should choose one out of several options. First, is the stress of the operational policy sectoral or cross-sectoral in character? Second, is the focus of its application nation-wide and uniform or regional and variegated? Third, is it possible that one policy is more cross-sectoral with regional variety; another policy more cross-sectoral and nationally uniform and; another policy sectoral with a national scope; and, still another policy sectoral with regional variety? All those possibilities do not necessarily reduce the significance of the Wawasan Nusantara concept insofar as it is aiming at realising and giving substance to the Nusantara Archipelago as a political, socio-cultural, economic, and security and defence unity.

It is obvious that we should stick to a unified development planning and policy formulations with the creation of employment opportunities as its linchpin. As long as this main condition is fulfilled, basic programs and main projects in economic and social development will fully achieve their common targets, i. e. to raise the living standards and the social welfare of the people, a just and prosperous society, materially and spiritually, full development of the Indonesian Man and the development of the entire Indonesian society through intermediate objectives and through stages of development.

OF PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS CONDITIONS FOR FORMULATION

In the framework of a unified development plan there are four types development programs or projects. First, there are economic projects or programs which chiefly aim to increase the GNP and per capita income. Second, there are a number of economic programs which are at the same time socially developmental or

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socially productive economic programs. The main examples are the direct aid at the amount of Rp. 100.000,— for every village, and the aid for districts Kotamadya at the amount of Rp. 100,— or Rp. 150,— per person. Such types of economic programs not only increase per capita income, but also stimulate social solidarity in the framework of modern endeavours, widening the basis for social participation in development, provide training in managerial skills, social organization and government apparatus down to the village level, and maintain social resilience of the rural and urban societies. Such programs are of great importance to social development and it is important to realize their social functions or effects which are very productive.

The third type of development program is the economically supportive social programs. The Family Planning program is one of this type, so are labour intensive programs in poor villages with abundant unemployment and semi-unemployment especially in critical times of famine. The BUTSI program is a type of social program supporting rural economic development.

Finally there are social programs primarily based upon humanitarian considerations. In a relative sense, programs for the disabled (mentally and physically) are of this type.

As has been previously mentioned, the standard of efficacy for any type of program is how far it affects the creation of employment opportunities. Even it is suggested here that for social development socially developmental economic programs and economically supportive social programs should be increased, it does not follow that social programs of humanitarian considerations should be neglected. As far as possible and in keeping with the results of economic development — which are achieved by economic programs proper as the first type of development program —, these humanitarian social programs should be taken into consideration. Even with the creation of employment opportunities, it is not impossible, for instance, that there may be an economic program in the trade sector which could not be justified because the employment opportunities created by that economic program proper are insufficient and not worth the cost; whereas, a humanitarian social program may be justified because its effect on the creation of employment opportunities is considerable and worth the cost required.

POPULATION POLICY AND SOCIAL-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE BROAD LINES OF THE STATE POLICY

A. HAFID

FOREWORD

A look at population growth between 1650 and this century will show that between 1650 and 1970 population has increased from 500 million to 3.5 billion. This means that in 320 years' time population has increased by three billion. This growth has not been proportional but has taken place according to a progressive scale. If between the start of the Christian era and 1650 the number of people increased by only 150,000 a year, now the world's population increases at an annual rate of 78 million. According to experts if population continues to increase at this rate, then in 50 years' time, the world will see its population increase to 50 billion. As to the ECAFE region in particular according to UN projections this region's population between 1970 and 1980 is estimated to go up from 1,992,918,000 to 2,494,331,000 i.e. an increase by 501,413,000. In terms of fertility the countries in the ECAFE region are divided into: countries with a continuously rising fertility, countries where the fertility rate is still high but showing signs of diminishing, countries where the fertility rate has reached a low level and countries where the pattern of fertility has changed.

Viewed from the standpoints of national resilience and national capability of the countries concerned uncontrolled population growth may lead to social problems and problems relating to standards of living, education, food supply, job opportunities, housing, transpor-

tation etc. This is because the population problem does not stand isolated but is an integral part of the development problems of the countries concerned. Almost every sector of development is closely connected with and influences population growth and, conversely, population growth affects the above-mentioned matters in a society. Generally speaking the population problem can be defined by a comparison between population growth and the increase of per capita income.

In the early sixties economic growth of the developing countries was almost the same as that of the developed ones, namely, 4% for the developing and 4.4% for the developed countries. But in terms of population growth the figures were approximately 2.6% for the developing countries and only 1.3% for the developed countries.

These figures show that where growth of per capita income was concerned the developed countries grew virtually twice as fast as the developing countries. This is evident from the difference between the population growth of the developing countries, 2.6% and their economic growth, 4%, resulting in a surplus of 1.4%. On the other hand, the developed countries with a population growth of 1.3% were able to record a net economic growth of $4.4\% - 1.3\% = 3.1\%$ ¹.

The two aforementioned units, population growth on the one hand and that of per capita income on the other, are generally used by experts as a yardstick to measure the progress achieved by a nation in development. It is thus understandable why every country through its official policies always tries to narrow the difference between these two variables i.e. the population growth percentage and the annual per capita income growth percentage. In this way they hope that their savings that can be invested to raise the level of prosperity will increase. This policy is discernible in the efforts governments make to raise production in every field while at the same time trying to keep the population growth at the lowest possible level.

¹ "Population Aspects of Social Development", Asian Pop. Studies, Series no. 11, U.N. 1972, page 23.

POPULATION PROBLEM IN INDONESIA

According to the 1971 census, which was conducted province by province, Indonesia's population excluding Irian Jaya totalled 118,460,000. With a total land area of 2,027,087 square kilometers the country's average population density is 58. The population spread is uneven with 76,103,000 or 64.24% of the entire country's land area. Population density in Java and Madura is 565 or nearly 10 times the average for the whole country. Meanwhile Kalimantan is inhabited by 5,152,000 people or 4.35% of the total population although the width of this island makes up 27.17% of the total land area. In Kalimantan approximately 1/4th of the country's total land area is accommodating 1/24th of the entire population. Population density on this island is 9 per square kilometer. Sumatra, which constitutes 26.7% of the total land area has a population of 20,813,000 or 17.57% of the total population and a population density of 38. Sumatra's population density almost equals Sulawesi's 37. Sulawesi accounts for 11.25% of the total land area and its population is 7.21% of the total. In addition the special district of the capital, Jakarta, with a land area of 576 square kilometers or 0.03% of the total, is inhabited by 4,576,000 people or 3.86% of the total population. In Jakarta the population density is 7,944 per square kilometer.

The above figures show how uneven the population is spread over the country and that the majority lives in Java and Madura while only a small portion, namely, 35.76% lives outside Java and Madura on 93.35% of the total land area.

SOME EFFECTS OF POPULATION GROWTH

According to the 1930 census Indonesia's population then totalled 60,727,000. By the time the 1961 census was held the figure had risen to 97,079,000 and during the 1971 census to 119,183,000. Supposing the fertility rate continues at its present level Indonesia's population by 1991 will be 227 million. But if the family planning program succeeds in reducing the fertility rate in such a way that

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a birth rate of 31.8 per 1000 results by 1991, Indonesia's population by that time will only be 202 million. The figure 227 million is based on a birth rate of 45 per 1000.

When we consider the rate of population growth since 1930 it becomes evident that the population growth rate in Java and Madura from 1950 to 1961 increased by 2.17 and declined to 1.94% in 1961 and 1971. On the other hand outside Java and Madura the population growth rate continued to rise as follows: it was 1.54% a year from 1920 until 1940, 1.63% from 1930 to 1940, 1.95% from 1940 to 1950 2.25% from 1950 to 1961 and 2.39% from 1961 to 1971.²⁾

Population increase invariably brings with it increased needs for such facilities as services, food, clothing, housing, vehicles, education, employment, and medical care. It is these consequences of population growth that prompt governments to limit the number of births every year. An uncontrolled birth rate leads to problems impeding development.

Capital formation

The size of families affects capital formation in society through the limitations it imposes on the accumulation of savings, expenditures for the families' consumptive needs always being a drain on their income. Acceleration of development in a smooth way is possible only if we succeed in accumulating capital for the continuous increase of investments that are needed to maintain the projected rate of increase in the standards of living. The greater the number of dependents of a bread-winner the smaller the chance that his family will be able to set aside part of the income for savings.

Growth of the people's savings is essential to keep raising the amount of capital available for investment. The relationship between increasing investments and the number of units yielded by productivity is denoted by the ratio between incremental capital and incremental output. For developing countries this ratio varies between 0.8 and 4 depending on the rate of investment achieved in a given country.

² "The Population of Indonesia", A Country Statement, 1972, page 33.

In a country where development is in a stage of rehabilitating the agricultural sector it usually takes only a relatively small amount of investment to bring about an increase in production and the incremental capital output ratio (icor) in such cases sometimes is less than one. But this ratio tends to increase as the economy of the country concerned continues to grow. Once the stage of rehabilitation is over and people enter a further stage that needs new investments, the icor rises as every unit produced requires a greater amount of capital. This will continue to be the case especially if the agricultural sector is already being paralleled by advances in the industrial sector. Then the icor automatically rises and may go up to four. In Indonesia's case, if we assume that her icor ranges between two and three, the amount of capital she needs to increase her per capita income will be two to three times the projected incremental output. The proposed raising of Indonesia's per capita income to 7% a year will thus mean that with an icor standing at 2, she will need investments amounting to 14% of the national income. With an icor standing at three the amount of investments, that is to say savings needed, will be three times 7% or 21% of the national income.

The above analysis clearly shows how the size of population that is determined by the number of members or children in families influences capital formation or accumulation of savings in a community.

Balance of payments

Uncontrolled population growth also affects a country's balance of payments. It may affect, to date, the import of food, especially rice and wheat flour. In 1969 Indonesia's rice and wheat flour imports were valued at US \$ 147.8 million, in 1970 at US \$ 170.3 million and in 1971 at US \$ 119 million. The percentages of food and beverage imports vis-a-vis the total value of all imports decreased in these three years. to wit, from 22.5% in 1969 to 16.8% in 1971.

On the other hand the percentages of imports of capital goods increased namely, from 13.6% in 1968 to 22% in 1969, to 29.4% in 1970 and 29.9% in 1971. The decreasing percentage of imports of

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consumer goods on the one hand and the increasing percentage of imports of capital goods on the other is a heartening sign.

An uncontrolled population growth leads to additional numbers of people that can adversely affect the balance of payments by the increased need they create for imports of consumer goods at the expense of capital goods.

Educational facilities³⁾

It has been calculated that by the year 2001 Indonesia's population may total 281,962,000. If the family planning program is successful, however, the figure will only be 219,761,000. In other words there would be a difference of 62,201,000. In a time span of 40 years this difference may be very significant to the government's budget for education.

According to liberal calculations the number of Indonesians of school age (between 5 and 19 years) in 1961 was 36,050,000. In 2001 this will have increased to 105,335,000. But if the family planning program is successful the year 2001 will see only 72,285,000 Indonesians of school age. The difference between 105,335,000 and 72,285,000 namely 33,050,000 will be the number of heads that can be discounted in budgetting the funds for education.

Investment needed to set up elementary schools for the liberally calculated number of school-age Indonesians by 2001 totals US\$ 69,900,000. For the operation of the schools an estimated US\$ 941,200,000 would be needed. If the family program is successful in enabling a cut in the number of school age children and, consequently, in the number of needed teachers, operational costs for elementary schools in 2001 would only be US\$ 661,410,000 and the investment needed to set up schools only US\$ 36,300,000. There would thus be an economization in expenditures for elementary schools to the tune of US\$ 941,200,000 — US\$ 661,410,000 = US\$ 279,790,000 in operational costs and US\$ 69,900,000 — US\$ 36,300,000 = US\$ 33,600,000 in investments.

³ Population projections for Education, Housing, Hospitals and Man-power, quoted from a publication by the Institute of Demography of the Economic Faculty of the University of Indonesia entitled "*Beberapa Keuntungan Sosial Ekonomis akibat reduksi fertilitas*". (Some social and economic advantages of reduction of fertility) Jakarta 1972.

Elementary schools are only one aspect of the educational facilities for which expenditures have to be made. The above figures show just one among many other ways in which a successful family planning program will result in the saving of so many millions of dollars.

Housing facilities

Based on the liberally calculated population of Indonesia by 2001 there will be a need for an estimated 29,767,334 new houses. With a successful family planning program, however, only 20,576,996 will be required. A successful family planning program will enable a cut in expenditures for housing equal to what it costs to build $29,767,334 - 20,576,996 = 9,190,368$ houses. Expressed in money the cost of building new houses in 2001 if the population continues to grow at its present rate, will be an estimated US\$ 44,651,001,000. With a successful family planning program, however, only US\$ 30,865,449,000 will be needed for new housing facilities. The difference between these two figures is US\$ 13,785,000,000 or, converted into Rupiah at the rate of Rp. 415 to the dollar = Rp. 5,720,775,000,000. This much would be saved on housing facilities in 2001 if the family planning program is successful.

Hospital facilities

Population growth has a great effect on health facilities. According to the latest research findings on the basis of a high projection of population by the year 2001, the need for hospital beds will be 1,062,200. The costs for development of facilities in five years would be Rp. 245,983,000,000. The operational costs in five years would be Rp. 284,951,000,000 so that the funds needed every five years in 2001 should the family planning program fail, would be Rp. 530,935,000,000. If the family planning program succeeds then in 2001 the number of people needing medical services would be 179,850,000 and the number of hospital beds needed would be 826,260. The funds needed in five years by 2001 would be Rp. 168,213,000,000 + Rp. 230,535,000,000 = Rp. 398,748,000,000. If the family planning program succeeds there would be a reduction in development and operational

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expenditures in the health sector of Rp. 530,935,000,000 — Rp. 398,748,000,000 = Rp. 132,187,000,000.

Manpower

The labour force in 2001 on the basis of a high projection of population growth would be 101,206,465, whereas on the basis of a low projection it would only be 96,388,185, that is, if the family planning program succeeds in retarding population growth. In line with the above estimates the number of people in need of employment up to 2001 would be 98,170,271 if the family planning program does not succeed. If the family planning is successful, however, the number would only be 93,496,539. The number of the unemployed in 2001 on the basis of a high projection of population growth would be 3,036,194 whereas on the basis of a low projection it would only be 2,891,646.

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Because of its inter-disciplinary character as shown in the analysis above the population problem can be solved only when tackled in an equally inter-disciplinary way or — if handled institutionally, by an inter-sectoral or inter-departmental approach. The solution of the population problem cannot be possibly accomplished by only one government agency but requires cooperation among various agencies in actuating a program. In the General Pattern of the Second Five-Year Development Plan in the Broad Lines of the State Policy it is inter alia stated that coordination among government departments is necessary in order to achieve the aims and targets of the family planning program.

Family Planning

In the Broad Lines of the State Policy the serious attention of the government for the handling of population growth has to

be continually kept up. This is to be seen in the policy programs aimed at limiting the birth rate while at the same time increasing the standard of living through policy programs that have direct and indirect bearing on efforts to control population growth.

One such policy having direct bearing on efforts to decrease fertility may be discerned in section B.8., Direction of Long Range Development which states: "In order to achieve economic development and raise the people's standard of living rapidly, the rise in population should be controlled through a Family Planning Program that must absolutely be made to succeed because failure of this program will negate the results of development and may endanger the well-being of the coming generation".

Further in the General Pattern of the Second Five-Year Development Plan it is stated that "Implementation of the Family Planning Program especially in Java and Bali needs to be intensified. It should especially be made to reach the rural communities in as wide a way as possible"⁴).

It is intended that during the Second Five-Year Development Plan the family planning program will be expanded with the addition of assistance programs of the World Bank/IDA and the United Nations Fund for Population Activities to the amount of US\$ 26.4 million and government financial participation with US\$ 6.6 million.

This program is to be mainly intended to improve physical facilities, personnel and equipment of the family planning program in the five years to come.

Education on Population Problems

To evaluate the effects of the educational level on ways of thinking in Indonesian Society a few data are presented below. They are the result of a survey made in Yogyakarta in 1972 concerning Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices as regards family planning in the Special Region of Yogyakarta.

27.5% of the women respondents who were unschooled had not fully accepted the recommendations for the success of the family planning program. This percentage decreases among the educated

⁴ GBHN (Broad Lines of State Policy), General Pattern of the Second Five Year Development Plan, Health and Family Planning3

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women. For instance, it was 4.6% for women with high school level education and 1.16% for women with university level education. These figures show that people with higher education appreciate more greatly the significance of the family planning program. The lower the educational level of a person, *ceteris paribus*, the less this person appreciates the importance of family planning. Only 4.77% of the male respondents with university education were indifferent as to the number of children in their families. The percentage was higher among males who had had less schooling, that is, 23% for those who studied only three years in elementary school and 25.96% for those who had never gone to any school at all. It is thus to be concluded that the lower the level of education gained by a person, the less is his or her interest in planning the number of children he or she desires.

From the foregoing analysis on the correlation between the level of education and appreciation of the family planning program it seems clear that the education of a person influences his or her mental attitude toward the planning of the number of his or her children. The higher the level of education of a person, the more wants to have, so that it seems reasonable to expect that through upgrading their level of education/knowledge, through formal or informal schooling, people's consciousness about the costs of having large families in terms of health, welfare, income, happiness and prosperity, can be heightened. It is clear therefore that in the final analysis the readiness of a person to join the family planning program voluntarily depends on his or her attitude towards life. Changing this attitude in favour of a preference for small families is the key.

To realize this idea it was therefore stipulated in the General Pattern of the Second Five-Year Plan that "the education and training activities under the Family Planning Program should not be limited to the education and training of technical activists only but should also include education on population problems".⁵).

The education and training of field workers in the family planning program such as assistant midwives, midwives, doctors,

⁵ GBHN (Broad Lines of State Policy), General Pattern of the Second Five Year Development Plan, Health and Family Planning. 3.

propagators, researchers, evaluators and other medical and paramedical and administrative workers should be conducted to strengthen the capability of the Family Planning Coordinating Agency to carry out its tasks and also to enlighten the community on the significance of efforts to control population growth. The implementation of the family planning program will be successful only when motivations in the community for the siring of smaller numbers of children become more rational. Rational views on the number of children to be desired, marrying-age, spiritual and physical welfare, or in other words a rational attitude on the family pattern could be developed rapidly only through education/training.

Employment Opportunities

For the handling of problems of employment opportunities arising from population growth and the problem of manpower in need of jobs, several policy guidelines are to be found in the Broad Lines of the State Policy. Firstly these are stated in the General Pattern for Long-Range Development where economic growth is expected to accelerate the creation of employment opportunities. This is because in the long range development program expansion of employment opportunities is included as one of the important targets. Furthermore, in the General Pattern of the Second Five-Year Development Plan it is also stipulated that there are three sectors of efforts that go together namely, acceleration of growth, of reduction and expansion of employment opportunities.

Closely connected with the efforts to expand employment opportunities is the kind of technology applied in the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. The right choice of technology in each sector in order to increase employment opportunities without distorting price ratios is a desirable basis for development of the appropriate technology.

On the application of technology and science in development the Broad Lines of the State Policy in the General Pattern of Long-Range Development lists five conditions which have to be observed⁶). These conditions state that they should be applied in ways:

- a. conducive to the provision of plenty of employment;

⁶ GBHN (Broad Lines of the State Policy), General Pattern of Long-Range Development, B. 13

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- b. increasing the productivity of labour;
- c. utilising as much as possible home-produced equipment that is maintainable with indigenous means;
- d. contributing to the achievement of development targets; and
- e. improving skills for the use of more advanced technology in the future.

Apart from the above conditions the Broad Lines of the State Policy, General Pattern of the Second Five-Year Development Plan, also contain several policy guidelines that could support this policy for the expansion of employment opportunities as follows:⁷⁾

- 1. spreading of development more evenly to all the regions;
- 2. special attention to minus (food deficient) regions;
- 3. increasing the incomes of community groups whose income level is still low such as: fishermen, handicraft workers, tenant farmers who have no land of their own etc;
- 4. attention to small-scale and medium-scale entrepreneurs through cooperatives;
- 5. development of villages that have proved capable of absorbing great numbers of labour.

Related to the efforts at increasing the participation of students, the youth and intellectuals in development, and supporting the policies of expanding employment opportunities, is the integration and consolidation of these three elements into effective professional organisations, so that these three elements can contribute positive achievements to development. The integration of these three elements into professional organisations enables them to choose early in their lives the line of profession most suited to their talents and ideals through service experience in society and through effective guidance.

The specialization resulting from this professionwise grouping will automatically bring an upgrading of skills. This upgrading of professional quality is very much needed for the acceleration of modernisation and development. The greater the number of skilled professional manpower that is available in society, the greater will be the probability that the youth, students and intellectuals participate in the tackling of national problems through positive participation

⁷ GBHN (Broad Lines of the State Policy), General Pattern of Second Five-Year Development Plan, D.3.4.5.6.10.

in development. Positive participation by these three elements in the development efforts increases their sense of responsibility and this, in turn, will make their approach to the problems of development more realistic and pragmatic.

Service to the community and practical research can be a good means in directing them to participate in the development efforts positively and at the same time in employing them in development activities.

The policy of developing science and technology aims toward the strengthening of National Resilience in the fields of science and technology which are needed in the development efforts in accordance with needs and priorities.

For this purpose educational, research and community service facilities will be enhanced in accordance with priorities and state and community capabilities.

From the above analysis it is clear that educational policy could help solve the population problem through:

1. Education on population problems in or outside the school, to inculcate appreciation for the family planning program;
2. Upgrading of the educational quality of the youth, students, lecturers so that their services can immediately be utilised in all sectors of development which at the same time will reduce the rate of unemployment among the educated and narrow the gap between the need for and the supply of manpower.

Transmigration

To accelerate development in certain economically justifiable regions, particularly outside Java and Bali, the number of families resettled needs to be increased. Development of the regions outside Java and Bali and transmigration are considered as closely connected with each other in the Broad Lines of the State Policy. This link-up between development and the opening up of regions with small populations was formulated in the General Pattern of the Second Five-Year Development Plan as follows: "For that reason, transmigration including local transmigration should be initiated and implemented with seriousness and proper direction, and should be

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coordinated with development activities in the regions"⁸).

The linkage between development/the opening up of new regions and transmigration is a concept of a more fundamental nature in the context of the acceleration of development in the regions. This concept is more advanced than that which sees transmigration merely as a method of moving people from Java and Bali to the transmigration regions.

By linking development efforts in the regions with transmigration the spreading of the population at the same time means the acceleration of regional development and the lessening of the pressure of population in Java and Bali.

Housing

The problem of housing also gets attention in the Broad Lines of the State Policy beside the provision of food and clothing as well as employment opportunities. In the Broad Lines of the State Policy, General Pattern of the Second Five-Year Development Plan, this question is stated as follows:⁹)

"For that reason in the Second Five-Year Development Plan the problem of housing development for the people should be given the fullest attention".

The target in this respect is the construction of houses that are within the reach of the buying power of the majority of the people.

Public health

The policy on public health in the Broad Lines of the State Policy¹⁰) is directed toward the sustenance and promotion of the people's capacity as a labour force participating in development as

⁸ GBHN (Broad Lines of the State Policy), General Pattern of the Second Five-Year Development Plan, D. 11.

⁹ GBHN (Broad Lines of the State Policy), General Pattern of the Second Five-Year Development Plan, Housing 1 paragraph 2.

¹⁰ GBHN (Broad Lines of the State Policy), General Pattern of the Second Five-Year Development Plan, Health and Family Planning, 2.

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well as of their standards of living. For this purpose efforts will be made to protect the people from disease in as extensive a way as possible. Apart from these efforts campaigns to eradicate contagious diseases and other diseases rampant among the people are to be stepped up, the nutritional value of the people's menu is to be improved, water supply taken care of, the danger of narcotics fought off, protection provided against illegal or uncertified medicines, more even distribution of proper medicines and provision of sufficient numbers of medical and para-medical personnel. In the rural districts efforts are to be made to step up medical care and campaigns to instruct the people about health.

PROBLEMS UNDERLYING EDUCATIONAL REFORM

MASHURI

The history of human civilization is basically the history of man's endeavour to shape and develop his identity and life patterns, by taking full advantage of the existing opportunities and those which opened to him as a result of all his efforts in dealing with the constraints and limitations he has to face throughout his life. As in the past, man's future endeavour will always have its achievements and failures along with hopes and anxieties.

In this process education will always be a decisive factor, in its meaning, role as well as in its use. This is mainly because education aims at providing men to acquire the necessary equipment he needed to enable him to face life challenges physically, emotionally and intellectually.

Talking about civilization, we observe the fact that since the middle of the 20th century human civilization has undergone tremendous changes and development.

First of all, since the end of World War II millions of people have been able to free themselves from colonial domination. This has opened for those newly independent countries a wider and intensive communication system with other nations, a fact which was an impossibility during the colonialization. The independence enable them to take full advantage of the world's progress. One of the results of this independence is man's rising aspirations and increasing demands as well as needs. That was also the reason why along with their movement for independence, simultaneously there appeared the movements against poverty and ignorance. Poverty and ignorance are reflected by the low per capita income (less than \$ 100 a year) and by the great number of illiterates. In spite of the fact that most of them have rich inheritance in culture, their economic life is turning into a dead end.

Secondly, the middle of the 20th century brought about a revolution in science and technology. It is called revolution for in the history of human civilization science and technology have never undergone such a fantastic development in such a short time as it has happened in the last twenty five years. While earlier, people needed hundreds or thousands of years to widely apply their research findings. At present new findings need only a few years or even months to be widely applied.

This rapid development causes the world to change, making the facts different from what people imagined several decades ago.

The present level of development in science and technology has also given to people the possibility to look for natural resources and improve the quality of their environment more rapidly than ever before.

The development of science and technology has produced a communication system that has shortened time and space. The world seems to be smaller.

These two phenomena: the independence of colonized nations and the revolution in science and technology have positive as well as negative consequences. In addition to the joy and comforts he has achieved, universally, man is confronted by challenges that if wrongly managed could endanger and ruin the continuation of human life, e.g.:

- Population explosion causes the growing demand for natural resources, whereas:
- Natural resources to fulfil the necessities of human life are continuously becoming scarce and at one time these resources will be consumed accelerated by innovative method in management, modern tools and the growing rate of consumption.
- In addition to all its advantages, modern technology is also causing air pollution and all other kinds of pollution that are endangering human life.
- Urbanization, a change in human life pattern from small group to larger group. The movement (migration) of people from the countryside to the city, brought about a change in their way of life; however, if they are not equipped with the ability to adjust themselves sooner or later this migration will bring them frustrations and sufferings.

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- The latent characteristics of the socio-political problems, reflected by modern arms — an achievement in modern technology which has a tremendous power of destruction —, are continuously threatening world peace.
- The revolution in science and technology has a greater effect than the industrial revolution. The industrial revolution which took place in the 19th century only replaced men with machines. Scientific and technological revolution penetrates into the human mental aspects, and the machine is able to replace the human mind. In this development a process of dehumanization occurs and this includes the problems of humanity and the existence of man as God's creature. On the other hand, due to modern technology, particularly potential application of communication technology, the influence of scientific and technological revolution involves all people throughout the world.

In addition to the above-mentioned threats other challenges have to be considered, i.e. the appearance of social, economic and political dichotomy. Poverty and ignorance are hitting at least half of the world's population. About two thirds of the children are in the poor countries. It seems that they live only to get acquainted with ignorance and poverty. And it is exactly in these regions that we find a rapid growth of population. Life competitions are unlimited and problems simultaneously arise. This causes a more limited time to wait for, and think about, plans for development. The efforts to meet the rising needs in the shortest time possible using the simplest means, bring about a tendency to treat and to benefit from the natural resources and environments with a defective mental attitude — and in the long run — which means destroying and ruining man's environment.

On the other hand, there is a small group of nations for which the development of science and technology makes it possible to live in material wealth, and which have more opportunities in all areas to face their future. Thus, besides a tremendously big cluster of nations that suffer there is also a small group of nations that live in abundance.

From the above analysis it is clear that the revolution in science and technology does not only bring about progress and advantages, but also disadvantages and at times it even endangers human life. Whether it brings about profit or loss it is all up to man's own

attitude and whether he is able or unable to be always mature in his attitude to face these life challenges. The important thing is for man to have a mature attitude and to be capable to humanize themselves and to improve environmental quality for the sake of human survival. And this seems to be the responsibility of education.

The history of educational development proves that educational progress always goes along with the economic growth and the improvement of production technologies. The fact reveals that: in an agricultural and stable society, education revolves upon the transmission of certain skills, tradition and values; basically man restricts himself on particular problems that are separated from social, political and other problems which are wider in scope.

However, the production process of economic growth (when it has reached a certain level of development) demands more capable and highly skilled manpower, and technology. Thus education tends to produce more advanced science and involves people that are also continuously increasing in number. Creative, inventive and innovative abilities will be generated from this educated circle.

It is clear that the progress of production process urges on the development of education and on the other hand educational progress stimulates production process. It is also clear that besides economic and technological development, in the long run education will stimulate and support the social, economic, political and cultural fields. Certainly the development in all those fields should be balanced and be made harmonious.

Therefore, it is an obligation to establish an ecological awareness in every human being, capable of recognizing the consequences of his conduct or behaviour towards his environment, locally, nationally as well as mondially. To promote man's livelihood and to keep a balance of the problems of human beings should be the line of action of all efforts and activities.

Our Duty and Responsibility in Education and Culture

As part of the world citizens, the Indonesian people will also have to face the problems mentioned above.

After the independence the desire of the Indonesian people is not only to realize the aspirations that are stated in the Constitution but their hopes are also continuously growing.

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The goals of independence that are the aspirations of the people, are: education for the people, a just and prosperous nation, materially as well as spiritually, without lessening the desire for the world's welfare and peace. The opportunities provided by modern communications to communicate with the outside world develop in the Indonesian people a growing sensitivity towards new ideas and increase their desire to have a better future.

To realize these hopes and aspirations we have to profit from the achievements of other nations.

This is the reason that — different from the past — we have to open ourselves to accept the cultures of other nations, at the same time constantly being aware that besides the positive influences there are also the negative consequences.

It is then the responsibility of education to develop a capability in the Indonesian people so that when faced with the above facts he is able to choose wisely. The development of education and culture must be able to create in the Indonesian mind a critical and selective attitude to enable him to choose only the positive elements of the outside culture to be of benefit to the enrichment and the upholding of the national culture. In this case the values inherent in our culture, national identity, the feeling of one's worthiness and self-confidence should be the essential bases.

These are the directions we have to take. Nevertheless the road to achieve the goals are not without constraints. To smoothly attain the goals certain targets have to be achieved. For all these a desirable atmosphere is needed. In other words: the smoothness of educational and cultural efforts need a stable condition. A stable condition should not only be found in its own sector but also in other sectors, in the political, security, social and economic sense.

As long as a stable condition is not really achieved, materializing the development in education and culture will not be as it is expected.

We believe that sooner or later a stable condition will certainly be attained. Nevertheless the Department of Education and Culture as the sector that develops education and culture should not neglect the time. For there are so many problems left by the past; these that we are now facing as well as those which we estimate will arise in the future should be tackled and solved or planned to be solved.

Whatever problems we have to face in the fields of education and culture, and how we are going to solve or try to solve these problems, can be briefly explained as follows.

PROBLEMS WE ARE FACING

It is clear enough to all of us, that in Indonesia there is also a population explosion. The rapid growth of population demands a balanced supply of facilities. The pressure that is brought about by this demand will not be as hard as we are experiencing now if along with this the Indonesian awareness of the importance of education does not grow. The fact is that the more educated a person the firmer he becomes in his belief that an auspicious today and a prosperous tomorrow must be achieved through education.

The rapid growth of population and this increasing awareness of the people bring about problems in the efforts to provide enough facilities. Every year facilities are always a serious problem, because there are many school-age children that cannot be taken into the schools.

Their number is continuously growing from year to year, because each year inherits a large number of children who are not able to enter schools the years before.

This problem is difficult enough to solve and becomes more difficult, because children who are already in schools for various reasons fail to continue their schooling, become drop-outs; but when we look for the real cause we will find that the main reason is nothing but the fault of the educational system which is now in operation.

The dichotomy between the educational demand and supply will certainly not be a serious problem if the supply can continuously be improved. But the effort to raise the supply faces a tremendous constraint because of the very limited resources, those concerning personnel, equipment as well as cost and fund.

As predicted, in the future and in a very long time to come we will continue to face these problems. Because to promote the supply the GNP needs to be increased. While in the actual sense —

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as stated by those who are competent in this matter — the effort to increase the GNP, cannot be easily realized. For a long period the rapid growth of the GNP is estimated to be the same as of now, and if we are not careful enough it will become even lower.

Recognizing the limited resources that will still continue for a long time; also recognizing that the demand will continue to increase; it is clear that we have to undertake a policy which at least can detain the growing undesirable condition in the development of education and culture at present and at the same time make efforts to improve.

The problems, however, do not only lie in the quantitative aspect explained above, but also in the qualitative aspect.

The present educational system is inherited from the past system. It is suitable for its own period, because throughout the length of its history it was never meant for the now independent Indonesian who is carrying out development. It is then clear that its educational outputs do not meet the real needs of the present and future society.

This decrepit system is not only one of the main reasons of the large quantity of drop-outs — as pointed out above — but it is also the cause of the quality of educational output whose education, skills and attitude are irrelevant to the real needs of the present society, which resulted in their not being taken into or not getting the right place in the labour market. It is clear that such an educational system is irrelevant and has to be changed. There is also another factor which enforces the demand to end the utilization of this decrepit educational system as soon as possible, i.e. the present development of science and technology. The old system is not relevant to be applied to the new era of science and technology.

These problems challenge us to find out the answers. The answer is nothing but changing the old system by introducing an educational system that is relevant to the real needs of our present as well as future society and which is suitable to our capabilities. This new system is called the Educational Developmental System that has its realization in the form of Developmental Schools and which we plan to disseminate at the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan (Pelita II, 1974), after it has been experimented in eight IKIP throughout Indonesia.

THE CORE OF THE EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM

In the Developmental School education is directed and fitted into the real needs and development of our society, its content, composition as well as its curriculum orientation. The relationship of its relevancy to the needs of the society and its continuity has to be guaranteed. Therefore the method of teaching and the technique of evaluation of the educational output have to be renewed. If in the old system the child learned passively and verbally, in the Developmental School System he learns through actively solving concrete problems he has to face in his everyday life. Formerly the student was evaluated only at certain times, that is, during the examination, while in the Developmental School System the assessment is done continuously through guidance and counseling. Because the evaluation in the old system evidently tends to make the certificate as the main goal of the school children. To get that certificate various methods are undertaken not realizing that the aim of schooling is essentially to develop the pupils' capabilities to enable them to deal with life's problems that they have to face in their endeavour to survive and improve their lives.

In the Developmental School System the school becomes an integral part of the community around it. A dialogue between the school and the community has to run smoothly. The problem that arises from the community must be the problem which the school has to be interested in. The Developmental School has a double function — Dwi Dharma — namely carrying out a full course and a terminal educational short-term program, a program of three months duration or more. These terminal programs are also those that are called "educational packages". The aim is to provide for each student materials that suit his abilities, his intellectual and physical capabilities, his time as well as his financial capacity.

In the new system, with "education" we mean the process of man's growth into a totality in the sense that man lives happily and prosperously. The new system obliterates the assumption that the process of education takes place only in the school; because in this system education is education for life, and starting from

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that concept education is therefore a life-long process which does not happen only in school but especially in the family and in the community.

Developmental Educational System with its principle of life-long education develops those three educational environments, the family, the school and the community to become one whole learning environment so that continuous and harmonious interaction and interrelation will take place to guarantee an educational process as we expect it to be.

PHASING OF THE STEPS

In carrying out the changes in the educational system to meet the demands of development we are confronted by limitations. Besides that, the educational problem has many aspects which include other sectors and will cause far-reaching effects. Therefore the realization of its efforts and activities needs to be done in phases, that are planned as follows:

Phase I is a preservation and rehabilitation phase which takes place from 1968 until 1971. The priority of this phase is the preservation and protection, then comes the second phase, consolidation and stabilization. In this 1972/1973 phase (phase II), a consolidation of the results which have been achieved in phase I is done by preparing a condition which is stable as the basis for the actual development.

THE NEEDED CONDITION

The new system that we have developed is called the Developmental Educational System, because all efforts are oriented to support the endeavour towards development.

The Indonesian Development is essentially the development of the nation's culture which has the role to instill self-confidence, based on its worthiness and capabilities in solving the national

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problems by utilizing the available resources. Nevertheless development will succeed only if it is supported by the participation of the people; its programmes and projects do not stand on their own but have to be in the form of an integral social system movement and with the support from all the Indonesian people.

At this time of development in all sectors, the Department of Education and Culture takes a policy that in the consolidation phase (until 1973) a stable and mature condition and situation should already be achieved. Therefore it is hoped that the development of the educational and cultural sector, particularly the realization of the Developmental Educational System, can be started in the time planned, that is in 1974, the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan (Pelita II). In this consolidation phase understanding and sympathy have to be intensified while developing the people's sense of belonging and their feeling of responsibility towards the world's problem in education and culture.

The aspirations we aim to achieve are clear. The method and means to achieve them are also obvious. But resources, as supporting factors for the smoothness of their implementation are very limited. Therefore the method to provide educational resources as stated by the Government in 1969 through the People's Consultative Assembly has to be continuously developed and improved. The Government's policy is that the improvement of education has to reflect the realization of the mutual responsibility of the parents, the community and the Government. By materializing the above-mentioned concept the distance that separated the facts and the needs in the educational and cultural sector will become smaller.

THE INDONESIAN PRESS AND DEVELOPMENT

JAKOB UTOMO

The formulation on the press in the Broad Lines of the State Policy decreed by the General Session of the People's Consultative Assembly held last March, is incorporated in the formulation on "Politics, Government Apparatus, Law and Foreign Relations" as follows: "..... The effective channels which can be used in promoting and developing people's participation a.o. institutions such as Rural Consultative Institution (Lembaga Musyawarah Desa), People's Representative Institutions, Universities and Mass Media".

It is interesting to note that mass media, including the press, are recognized as social institutions. This is in conformity with the views of several experts in mass communications like Dr. Walter Hagemann or Dr. N. De Volder, that the press is a social organism. Another formulation on the press in the Broad Lines of the State Policy is as follows: "..... The promotion of a sound press, namely a free and responsible press, which on the one hand will enable the press to provide information to the people as widely and as objectively as possible, and on the other hand will serve as a channel for constructive public opinion"¹). This is the principle of a "free and responsible press". The main function of the press is also embodied therein i.e. to provide information and to voice the aspirations of the people including social control and criticism.

¹ Cf. The Broad Lines of the State Policy.

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THE PRESS AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

The press grows from man's need to communicate, which is existential to his existence. In closed and underdeveloped society, communication is carried on through natural and traditional means. As society progresses and becomes more open, these means no longer serve the purpose. Then emerged media of mass communications which according to Dr. Prakke have two main characteristics i.e. mechanization and massification. These media include the press, radio, film and television²).

In its process of growth, the press is a product of collective work. In its present form it is composed of several aspects which are interdependent. The editorial staff may be good but if the printing is bad or if the administration is unable to collect subscription fees, the press cannot develop and in consequence it cannot carry out its function.

Initially, the main function of the press is to provide information. But later on it also develops as a political means. Those who own more information will be more respected and will be more influential in society. The press becomes a stimulus to and means of the democratization process³). Owing to the open character of the press, the public can obtain information and general knowledge on current events. This process helps to arouse awareness, promote understanding and develop responsibility on the part of the people as citizens.

Through regular provision of current information, there grows a relationship between the press and society. The press has its influence on society but at the same time it is also influenced by society. It develops into a social institution, which in Great Britain is known as "the fourth estate". A social institution has a status, rules of conducts, and function, and so the press has a status, code of ethics, and function.

² Dr. H.J. Prakke, *De Samenspraak In Onze Samenleving — Inleiding tot de publicistiek*, (Essen, 1957), p. 17.

³ Dr. K. Baschwitz, *De Krant voor Alle Tijden*.

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THE STATUS OF THE PRESS

The status of the press is first of all conceived in terms of its relation to political authority. The press is either subordinated or not subordinated to political authority depending on the existing political system in a given country. Political system itself is determined by the constitution and the balance of political power⁴).

The status of the press can also be conceived in terms of the freedom of the press and the quality of that freedom. There are four categories commonly known as authoritarian, liberterian, communist, and free and responsible press or a free press having social responsibility⁵).

The Indonesian press is an integral part of the national movement for independence. It is therefore logical that from the beginning of its existence, it has struggled for the freedom of the press. The existence of such colonial regulations as those governing the ban on the press (*persbreidel ordonantie*) serve as evidence of the struggle for the freedom of the press on one hand and opposition on the part of the colonial government to the freedom of the press on the other⁶).

In the 1945 Constitution, the freedom of the press is provided for in Article 28, which says that "Freedom of association and assembly of expressing thoughts and of issuing working and the like, shall be prescribed by statute". Explicitly the freedom of the press in Indonesia is guaranteed by the Constitution. But it still has to be further regulated by statute. This statute was passed in 1966, namely the Basic Law of the Press No. 11 (*UU Pokok Pers No. 11*). Article 5 of the law provides that "the freedom of the press, in accordance with the human right of the citizen is guaranteed" and par. 2 of the same article provides that "this freedom of the press is based on national responsibility". It is evident that the Basic Law of the Press as a realization of the message of Article 28 of the Constitution, follows the principle of

⁴ Fernand Terrou and Lucien Solal, *Legislation for Press, Film and Radio*, Unesco Paris, 1951), p. 48.

⁵ Fred S'ebert, Theodore Peterson, Wilbur Schramm, *For Theories of the Press*, (University of Illinois Press, 1956).

⁶ Prof. Oemar Senoadji, *Kemerdekaan Pers di Indonesia* in Almanak Pers Indonesia 1954 -- 1955, (Lembaga Pers dan Pendapat Umum Jakarta, 1955).

a free and responsible press, which in the Broad Lines of the State Policy is known as "sound press, that is, a free and responsible press".

In this context it is worth noting the elucidation to article 28 of the Constitution, which is related to Article 29. It gives an explanation on the background of Article 28, which is related to Articles 29 and 34; "The articles referred to here, both those which concern citizens alone as well as those which concern all residents, contain the desire of the Indonesian people to build a state with a democratic character which seeks to put into practice social justice and the principle of humanity"⁷⁾.

It is clear what that freedom is for and what it is to be responsible for, that is, for the process of democracy, the realization of social justice and for humanity. Though formulated in different words, the idea is always present in various constitutional decrees, e.g. in the Decree of the PCA No. 32/1966, in the Basic Law of the Press No. 11/1966 and in the President's state addresses.

Ferdinand Terrou and Lucien Solal distinguish two types of relationship between the press and the government, the system in which the press is subordinated to political authority and one in which the press is not subordinated to political authority. In the first system, the press is merely an organ of the government and is subordinated to political authority. In the second system, the press is not only autonomous but always suspicious and is therefore hostile to the government.

In Indonesia, it can be said that the relationship between the press and the government takes the form of a partnership. Both are committed to the attainment of the common goal, that is, the welfare of the people. Both are autonomous social institutions, but each has its own function in the efforts to reach the common goal. In practical terms it means that the press passes on and explains the government's policies to society. At the same time it voices the problems and aspirations of society to the government. The press also exercises control and make criticism of the government's policy and its implementation as well as other institutions in society. On the other hand the press is also subject to control by the government and the people. As long as this is exercised through

⁷ Cf. 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

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a legal process which is repressive, and not preventive in nature, it is acceptable to the press, for it is not against the principle of a free and responsible press. As De Volder has put it, "Though the Press and the State are different, the one is a private and the other a public institution, they have a number of similarities. Both lean on public opinion which they help to form, both are dedicated to public interest through their moral and cultural activities"⁸).

CULTURAL BACKGROUND

Although many countries follow the same principle of a free and responsible press, the application of this principle varies from one country to another, e.g. as it is applied in Indonesia, the United States of America, and Western European countries. The press does not perform its function in abstraction, but in a given society. Between different societies there are differences in conditions, priority of needs, stages of development, cultural background and value system. As Wilbur Schramm puts it, "the structure of social communication reflects the structure and development of society"⁹).

The basic idea and value of a free and responsible press are universal, but there are differences in application not only because of differences in the structure and balance of power, but also because of differences in social and cultural context. This applies to the press just as it applies to democracy.

Developing countries like Indonesia are facing such problems of paramount urgency as economic development, stabilization of the process of nation-building, of implanting social discipline, and of changing value systems in the way of progress. The different conditions not only accentuate certain functions of the press, but also characterize its manner of expression. De Volder refers to the existence of a "press genre" and says that "Whoever goes to the international press exhibition will immediately be impressed by the sharp differences in the conditions of various countries.

⁸ Dr. N. De Volder OFM, *De Ethiek van de Pers*, (Universiteit Leuven, 1952) p. 252.

⁹ Dr. Wilbur Schramm, Communication Development and Development Process, from Lucien Pye (ed.), *Communications and Political Development*, (Princeton University Press), p. 34.

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The Press will always remain a national product reflecting the characters of its readers".¹⁰⁾ Different background and value systems can be seen among other things in the use of language, expressions, and style. What is considered appropriate and acceptable to one society is not necessarily so to another. A picture of President Nixon in a bathing suit may be considered as a remarkable achievement in newsphoto for the American public. In Indonesia, however, it is doubtful if a similar picture of President Soeharto appearing in the newspaper will be accepted as appropriate.

Straight and personal criticism is something common in Western society. In Indonesia, the press still have to consider the fact that at best we are still in a transitional process from a shame culture to a more open culture. We still have to assure the people, that one of the consequences of being a public figure is to be publicly criticized.

Our public authorities still cannot bear criticism which is considered sharp and personal, and condemn such a criticism as thoughtless. So in expressing thoughts and feelings in writing, one should take into account the existing social and cultural context, and the value system. It should be added that differences in social and cultural context should not be used by the authorities as a pretext to reject criticism and control. This depends on our conception of culture, that is, whether we conceive culture as static or dynamic.

Especially since 1966 we have been talking about reform, modernization, and development of the whole society. It is clear that our conception of culture is that of a dynamic one. Consciously we want to develop our culture and make ourselves open to reform.

Although step by step instead of radically and all at once, our conception is dynamic, moving forward from the status quo. This means that in consequence we are willing to give up certain elements of our social and cultural values which are impeding progress and the attainment of a democratic society with social justice.

The Indonesian culture should not be regarded as a culture rooted in and based only on the Javanese tradition and value system, but one which is also rooted in and based on the traditions and value systems of the other islands. The Indonesian culture in

¹⁰ Dr. N. De Volder OFM, op. cit. p. 76.

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the making is rooted in Indonesian soil but it is open to the creative process of acculturation. With this attitude we can prevent the continuation of the feudal and authoritarian value system prevailing in society in keeping with the increasing progress in education and improvements in the socio-economic conditions.

Everywhere the press should be in the forefront in the process of modernization which is rooted in the indigenous society. The character and the function of the press should be understood by the authorities so that they need not be suspicious of the press and be taken aback by it as they have been in times.

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The Indonesian press springs from the political movement to gain national independence. That is why the press in this country has traditionally been a "presse d'opinion"; rather than "presse d'information". The opinion splits whenever the political life undergoes compartmentalization according to the pattern of "petrifying process". Another effect of the press being dominated by political ideals is that idealism is not or little compensated by its commercial aspect, whereas the press in present-day society is a partly ideal and partly commercial undertaking.

The political domination over the press and the weakness of its commercial aspect constitute internal factors that account for the fact that the press is not sufficiently developed in this country. Its political mission is an incentive to the publication of many newspapers and magazines. The trend towards splitting the press is common in developing countries^{11).}

In this connection it is worth noting an interesting phenomenon. As soon as the number of political parties was reduced, the number of press publication should have decreased. But on the contrary, there are more press publications today than before 1966 when there were more political groupings in this country.

From this phenomenon we can probably draw the conclusion that even though there has been a formal simplification of the

¹¹ E. Lloyd Sommerland, *The Press in Developing Countries*, (Sydney University Press, 1966), p. 3.

political groupings, there remain in fact, a large number of political streams? It seems too hazardous to draw such a conclusion, because it is possible for a group or an individual to publish its or his own newspaper, in spite of similarity in political stream to that of another group or individual. Similarity in political stream and orientation is not necessarily identical with similarity in interest. The newspaper is a means of involvement in the political decision-making. The press can even be a means to develop the power of a group or an individual process. Whatever the case, however, the fact that there are more publications today is an interesting phenomenon.

The Indonesian press benefits from its political commitment. The press in this country is a national press. Unlike in other Asian countries like the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore, foreign capital is not permitted to take part in the life of the Indonesian press. Because of its political tradition, the Indonesian press has its basic commitment to the interest of the people. Particularly since 1958 the UNO has been very much interested in the role of the press in development. The Indonesian press has always adopted the basic attitude. It is merely a problem of changing its orientation from narrow political orientation to development orientation. When in 1966 the government took the initiative to change its political orientation to development orientation, the Indonesian press followed suit without being asked to do so. Of course, just a change in orientation is not enough. It must be accompanied by competence. This is the problem we are facing. The problem is not how to make the Indonesian press oriented to development, but how to give substance to a development-oriented press. This involves knowledge of development problems and technical or vocational ability to communicate them in stimulating writings.

The security officers of this country often describe their apparatus as follows: that the apparatus for the time being is to undergo an internal reordering, but at the same time it continues its function to secure public order and maintain security. A similar problem is also faced by the press. While trying to direct its orientation towards development, at the same time it has to continue its function to provide information, to voice the aspirations of the people and to exercise control and make criticism. This paradox is not always easy to overcome.

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Since Unesco had undertaken various studies on the role of the press in development, there have been many similar studies undertaken by individual scholars. Some of their conclusions are as follows:

In the process of development, the press has the role to step up social interest and commitment through information, to arouse a sense of competence, to bring awareness to society its under-developed conditions with a view to arousing its collective will to change its destiny, to widen social participation in political process, and to amplify function in national-building¹²).

Besides spreading information, motivation and participation which generally form part of the information policy in developing countries, there are several other things that deserve attention.

Firstly, whatever the system, development always needs time. A developing society is faced with the possibility of tension between achievements and rising expectations. In this case the press has multiple functions; on the one hand it is to encourage society to contribute to development in proportion with its rising demands. On the other, it is to prevent the widespread of frustration, for what is aspired after is always higher than what is actually achieved. A comparative approach could be of help. Through the press one compares not only achievement with ideals, but also present achievement with the worse conditions in the past. A sense of proportion is thus needed.

Secondly, the development process is a process of solving problems continuously faced. Apart from the time factor, not all problems can be solved. Some problems will always remain unsolved. Furthermore, the process of development presents us with a choice of priorities and alternatives. Once a choice is made, there remain other alternatives and priorities which are not chosen. This will raise problems.

The press can reduce the effect by spreading a sense of identity in the problems, and this sense of identity can be expected to develop a sense of solidarity¹³).

¹² John C. Merrill, "The Role of the Mass Media in National Development, An Open Question for Speculation, *Gazette*; Vol. XVII; Number 4 (1971).

¹³ Lucien Pye, *Communication and Political Development*, op. cit. p. 16.

Thirdly, the main agent of development in developing countries is the government and not the middle class as in Western Europe, where the development process has taken several centuries. As the executive branch, the government is mainly concerned with how to get things done, and its programs implemented. As a result, matter of procedure and the nature of the means to achieve the goal are easily neglected, without the intention of doing so on the part of the government. The approach is rational and pragmatic.

We know, however, that society is not easy to satisfy. It wants the government to achieve something, but at the same time it insists on the use of means that conforms to the norms it considers good. Here the press must perform the bridge. To change irrational traditions in development, the government is deliberately using a rational and pragmatic approach. On the other hand, a developing society is not a mechanism or a frame. Society is a living complex organism, and here the press has also to function as a complementary factor, and to see to it in the mean time that in the government's approaches do not ignore the identification and solidarity factors.

Fourthly, whatever political system is applied development with a planned economic system needs a strong and effective government. To create a strong government is easier than to create an effective one. In the social sense, an effective government must also mean a clean government. The function of control becomes obvious. But meanwhile both political and administrative control institutions are weak. In such a context the press has the function to control. But this control will only be effective if it is qualitatively and morally adequate.

Fifthly, the ideal of social justice has become the ideal of the twentieth century in all the countries of the world, irrespective of approach and political system. Planned economy in Indonesia gives a dominant role to the government as well as opportunities to market mechanism including the role of domestic and foreign private capital.

That process, however, carries with it certain effects that will likely give rise to social tensions. For example, private investment in industry will yield results more quickly than government investment in agriculture, even if the government capital is much larger. This can widen the social gap between rural and urban areas as well as between social groups. Besides, there is a strong temptation for

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power holders to cooperate with capital holders to acquire profits for their own groups by improper means. If this should happen without being open to control, it would not only draw us farther away from the ideal of social justice, but also lead to the development of exclusive power. The press, however, is to warn against such a power tendency every time.

Finally, the press is also to spread the ethos of development. Development means the investment of today for the achievement of tomorrow. Whatever its economic system, development carries with it an element of sacrifice. Sacrifice is inherent in development. Therefore development calls for a certain attitude and way of life, and imposes certain criteria. A developing nation is committed to development and to its criteria and ethos. It is the function of the press to communicate this concept and to check if the authorities apply this ethos of development to themselves. At the same time, the press should also communicate the romantic feeling which must arise from the process of development and its dimensions. The press can also play a role in arousing romanticism out of events, problems and dimensions of development. By so doing, it also helps to make development always human in character.

THE PROMOTION OF THE PRESS

The promotion of the press is, first of all, the responsibility of society and press organizations themselves. In accordance with the Basic Law of the Press No. 11/1966, and hand in hand with the press organizations the government also undertake to promote the press. The Press Council is a channel for such an effort. It has 17 members appointed by the President, selected from a list of candidates submitted by the press organizations. Some are representatives of the press organizations and some others are experts in journalism¹⁴⁾.

In the Press Council, the press elements are working together with the government elements. The Minister of Information is ex-officer chairman of the Council. But the Deputy chairman and

¹⁴ Serikat Perusahaan Surat Kabar (S.P.S.), *Garis Besar Perkembangan Pers Indonesia*, (1971), p. 174.

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the Secretary, who also serve respectively as chairman and secretary of the Executive Board, are both representatives of the press.

There is another forum of no less significance that is, one in which newspaper editors have an opportunity to exchange views with the government and security officers. Such a forum is periodically held.

Responsible freedom of the press requires the development of conventions for its exercise. Such a meeting would try to draw the line between what is worth and what is not worth reporting. Efforts are also made to reach a common understanding on how communication is to be carried on through the press. We are trying to develop the Indonesian 'press genre'.

In practice, there is often misunderstanding between the press and the authorities on the freedom of the Indonesian press. But of no less significance is the problem of the ability of the press to give proper quality to that freedom, because only properly qualitative freedom is able to perform the function of freedom.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT : OFFICE, RESPONSIBILITY AND POWER

BARLIANTA HARAHAP

Since Indonesia's proclamation of independence on August 17, 1945, the country has known only two of its citizens as President; and two others as vice-President. The first president and vice-president were the late Dr. Ir. Soekarno and Dr. Moh. Hatta. They were first elected by the Preparatory Committee for Indonesia's Independence in their meeting of August 18, 1945 at Jakarta, in accordance with clause III of the Transitional Provisions of the 1945 Constitution.

The basic reasoning behind the election of Soekarno and Hatta by the Preparatory Committee for Indonesia's Independence was that these two men were the leaders who had, in the name of the Indonesian people, signed the Proclamation of Independence on August 17, 1945. Several years after that, the 1945 Constitution was abandoned for the 1949 Constitution during the period of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia. Based on the provisions of the 1949 Constitution (RIS), the President was to be elected by representatives or delegates from the states. Nevertheless in actual fact, toward the time of the formation of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, it was already agreed that the office of President would be given to Dr. Ir. Soekarno. However, the 1949 Constitution did not provide for the office of vice-President. Instead, it provided for the office of Prime Minister, an office then held by Hatta on appointment by the President.

The designation of Soekarno as President and his appointment of Hatta as Prime Minister was due not only to the fact that these

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two leaders were the most prominent figures in the struggle for independence. It was also due to the fact recognised by the Dutch as well as by all the other Indonesian states that the Republic proclaimed on 17 August 1945 by Soekarno and Hatta had played the greatest role in the struggle for national independence.

Constitutionally, Soekarno's office was that as President of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia within a parliamentary system of government, whereas Hatta was Prime Minister responsible to the parliament. Facts subsequently indicated that these two men, in carrying out their functions, approached their task as leaders of the Indonesian people. Relations and cooperation between the president and the prime minister were extremely good.

The life span of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia was not very long. At that time there were serious movements in certain regions which wished to abolish the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, and worked toward the re-establishment of the Republic of Indonesia. Most of these regions seceded from the RIS and joined the Republic of Indonesia (often called the Yogyakarta Republic), which had its capital in Yogyakarta. In view of this situation, there was consultation between the Yogyakarta Republic and the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, which resulted in a Charter of Agreement. This Charter of Agreement of May 19, 1950, declared the re-establishment of the United Republic of Indonesia, and abolished the Republic of the United States of Indonesia. The Constitution in force after the Charter of Agreement was the Provisional Constitution of 1950.

Without deviating from the provisions of the 1950 Provisional Constitution, Dr. Ir. Soekarno retained the office of President. As vice-President Hatta was elected on the advice of Parliament on October 16, 1950. Until 1955, the Indonesian people were under the leadership of the Soekarno - Hatta government, which was famous as the "duumvirate" (*dwi-tunggal*). Thereafter there came cracks in this "duumvirate". Most people believe that this split arose because of differences in leadership patterns and in political outlook between the two. But some political observers think that the main reason for the split in the "duumvirate" can be explained by factors of time, conditions and situation. This judgment is based on the idea that the "duumvirate" was only needed during the period of the

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war for independence and during the struggle to realize the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

In such a parliamentary system of government as existed at that time, where the President's position was more or less symbolic, the office of vice-President gradually lost its meaning, since he was only an alternate to this symbolic figure. This was especially true when President Soekarno behaved as if the office of vice-President did not exist, so that Hatta came to the conclusion that his presence in such a position no longer served the national interest. On December 1, 1956, Hatta resigned as vice-President.

The Constitutional Assembly, elected in the general election of 1955, which had as function to formulate the Constitution, after several sessions appeared as an evident failure in carrying out its function and task. Seeing the situation and political developments both within and without this Constitutional Assembly, President Soekarno finally issued the decree of July 5, 1959, to return to the 1945 Constitution and in this critical situation to dissolve the Constitutional Assembly. The House of Representatives, in its session of July 22, 1959, returned to a validation of the 1945 Constitution. The next step, which was taken by President Soekarno, was to form the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly (MPRS). It was this Assembly which subsequently appointed Soekarno as President for life, in its session of May 18, 1963, in Bandung.

Subsequent political developments were very much influenced by the strategy of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which moved in the direction of serious deviations in the application of the 1945 Constitution. These deviations reached their climax with the outbreak of the Communist coup, the September 30th Movement (G-30-S). In confronting the critical situation which arose as the result of this G-30-S revolt, President Soekarno finally issued the Command Letter of March 11 to Lieutenant General Soeharto, Minister and Commander of the Army, to take the necessary security measures to ensure an atmosphere of calm as well as the stability of the government.

This Command Letter of March 11 was well received by the 4th general session of the MPRS on July 21, 1966 and strengthened by the MPRS decree No. IX/MPRS/1966.

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Along with strengthening this Command of March 11 (SP 11 Maret), the 4th general session of the MPRS also issued the decree No. XV/MPRS/1966 regarding the Election/Appointment of a vice-President as well as rules governing the appointment of an acting President. In this decree it was stressed that the MPRS would not hold an election for a vice-President since in the event that the President could not carry on his duties, the executor of the Command Letter of March 11 would exercise the office of President. Furthermore, it was also decreed that if there occurred such a situation as that outlined in Article 8 of the 1945 Constitution, the MPRS would immediately elect an acting President who would be in office until the formation of a People's Consultative Assembly through a general election.

President Soekarno retained his office until 1967; however, because his political thinking was at odds with the desires of the people, there arose a dualism within the government. As a result, the program of rehabilitation could not be carried on efficiently. In the face of such a situation, the People's Consultative Assembly as holder of the highest power met for a special session in March 1967. In this session the Assembly withdrew all governmental powers from President Soekarno, in the decree No. XXXIII/MPRS/1967.

In this special session the MPRS decreed the enforcement of the decree No. XV/MPRS/1966 and appointed General Soeharto, holder of the MPRS decree No. IX/MPRS/1966, as acting President, in accordance with Article 8 of the 1945 Constitution, so that the presidential election would be the task of the People's Consultative Assembly, elected later in a general election.

The office of General Soeharto as acting President continued until the beginning of 1968, when in March 1968 in the 5th general session of the MPRS, he was elected as President until a President could be elected after a general election. The basis of this decision to appoint acting President Soeharto to the office of President was in order to ensure a certain psychological stability within the society and a measure of confidence on the part of foreign governments as well as to strengthen the government with a strong and authoritative national leadership.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT OFFICE, RESPONSIBILITY AND POWERS OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT

The 1945 Constitution provides that the Indonesian State is a unitary state in the form of a Republic. Sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is fully exercised by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR).

In broad lines the MPR has three functions or powers, namely, to establish the Constitution, to determine the broad lines of the policy of the state, and to appoint the head of state (President) and his deputy (vice-President). It is this assembly which holds the highest power in the nation, whereas the President is obliged to carry out the state policy, the broad lines of which are established by this Assembly.

The President is elected by this Assembly, is subordinate and responsible to this Assembly. The office of President is not beside (*neben*) but subordinate (*untergeordnet*) to the Assembly. The President is the executive of the highest state organ of government in subordination to the Assembly. In executing the governmental functions of the State, power and responsibility are in the President's hands. The office of President within the Indonesian system of government is the head of state which includes the office of chief governmental executive.

For this reason the office or function of Prime Minister is unknown. The President, in carrying out his duties is helped only by a vice-President, while in leading and carrying on the function of government he is also helped by State Ministers, who are appointed and dismissed by the President.

Furthermore, from the elucidation of the 1945 Constitution it can be seen that the President is not responsible to the House of Representatives (DPR) in the sense that his office is not dependent on the House. Be that as it may, the President must work together with the DPR because in formulating laws and in determining the National Budget, he must have the approval of the DPR. Even though the President's position does not depend on the DPR, this does not mean that he is a dictator nor that his power is unlimited,

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because besides the fact that his powers are limited by the Constitution and the MPR, the DPR can always control the President's actions.

If the DPR considers that the President has gone against the State Policy as established by the Constitution or the MPR, then the MPR can be asked to convene a special session so as to demand accountability from the President. The power of the President is a power to govern according to the Constitution in collaboration with the DPR. While in order to carry out the laws already established together with the DPR, the President also has the power to make Government Regulations.

Besides the powers of the President mentioned above, the 1945 Constitution clearly provides for several other presidential powers, among others those as commander-in-chief of the three services of the Armed Forces. With the agreement of the DPR, the President has the power to declare war, to conclude treaties, and to make peace, and declare a state of national emergency. He has also the power to appoint ambassadors and consuls, to grant a reprieve, guarantee amnesty and absolution as well as to confer awards of merit and honor.

If, with regard to the President, the Constitution and its elucidation explicitly provide for presidential powers, on the contrary regarding the vice-President the Constitution does not clearly define the office, responsibilities or the limits of his powers. Only Article 4, par. 2 and Article 8 of the 1945 Constitution provide that in the carrying out of his duties, the President shall be assisted by a vice-President and if the President dies, resigns or can no longer carry on his duties before the end of his term of office, he is replaced by the vice-President until the end of the term. Article 6 par. 2 of the 1945 Constitution provides that the President and vice-President shall be elected by majority vote of the MPR.

From this it is clear that both functionally and institutionally, the office of vice-President is directly under that of the President, whereas constitutionally his office is dependent on the MPR. Concerning the powers of the vice-President, these are limited by the delegation of power by the President, in accordance with the provisions of the 1945 Constitution.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT
PROCEDURES TO ELECT THE PRESIDENT
AND VICE-PRESIDENT

Article 6 par. 2 of the 1945 Constitution provides that the President and vice-President shall be elected by majority vote of the MPR. But neither the Body of the Constitution nor the elucidation to the Constitution contains any provisions for the details of this election. Nor was there anything in the previous decisions of the MPRS which was formulated in this connection, so that since the inception the Indonesian state there have never been regulations governing the election of the President and vice-President. For that reason, and in pursuance of democratic and constitutional principles based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, the MPR resulting from the last general election in its recent general session issued the MPR decree No. II/MPR/1973 on the procedures of electing the President and vice-President.

This decree of the MPR declares among other things, that the elections of President and vice-President should be separate, namely that the election of the President be carried out first, and then only after that the election of the vice-President. With the President elected first, it is then possible to consult the vice-presidential candidate(s) and the President-elect as to their readiness for mutual cooperation. This is done with the intention of ensuring as far as possible a compact team and to lessen the possibilities of future splits in national leadership.

Presidential candidates may be put forward in writing by any faction in the MPR to the MPR leadership through the leadership of the faction concerned with an accompanying statement of acceptance from the candidate himself. If the presidential candidate meets the requirements, then the MPR leadership announces the name of the candidate to the plenary session of the MPR. The quorum of this plenary session required for the election of President and vice-President is at least 2/3 of the total MPR membership.

In this decree are also mentioned certain qualifications required for President and vice-President, among other things, apart from good human qualities required, that they have not been involved either directly or indirectly in any activities betraying the unitary state. An additional condition mentioned for the vice-President is the ability and willingness to work with the President.

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When the candidates presented by the groups are more than one, then the election takes place by secret ballot; and the decision shall be made by majority vote. When the candidate nominated by all the factions is one and the same person, then that candidate is confirmed by the plenary session of the MPR as President. After the President has taken an oath or made a promise before the plenary session of the assembly, the election of the vice-President follows immediately.

As is the case with the presidential candidate, the vice-presidential candidate is to be also nominated in writing by the various factions and put forward to the MPR leadership, together with the candidate's acceptance of the nomination and his written declaration of his willingness to cooperate with the President. If the vice-presidential candidate meets all the requirements, then his name is announced to the assembly. The procedure of election of the vice-President is the same as that of the President.

Immediately after his election, the vice-President, as is the case with the President, must take an oath or make a promise before the plenary session of the MPR. The oath of the President and vice-President is as follows:

"I swear before God that, to the best of my ability, I will fulfill as justly as possible the duties of the President (vice-President) of the Republic of Indonesia; that I will hold faithfully to the Constitution and conscientiously implement all statutes and regulations, and that I will devote myself to the service of country and nation".

Whereas the promise of President and vice-President is as follows:

"I solemnly promise that, to the best of my ability, I will fulfill as justly as possible the duties of the President (vice-President) of the Republic of Indonesia; that I will hold faithfully to the Constitution and conscientiously implement all statutes and regulations, and that I will devote myself to the service of country and nation".

DOCUMENTS

THE BROAD LINES OF THE STATE POLICY

(Unofficial translation)

THE PEOPLE'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

DECREE

OF

**THE PEOPLE'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY OF
THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA**
NUMBER : IV/MPR/1973

CONCERNING

THE BROAD LINES OF THE STATE POLICY

WITH THE GRACE OF ALMIGHTY GOD
THE PEOPLE'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY
OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA,

Considering :

- a. that it is the task of the People's Consultative Assembly to decree on the Broad Lines of the State Policy as the general pattern for national development, which consists of a series of continued programs of development in all fields, so as to realize the national goal, as it is stated in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution;
- b. that the Broad Lines of the State Policy should give clear guidelines to the state and the Indonesian nation in what they are striving for in their present effort of national development, in order to achieve the desired conditions within

the next five years, within the context of the continuity of the long-range plan, so that the ideal of the Indonesian nation may gradually be attained;

- c. that the essentials of the framework and its formulation be adequate in giving a clear idea of the kind of future condition desired or aimed at, in such a way that the Broad Lines of the State Policy has to be drawn up and embodied in the General Pattern for Development in a systematic way and in a fully integrated and synthesized relatedness;
- d. that consequently, this necessitates the existence of a Decree by the People's Consultative Assembly, being the result of the General Election of July 3rd, 1971, that regulates the Broad Lines of the State Policy which are based on the aspirations and identity of the Indonesian nation, for the purpose of living and participating in a democratic-constitutional civic life, founded on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

In view of :

1. Article 1, clause (2) and Article 3 of the 1945 Constitution;
2. Decision of the People's Consultative Assembly No. 6/MPR/1972;
3. Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia No.: I/MPR/1973 concerning the Standing Order of the People's Consultative Assembly.

Taking into account :

1. Deliberations in the General Session of the People's Consultative Assembly, March 1973, which dealt with the Draft Decree on the "Broad Lines of the State Policy", as prepared by the Steering Committee of the People's Consultative Assembly, bearing in mind all Decrees that have been issued by the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly with regard to the further implementation of the aforementioned Decrees;
- 2.. The Decision of the 5th Plenary Session on March 22nd, 1973, General Session of the People's Consultative Assembly, March 1973.

A F F I R M S :

The decision of :

A DECREE OF THE PEOPLE'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA CONCERNING THE BROAD LINES OF THE STATE POLICY.

Article 1

In order to attain a full and integrated relatedness, which is a synthesized whole, the systematic framework of the Broad Lines of the State Policy has been drawn up as follows :

- (a). Part I Introduction.
- (b). Part II Basic Pattern for National Development.
- (c). Part III General Pattern for Long-Range Development.
- (d). Part IV General Pattern for the Second Five-Year Development Plan.
- (e). Part V Conclusion.

Article 2

The content and the description of its parts, as mentioned in Article 1, are found in the manuscript of the Broad Lines of the State Policy, which has become an inseparable part of this Decree.

Article 3

With the existence of this Decree, all results of the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly:

- (a). the content of which is included in these Broad Lines of the State Policy, are declared invalid;
- (b). the content of which, is in opposition to the Broad Lines of the State Policy, are declared null;
- (c). the content of which are, not yet included and not in opposition to the Broad Lines of the State Policy, are to be prescribed by statute.

Article 4

We appoint the President of the Republic of Indonesia/ Mandatary of the People's Consultative Assembly to be in charge

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of and to implement this Decree together with the part of the Decree which constitutes the Broad Lines of the State Policy in accordance with the form and content of his presidential oath.

Article 5

This Decree is valid on the date of its issuance and is effective at the time of the execution of the provision as stated in Article 4 of this Decree.

Issued in : J A K A R T A
On : March 22nd, 1973

THE PEOPLE'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

C H A I R M A N,
(sig.)
K.H. DR IDHAM CHALID

CO-CHAIRMAN,
(sig.)
DRS SUMISKUM

CO-CHAIRMAN,
(sig.)
J. NARO SH

Co-CHAIRMAN,
(sig.)
DOMO PRANOTO

CO-CHAIRMAN,
(sig.)
KARTIDJO

CO-CHAIRMAN,
(sig.)
MOH. ISNAENI

MANUSCRIPT

THE BROAD LINES OF THE STATE POLICY

PART I
INTRODUCTION

A. CONCEPT

1. The Broad Lines of the State Policy constitute a state policy in its general outlines, which are in essence a general pattern for national development, decreed by the People's Consultative Assembly.
2. The above-mentioned general pattern for national development consists of a compilation of programs for development in all fields, which continuously grows.
3. The series of development programs, which are continuous as mentioned above, are meant to realize the NATIONAL GOAL, as indicated in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, i.e. to protect the Indonesian nation and the whole fatherland of Indonesia, to promote general welfare, to increase the intellectual level of the life of the people and to participate in the realization of a world order, based on freedom, lasting peace and social justice.

B. AIM AND GOAL

The aim of the issuance of the Decree on the Broad Lines of the State Policy is to give a directive orientation to the struggle of the state and the people of Indonesia, that are at present engaged in their national development, with the goal that the desired condition may be realized within the next five years and within the long-range plan, so that the ideal of the Indonesian nation may gradually be attained.

C. FOUNDATION

The Broad Lines of the State Policy have been founded on the basic ideal of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

D. THE ESSENTIALS OF THE FRAMEWORK AND FORMULATION OF THE BROAD LINES OF THE STATE POLICY

In order to give a picture of the condition of the future,

which is aimed at, within the course of the next five years as well as within the long-range plan, the Broad Lines of the State Policy have to be organized and embodied in the General Pattern of National Development in a systematic way, as the following:

1. THE BASIC PATTERN FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
2. THE GENERAL PATTERN FOR THE LONG-RANGE PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT
3. THE GENERAL PATTERN FOR THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN

E. IMPLEMENTATION

1. The Broad Lines of the State Policy which have been decreed by the People's Consultative Assembly shall be executed by the President/Mandatary of the People's Consultative Assembly, and spelt out in legislation, and in the directives of the government's policy.
2. Every five years the Broad Lines of the State Policy shall be reviewed and be adjusted to developments in the life of the people and the Indonesian nation.

PART II

THE BASIC PATTERN FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

A. THE AIM OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

National development aims at the realization of a just and prosperous society, materially as well as spiritually, based on Pancasila in the Unitary Republic of Indonesia which is free, sovereign and united, in an atmosphere of national life that is secure, peaceful, orderly and dynamic, and in a world environment which is free, friendly, orderly and peaceful.

B. THE FOUNDATION OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Based on the main idea that the essence of national development is the wholesome development of the Indonesian man and the development of Indonesian society as a whole, the foundation

for the implementation of national development in all fields is Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

C. PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

1. The principle of benefit, is that all development efforts and activities should be utilized as much as possible for humanity, for the improvement of the people's welfare and for the personal development of the citizen.
2. The principle of cooperative effort and the family system, is that efforts to attain the ideals of the nation have to be joint efforts of the nation and the whole people, made in a mutually cooperative spirit and inspired by the spirit of the family system.
3. The principle of democracy, is democracy based on Pancasila covering the political, social and economic fields, and which in solving national problems tries as far as possible to use deliberations in order to reach unanimity.
4. The principle of justice and equality, is that the material as well as spiritual results of development should be widely enjoyed by the whole nation and that every citizen has a right to enjoy the fruit of development in accordance with the value of his service to the nation and the state.
5. The principle of life in balance, is a balance between interests, i.e. between worldly and otherworldly interests and between material and spiritual interests, between mental and physical needs, between the interests of the individual and those of society, between the interests of life on land, in the sea and in the air, and between national and international interests.

D. BASIC CAPITAL AND DOMINANT FACTORS

1. Basic Capital:

The basic capital of national development possessed by the Indonesian people and nation is the following:

- a. The independence sovereignty of the Indonesian nation.

- b. The geographical position of Indonesia along the equator, and its position as linking area, being situated at a crossing position between two continents and two great oceans, with its tropical climate and seasons; which provide a strategic natural condition, position, and role which are of high value.
 - c. Natural resources which are abundant on land and in the sea provide livelihood for the nation in all fields.
 - d. A great number of population, which will constitute a great capital for development and will be very beneficial for efforts in development in all fields if guided and mobilized as effective manpower.
 - e. Spiritual and mental capital, that is the belief in and devotion to the One and Almighty God, constitutes an invaluable dynamic force to give content to the people's aspirations. Also the nation's belief in and conviction of the truth of the Pancasila philosophy constitute a capital of mental attitude which can bring the nation to its ideal.
 - f. Cultural capital, that is the culture of the Indonesian nation, which has flourished in the course of the history of the nation.
 - g. The effective potentials of the nation, that is all things that are potential and productive and which have been achieved by the Indonesian nation in the course of its history.
2. Dominant Factors :
- In mobilizing and utilizing the basic capital of development, so as to achieve the goal of national development, based on the foundations and principles mentioned above, it is necessary to consider the following dominant factors :
- a. The demographic factor.
 - b. The geographic, hydrographic, geological and topographical factor.

- c. The climatological factor.
- d. The flora and fauna factor.
- e. The factor of development possibility.

E. THE CONCEPTION OF THE INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO

The conception used in attaining the goal of national development is the Nusantara conception which covers the following:

1. The realization of the Nusantara archipelago as a political entity in the sense:
 - a. That the integrity of the national territory with all its contents and wealth forms a unity of territory, of place, of living space and unity of dimension of the whole nation, and constitutes a common capital and possession of the nation.
 - b. That the Indonesian nation, which consists of various ethnic groups speaking different dialects, professing different religions and various forms of belief in the One and Almighty God, must form one fully united nation, in the widest sense of the word.
 - c. That psychologically the Indonesian nation must feel that they are one, sharing common destiny, of one nation and one country, and united in determination to achieve the ideals of the nation.
 - d. That Pancasila is the one and only philosophy and ideology of the nation and the state, which motivates and guides, and directs the Indonesian nation towards its goal.
 - e. That the whole Nusantara archipelago constitutes a unity of law, in the sense that there is only one national law which serves the national interest.
2. The realization of the Nusantara archipelago as a social and cultural entity in the sense:
 - a. That Indonesian society is one, the national life should be one that is harmonious with the level of an equal, even, and balanced development of society, and that

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there must be a harmony of life corresponding to the progress of the nation.

- b. That the Indonesian culture is essentially one, while the various existing forms of cultural expression represent the richness of the culture of the nation, which becomes a source and foundation of the cultural development of the whole nation, the results of which can be enjoyed by the nation.
3. The realization of the whole Indonesian archipelago as one economic entity, in the sense:
 - a. That the potential as well as effective wealth of the whole Indonesian territory constitutes a common capital and possession of the nation, and that there must be a wide supply of the necessities of daily life over the whole territory of the fatherland.
 - b. The level of economic development must be proportional and harmonious in all regions, without neglecting the specific characteristics of those regions in developing their economic life.
4. The realization of the Indonesian archipelago as an entity in defense and security, in the sense:
 - a. That what is a threat to one island or region, is in essence also a threat to the whole nation and state.
 - b. That every citizen has the same right and duty in the defence of the state and nation.

PART III

GENERAL PATTERN FOR LONG-RANGE DEVELOPMENT

Based on the basic pattern for national development, a General Pattern for Long-Range Development has been drawn up. It will cover a period of 25 to 30 years, as a directive effort in implementing the formation and development of the nation in general towards the achievement of the national ideal.

A. INTRODUCTION

1. The independence which was gained by the grace of the One and Almighty God and through the struggle of the people, has given the opportunity to the Indonesian nation to realize their ideal, i.e. a just and prosperous society, materially as well as spiritually, based on Pancasila, in the form of a Unitary Republic of Indonesia.
2. Since the Proclamation of Independence in 1945, the Indonesian nation has experienced waves of acute political conflicts and a series of continuous upheavals, while efforts to improve the socio-economic life were not seriously made with the result that the economic condition experienced a decline which increased the suffering of the people at large.
3. After the 30 September Movement/PKI revolt in 1965 was put down, by the protection and grace of the One and Almighty God, and thanks to the consciousness and the strong conviction of the people on the Pancasila philosophy, the New Order, through its sincere struggle, succeeded in creating a national stability, in the economic as well as in the political field, in order to work on a series of national development, which must be continuously, with a definite direction, through stages and with planning, as the only way to give substance to independence and to attain the national goal.
All efforts and struggle will succeed if the whole nation is faithful to Pancasila and to the 1945 Constitution.
4. In order that national development may be smoothly implemented and truly directed towards the attainment of the national goal, it is necessary to determine the General Pattern for Long-Range Development, the execution of which has been started since 1969 together with the implementation of the First Five-Year Development Plan and which will further be followed by the Second Pelita (Five-Year Development), the Third Pelita, the Fourth Pelita and so on, so that they form a series of Pelita's which are linked up together in a harmonious whole.

B. DIRECTION OF LONG-RANGE DEVELOPMENT

1. National development is carried out in the framework of a wholesome development of the Indonesian man and the development of the whole Indonesian society. This means that development does not aim only at external progress nor at mental satisfaction only but in harmony and balance between the two; that development should extend to the whole country; not only for a certain group nor for a part of society, but for the whole society and should really be enjoyed by all the people as an improvement of their standard of living.

The Indonesian nation desires a harmonious relationship between man and his God, man and his fellowmen and between man and the physical environment, a harmonious relationship among nations and a harmony between the ideal of life in this world and eternal happiness in the world to come, because the final goal of national development is the overharmonious life of man and society: in brief: a society which is developed, just and prosperous, based on Pancasila.

2. Long-range development will be realized through stages. The aim of each stage of development is to improve the standard of living and the welfare of all people and to lay down a strong basis for the next stage of development.
3. The main target of long-range development is the creation of a solid foundation for the Indonesian nation to grow and develop by their own strength so as to achieve a just and prosperous society, based on Pancasila.

The emphasis of long-range development is on the economic field with its primary target to achieve a balance between the agricultural and the industrial sectors, which means that the greater part of development activities will be geared to economic development, while development in other fields will support and complement development in the economic field.

Development outside the economic field is to be carried out in line and in harmony with the progress that has been achieved in the economic field; on the other hand, the increase of results in the economic field will in turn provide wider resources for development in the socio-cultural, political, and national defence and security fields.

4. The implementation of national development should go hand in hand with the promotion and maintenance of national stability, which is healthy and dynamic, in the political as well as economic fields; for social and economic instabilities will hamper development.
Thus it can be stated that national stability accelerates national development, while national development strengthens national stability.
5. The realization of development, aside from increasing the national income, should, at the same time, guarantee the equal distribution of income among the people, in accordance with the sense of justice, in the framework of realizing social justice, so that on the one hand development is not only aimed at the increase of production on one hand, but also it should prevent the widening of the gap which separates the rich from the poor by inculcating the principle of proper and modest life; in order to attain not only a prosperous society but also the realization of a just society. On the other hand, there should be wider participation of society in development in bearing the burden of development, in the responsibility for the implementation of development, as well as in enjoying the fruit of development.
6. In carrying out national development all domestic capital potentials have to be put to use accompanied by policies and steps to aid and to guide the growth and to increase the capacity of the economically weak group to participate in the process of development so as to be self-supporting, among other things, by improving activities in cooperatives, so as to be able to play a proper role in the economic life of Indonesia.

This policy has to be adopted in order to solve the problem of imbalance in society, because there exists a small group in society with a very strong economic position, holding control over the greater part of the economic life of the nation, while on the other hand, the majority of society is in a very weak economic condition, and has never been able to play a major role in the economic activities of the nation.

7. The implementation of long-range development, aside from increasing the national production, should aim at economic growth that will accelerate the increase of job opportunities, since to overcome unemployment by increasing job opportunities constitutes an important target in long-range development, not only because job opportunities have an economic value, but also because they contain a human value, in that they arouse a sense of self-respect, thereby giving substance to the principle of humanity. In order to fill up the job opportunities, which will be available, a work force with ability and skill, according to the needs of development, will be needed. For that purpose the increase of job opportunities, and the development of a system of education which is compatible with the needs of development, or which is able to produce the work force needed for development, must be carried out simultaneously and harmoniously.
8. In order to be carried out rapidly economic development and improvement of the people's welfare must be accompanied by population control through a family planning programme which must be successfully implemented, since failure in the implementation of family planning would render the results of development activities insignificant, and may endanger the coming generation.

The implementation of family planning is carried out on a voluntary basis, taking into consideration religious norms and belief in God.

Aside from that, efforts should be made for a more appropriate distribution of population, through transmigration,

as a means of increasing development activities throughout the whole country.

9. Long-range development should be capable of bringing about fundamental changes in the economic structure of Indonesia, so that national production from sectors other than agriculture may constitute an increasing part, and that industry may become the backbone of the economy, thus the number of people earning their living in sectors other than agriculture may increase and the composition of exports will also change so that Indonesian exports will increasingly consist of processed material and finished goods. Thus, it will mean the strengthening of the economic resilience of Indonesia against changes of natural conditions and fluctuations in the world economy.
10. In the implementation of development, the natural resources of the country have to be exploited in a rational way. The exploitation of natural resources should be done in such a way so as not to destroy human environment, thus it should be carried out according to an overall policy which takes into consideration the needs of the coming generations.
11. National development needs a great amount of investment, the implementation of which should be based on our own potentiality, while foreign aid will be complementary. That is why, sincere efforts need to be made to mobilize investment funds which come from savings of society; and the government and from foreign exchange earnings from exports and services.
The mobilization of investment funds should be accelerated in such a way that the role of foreign aid, which is complementary, will be decreasing and eventually the nation itself will be able to shoulder the entire cost of development.
12. Economic development means turning potential economic strength into real economic strength through capital investment, the use of technology and the increase of the

organizational and managerial skills. Thus, as long as Indonesia does not possess those factors, the potentials of foreign aid, technology, and expertise may be utilized in so far as they do not result in continuous dependency or harm the national interest.

13. Technology and science are used in the implementation of development taking into consideration these requirements: to continue to provide a large number of job opportunities, to increase the productivity of labour, to make use, as much as possible, of equipment which can be domestically produced and maintained here, to support the attainment of the target of development, and to increase the skill to use a more advanced technology in the future.
14. Economic development which is based on economic democracy requires that society should play an active role in development activities.

That is why the government is obliged to provide direction and guidance for economic growth to create a healthy climate, conducive to the development of business enterprises; and in turn, the business enterprise should also respond to the direction, guidance and the creation of climate by the government through concrete activities. Economic democracy which becomes the foundation of the implementation of development has the following positive characteristics:

- a. The economy is organized as a common endeavour based on the principle of the family system, and therefore does not accept the system of class struggle.
- b. Resources of the wealth and funds of the state are used with the agreement of the People's Representative Institutions, and control over its policy is vested in the same representative institutions.
- c. Branches of production, which are important for the state and which affect the life of most people, shall be controlled by the state.
- d. Every citizen has the freedom to choose a job which he desires and the right to work and to a decent life.

- e. Private property is recognized but its use shall not be contrary to the interest of society.
- f. The potential, the initiative, and the creative power of every citizen shall be fully developed within limits not harmful to public interest.
- g. The poor and destitute children are entitled to social security.

In economic democracy the following negative characteristics must be avoided:

- a. The system of free fight liberalism which gives rise to exploitation of other human beings and nations, and which, in the course of its history in Indonesia, has caused and perpetuated the structural weakness of Indonesia's position in the world economy.
 - b. The system of etatism, in which the state and its economic apparatus are dominating, pushing and crushing the potentials and creative power of economic units which exist outside the realm of the state.
 - c. Monopoly which is detrimental to society.
15. Targets which will be aimed at in various fields through long-range development are as follows:

a. **The Economic Field**

A well-balanced structure of economy, in which progressive industrial capacities and forces are to be found, supported by resilient agricultural capacities and forces. Based on the idea that the previous Repelita (Five-Year Development Plan) had the aim to improve the standard of living and the welfare of the people, and to lay down a foundation for the following Repelita, the well-balanced economic structure will be attained in stages and through the implementation of a series of Repelita's.

- The First Repelita: places its emphasis on the agricultural sector, and agriculture-supporting industry.
- The Second Repelita: places its emphasis on the

- agricultural sector while developing industry, which processes raw materials into basic materials.
- The Third Repelita: places its emphasis on the agricultural sector while developing industry which processes basic material into finished goods.
 - The Fourth Repelita: places its emphasis on the agricultural sector while developing industry capable of producing industrial machinery, both for heavy and light industry, which will be further developed in the following Repelita's.

Through the improvement of the industrial and agricultural sectors, through stages as mentioned above, a well-balanced structure of the economy will be achieved, i.e. an economic structure with its main emphasis on the industrial strength which is supported by a strong agricultural sector, after the Fifth or Sixth Five-Year Development which will serve as the foundation of the economic field to achieve the national goal, which is a just and prosperous society, based on Pancasila.

b. Religion and Belief in God, and the Socio-Cultural field

Based on the belief of the Indonesian nation in God, the life of the Indonesian man and society must really be harmonious in their relationship with God, with their fellowmen, as well as their environment, and must possess a balance in their physical and spiritual life, and a dynamic spirit and a growing sense of mutual cooperation, so that they are capable of carrying on the struggle of the nation to attain the national goal through the use of a well-balanced economic foundation.

The forms of culture as a manifestation of the identity of the Indonesian man must really represent the values of life and meaning of morality. Whereas culture itself must be the putting into practise of noble values so that it cannot be separated from the Indonesian man of culture as its supporter.

c. The Political Field

In the field of domestic politics, consciousness of political and civic life based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution must be promoted in all citizens so as to secure the smooth effort to attain the national goal.

In order to achieve that aim, efforts are to be made to create, to consolidate and to utilize conditions and situations which would make possible the realization of the reforming processes of the political life, so that a condition may be created with a political system, which is truly democratic, stable, dynamic, effective and efficient, and which can strengthen the constitutional life.

In the field of active and independent foreign policy, efforts will be made in order that Indonesia can continuously increase its role in contributing to and participating in the creation of lasting world peace with justice and prosperity.

d. The Field of National Defence and Security

Based on the doctrine of national security, it aims at creating a system of national defence and security, which is capable of bringing to success and safeguarding the national struggle in general, and national development in particular, against threats from outside and from within the country, so that the national effort to attain the national goal, will really be secure and orderly.

C. BASIC NOTE

This General Pattern for Long-Range Development constitutes the main foundation for working out the General Pattern for Medium-Range Development, i.e. the General Pattern for Five-Year Development, which takes the form of the Five-Year Development Plan, entrusted to the President/Mandatary of the People's Consultative Assembly.

PART IV

**GENERAL PATTERN FOR THE SECOND
FIVE-YEAR DEVELOPMENT**

A. INTRODUCTION

1. With the results achieved in the implementation of the First Pelita and with the strengthening of national stability, the way is open wider to the implementation of the Second Pelita.

In the Second Pelita, problems, which from the start have been recognized as beyond solution in the First Pelita, will be more deeply dealt with, such as: problems of increasing job opportunities, equal distribution of the fruit of development, improvement of a distorted market structure, acceleration of economic development in the regions, transmigration, promotion of the people's participation in development through cooperatives, more attention to the problems of education and other non-economic factors.

2. Based on the consideration that there exist problems, such as mentioned above, the Second Pelita shall form the continuation and improvement of the First Pelita, and its operational policy must truly be directed and form a complete and harmonious whole.
3. This Second Pelita shall cover the period of April 1st 1974 — March 31st 1979, and constitute the second stage of the implementation of the General Pattern for Long-Range Development.

B. AIMS

As is the case with each stage of development in the framework of the General Pattern for Long-Range Development, the aims of the Second Pelita are as follows:

First : To improve the living standard and the welfare of all the people;

Second: To lay down a strong basis for the following stage of development.

C. PRIORITIES

1. In accordance with the General Pattern for Long-Range Development, the priority in the Second Pelita is given to economic development, with its main emphasis on the development of the agricultural sector and the development of industry, which processes raw materials into basic materials.
2. To give priority to the economic field does not mean neglecting development in other fields, which also continue to be developed and which support economic development. The economic progress achieved in the First Pelita gives a wider opportunity and greater capability in the Second Pelita to solve various social problems, the solutions of which lies in the entire implementation of development.
3. Meanwhile, sound and dynamic national stability shall continue to be developed and improved by promoting Pancasila democracy, strengthening the constitutional life and upholding the rule of law, at the same time, it also means encouraging the development of the people's creativity and enthusiasm for life, and increasing the people's participation in the process of development.
4. The implementation of an active and independent foreign policy will serve the national interest, especially with respect to the implementation of economic development.

D. DIRECTION AND POLICY OF DEVELOPMENT

a. The Economic Field

GENERAL

1. All development activities undertaken in the First Pelita shall be continued and even intensified in the

Second Pelita. Intensifying development means an increase in the production of goods and services at a higher rate. In this respect, development in the agricultural sector must be continued and even widened, so that the agricultural sector may continue to be the basis of the next stages of development.

2. In the implementation of the Second Repelita efforts to accelerate the growth of production, to distribute equitably the results of production and to increase job opportunities must go together and in balance meanwhile, efforts to mobilize all existing potentials for national development must continuously be intensified, by implanting the principle of self-help, stimulating the whole society.
3. In the framework of economic development, efforts are to be made for more equitable distribution of the fruit of development, both in the form of a wider implementation of development extending to all the regions and in the form of an increase in the income of the members of society on account of their productive activities.
4. Efforts for a more equitable distribution of the fruit of development are spelt out in concrete programs, one of which is to pay particular attention to the development of poor regions, caused by the scarcity of natural resources, so that the people in these regions, who are impoverished will get the opportunity to develop their regions and thereby enjoy the fruit of development.
5. Efforts for more equitable distribution of the fruit of development shall be made through separate programmes which will bring about an increase of the income of those groups in society who earn their living in low-income occupations, such as fishermen, handicraft workers, landless peasants, small farmers and the like.

6. Efforts for more equitable distribution of the fruit of development must also include programs which aim at giving wider opportunities to small and middle businessmen, to expand and increase their business, in the framework of widening the participation of the economically weak group in a wider scope of responsibility by creating opportunities to strengthen their capital, to improve their skills to manage their business and to promote the marketing of their products. In this context, the cooperative, as a means to pool the economically weak group, will be made more effective in its role and its capacities increased through an overall program with priority to cooperatives of production in the agricultural sectors, cattle breeding, fishery, small holder's plantations and handicrafts.
7. The equal distribution of the fruit of development will be realized through a balanced policy on taxation and credits. In this context, direct taxation in the form of income taxes and property taxes plays a very important role.
Credit loans from the bank at moderate amounts shall be more widely distributed and used to improve small and medium-size business undertakings.
The Bimas (mass guidance) credit system accompanied by intensive information on the technique of production and marketing and the provision of the means of production shall be expanded to other sectors of business, such as the production of second crops, home industry, small and medium-size industry, and so on.
8. In the Second Repelita, the increase of job opportunities is an urgent necessity. The solution of this problem, also means the expansion of productive participation of the people in development, and that eventually also means a greater number of people sharing responsibility in development.
9. In the attempt to increase job opportunities overall policies shall be drawn up covering all sectors, such

as the choice of technology, training of skills, industrial development, development of infrastructure, determination of the priority scale of investment, taxation and credit policies, and so on.

10. Improvement in rural development will prevent the strong flow of urbanization.

In addition, the increase of job opportunities shall be realized through specific programs, among other things the development of INPRES (Presidential instruction) projects and the labour-intensive projects in rural areas, which in reality constitute a large source of manpower.

11. The opening of sparsely populated areas outside Java will activate wide economic potentials and also increase job opportunities. That is why transmigration, including local migration, has to be encouraged and carried out seriously, directed to and linked with regional development activities.

Aside from transmigration directly managed by the government, spontaneous transmigration will be more encouraged by the expansion of development and economic activities outside Java.

12. One of the aspects of economic development is the use of land; therefore, in order to increase its efficiency, land-use planning is necessary.

13. In the effort to maintain economic stability, it is necessary to watch carefully the developments and possible fluctuations in the world economy, which might happen during the Second Pelita in which case appropriate measures shall be taken to prevent or limit the effects of such international economic fluctuations on the implementation of national development.

14. To carry out national development a big amount of development funds is required. Moreover, considering that national development is an ever-growing develop-

ment, efforts shall be made to mobilize development-funds, both through the increase of national income and through the increase of public savings.

15. Besides funds in rupiahs, it is also necessary to have funds in the form of foreign exchange especially for the import of means of production at an increasing amount, needed for development. In this regard, efforts shall be intensified to increase foreign exchange earnings needed for the second Pelita from exports and tourism.
16. For the implementation of the Second Pelita and the promotion of stability which has been achieved so far, an integrated policy shall be adopted, covering monetary, budget, fiscal credit, price, wage, and trade policies and the like, together with institutional improvements.
17. Intensification of economic activities will result in the increase of national income, which in turn means the increase of social facilities, that can be provided for the attainment of a higher level of welfare.
With the improvement of social welfare, the people's confidence in the value of development will become stronger, and this will bring about a greater strength to continue with the next stage of development.

AGRICULTURE

1. To ensure the continuation of the increase of rice production, which has been achieved during the First Pelita, with the aim to provide an adequate supply of food and to ensure its fair distribution in society, at a price which would benefit the produce-farmers and not be a burden to the consumers.
2. Other agricultural products, such as second crops, horticultural and plantation products, products of poultry and fishery, shall be increased.

The expansion of all kinds of production, besides increasing the income of the farmers, will also help the increase in the supply of protein and the strengthening of exports so as not to depend solely on a few kinds of goods.

3. Development in the field of forestry, the products of which are utilized for development, shall take account of the maintenance of natural resources found in the forests. In this respect, efforts shall be made to regulate this cutting of forests, reforestration, and conversion of natural forests into artificial forests which produce logs for industry.
4. Development in the field of rehabilitation of critical land is aimed at helping the farmers to participate more in the agricultural development, and at preserving water resources and other natural resources. Therefore, efforts in reforestration as well as in the rehabilitation of critical land ought to be intensified.

INDUSTRY

1. The results of development in the industrial sector achieved in the First Pelita must be continued by further promoting development of industries which process all kinds of raw materials into basic materials, and efforts are to be intensified to start the process of basic materials, into finished products.

In that way Indonesia's exports will shift from the export of raw materials to the export of materials already processed in the country.

2. Efforts for the development of industry are part of a long-range step towards a reform in the economic structure of Indonesia, from an economic structure which leans too heavily on the production of raw materials and agricultural products, a more balanced economic structure.

3. In realizing industrial development, it is necessary that private initiative and undertaking be encouraged as far as possible, while the government should focus its attention on the development of infrastructure and the creation of an atmosphere which is conducive to industrial growth. In this respect it is necessary to develop the managerial skills and proficiency of the national entrepreneurs.
4. Another attempt to promote industrial development is the development of industrial areas. Besides, the spreading of industry to the regions should also be encouraged, with due regard for the principle of business efficiency. In all these efforts to promote industrial development, proper steps have to be taken, in order that the growth of industry will not result in the destruction of human environment.

M I N I N G

Development in the field of mining is a continuation of results that have been achieved by promoting the process of raw materials, in such a way that the national income from production and exports in the field of mining, will be increased.

COMMUNICATIONS AND TELECOMMUNICATION

The acceleration of development, besides increasing the production of goods must also increase the production of services rendered in various sectors, among others, in the sector of communications and telecommunication. The increase of services in the field of communications and telecommunication, will facilitate the flow of goods and people and have a decisive role in fostering the unity of the nation and the state.

Therefore in the Second Pelita, development in the field of communications and telecommunicatoin shall be intensified.

INFRASTRUCTURE

The development of irrigations, electricity, roads, and other elements of infrastructure have to be promoted so as to support and meet the increase of production of goods and services.

H O U S I N G

1. In the framework of improving the people's welfare, aside from the provision of food and clothing at a reasonable price and the increase of job opportunities, the construction of houses for the people constitutes an important target.

Therefore, in the Second Pelita, the problem of housing construction for the people shall receive full attention.

2. In connection with the development in the field of housing for the results of research in construction materials which fulfill the requirements of hygiene and which are strong enough, relatively cheap, and to be found in Indonesia, shall be further developed and implemented through efforts to produce construction and housing materials in large quantities at a price which is within the purchasing power of the people at large.

To solve the problem of finance, a more effective system of financing is to be created which would lead to the accumulation of capital for housing construction.

3. Besides all that, efforts shall be made for extensive information for the purpose of increasing the people's skills in the techniques of housing construction and in the framework of restoration of the village housing and environment, so that an increasing number of people may live in healthy houses and environment. Furthermore, institutional elements must be prepared which

will provide a proper direction of housing construction within the national scope.

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

1. In order to guarantee that national development can proceed harmoniously, it is necessary to maintain a balance between sectoral and regional development.

Therefore in the Second Pelita, besides the efforts to promote sectoral development which takes place in different regions regional development, which comprises various sectors, shall also be intensified.

In this respect, the capacity and potential of each region as well as the urgent problems it is facing must be well understood, so that development efforts in each region may truly be in accord with the conditions of each region.

2. In the framework of implementing national development, efforts must be made to keep a balance between the rates of growth in different regions, among other things by giving assistance on and incentive to the promotion of development in the regions that are relatively less developed.
3. For the promotion of regional development, initiative and active participation must be further encouraged. In consideration of the capacity of the regions, their income must also be increased both by imposing intensive, proper, and orderly taxation, on the existing resources, and by creating new financial resources. In this respect, the regional government apparatus must be improved and its competence increased.
4. In the implementation of regional development it must be kept in mind that Indonesia constitutes an economic entity.

In this respect, policies pertaining to the implementation of regional development shall support the promotion of that economic entity.

b. The Field of Religion and Belief in God, and the Socio-Cultural Field

RELIGION AND BELIEF IN GOD

1. Based on the belief of the Indonesian nation in the One and Almighty God, religious life and faith in one God is founded upon the freedom to live up to and put into practice one's belief in God, in accordance with the philosophy of Pancasila.
2. Development in the field of religion and belief in God is aimed at promoting an atmosphere of peace and harmony among people of the same religion and belief in God as well as among all people of different religions and all believers of God and at increasing service in joint endeavour to develop society.
3. Facilities needed for the development of religious life and the belief in One God shall be increased, including religious education which is included in the curriculum of the schools, from the state elementary school to the state universities.
4. To continue efforts to improve service and to smoothen the process of haj pilgrimage for the Moslems in accordance with the teachings of the Islam religion, and also in accordance with the capacity of the people.

HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING

1. One manifestation of the efforts to attain social justice shall be creation of wider opportunities for every citizen to enjoy the highest possible degree of health in accordance with existing capacities.

The improvement and maintenance of public health is carried out in the framework of upgrading and developing the capability of labour needed for development, and is aimed at the realization of the people's welfare.

2. Efforts to improve public health are aimed at intensifying of the efforts to combat contagious diseases and popular diseases, to improve the quality of nutrition in the people's food, to increase the supply of drinking water, to protect the people against the danger of narcotics and the use of other drugs against existing regulations, to provide a wide supply of medicine, to spread on widely medical and para-medical workers, to expand medical services through public health centers especially in rural areas, and to increase various forms of information on public health.
3. The implementation of the family planning program, especially in Java and Bali, shall be improved, particularly in order to reach the rural communities as extensively as possible.
Besides, the opportunity to carry out family planning in the other regions shall be developed so as to help improve the welfare of the families in those regions through the provision of family planning facilities. The target of family planning should cover all layers of society on a voluntary basis. Since the readiness to practise family planning is ultimately a process of change in the outlook of life of the people, in the Second Pelita, activities in education and training in family planning shall not be limited to the education and training of the technical workers of the family planning program, but must also cover education in population problems.
4. In order to support the achievement of the aim and targets of the family planning program in the Second Pelita, coordination between the departments, information activities, examination of motivation and the like, and other activities which support the implementation

of the family planning program, must be further promoted.

EDUCATION, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND EDUCATION OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION

1. Education is essentially a conscious effort to develop personality and capabilities in and outside the school, and it is a lifelong process.

Therefore, in order that all the people may receive education in accordance with the capacity of each individual, education shall be the responsibility of the family, society and the government.

Development in the field of education is based on the philosophy of the Pancasila state, and is directed towards the formation of development-oriented men living up to Pancasila, and of the Indonesian man, who is physically and mentally healthy, and who possesses knowledge and skills, and is capable of developing creativity and responsibility, democratic attitude, and tolerance, capable of developing a high level of intelligence and a noble character, loving his nation and his fellowmen, in accordance with the provisions of the 1945 Constitution.

2. In order to realize the above ideal, the curriculum of all levels of education, from the kindergarten up to the university level, both state and private, shall contain education in Pancasila morality as well as other elements which are sufficient to communicate to the younger generation the spirit and values of 1945.
3. The promotion of the role of the institutions of higher learning in development is aimed at:
 - a. Making the universities centres for the preservation and development of sciences.
 - b. Implanting in the students a sense of dedication and service and a great sense of responsibility for the future of the nation and the state of Indonesia.

- c. Activating the students so that they become useful for efforts in national and regional development.
- 4. The policy on the development of science and technology is aimed at developing national capacity in science and technology needed in development, in accordance with the existing needs and priorities.

In order to achieve the above goal, it is necessary to increase the expertise and skills of the existing work force and the new work force, cooperation between educational, research and development institutions on the one hand and all the parties that will make use of the results, the activities of centres for research and development of science and technology, as well as the people's consciousness of the important role of science and technology in development.

- 5. To realize the development of education and sciences, the necessary facilities shall be increased, with the right priorities and in accordance with the financing ability, the part of both the government and the society.
- 6. The education which is directed towards the formation of the younger generation as the hope of the nation, has the aim to help them become a better generation, which is more responsible and more capable of giving substance to and fostering the independence of the nation.
- 7. Youth formation shall be done through the family, the school, youth organizations, scouting and so on. In accordance with the existing capacities, efforts shall be made to increase the facilities and means for youth formation.
- 8. The promotion of a happy family is a means to the formation of the younger generation. For the promotion of such a family, the rights of women shall be guaranteed and their position in the family and in society shall be protected.

NATIONAL CULTURE

1. Activities shall be intensified to promote and preserve the national culture so as to strengthen national identity, national pride and national unity, including the exploration and development of regional cultures as important elements which enrich and characterize the national culture.
 2. To foster and maintain traditions and historical heritage which have values pertaining to the struggle, the pride and benefit of the nation to be bequeathed to the younger generation (youth).
 3. The formation and development of the national culture shall be in conformity with the norms of Pancasila. Besides, it shall be aimed at preventing the growth of socio-cultural values which are feudalistic and at overcoming the negative influence of foreign cultures, but on the other hand it shall enable the society to absorb positive values from outside, which are indeed needed for the process of modernization in development insofar as they are not in conflict with the national identity.
- c. The Fields of Politics, Government Apparatus, Law and Foreign Relations

P O L I T I C S

1. In the framework of strengthening a sound and dynamic political stability, efforts shall be made to promote a national leadership which is directed towards fostering functional relations between the highest state institutions and among the high state institutions in accordance with the 1945 Constitution, so that the state institutions may function as well as possible, for the sake of harmony and productive relationship between the People's Consultative Assembly and the President/Mandatary of the People's Consultative

Assembly, between the President and the House of Representatives, as well as other high institutions of the state.

2. Efforts shall be made to promote the participation of the people, including the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia, as a social force in the execution of national tasks, through the implementation of the most important principles of Pancasila Democracy, which are the effective participation of the people through the People's Consultative Assembly in determining the Broad Lines of the State Policy, and the effective public control over the implementation of the Broad Lines of the State Policy through the House of Representatives.
3. The effective channels which can be used to guide and develop the people's participation, are such institutions as the Village Consultative Body, People's Representative Institutions, Institutions of Higher Learning and Mass Media; therefore, promotion of the people's participation can be carried out by:
 - a. Improvement of the channels for the opinions of the rural communities.
 - b. Improvement of communication between society and People's Representative Institutions as well as the government.
 - c. Promoting the people's consciousness so that as many of them as possible may exercise their right to vote in the general election, as prescribed by statute.
 - d. Promotion of a sound press, that is a free and responsible press, which enables the press, on the one hand, to give information to the public as widely and as objectively as possible, and on the other, to form a channel for the people's constructive views.

- e. Activating and promoting the role of institutes for higher learning and research institutes in their participation in development activities, among other things by the following means:
 - (1) The exercise of the freedom of expression in forms and ways that are creative, constructive and responsible, so that it is beneficial to society.
 - (2) The integration and consolidation of the activities of the students, youth, and intellectuals, in accordance with their professions, through effective organizations in which they can contribute their achievements as well as their positive participation.
4. In the framework of accelerating the process of renewal and simplification of the organization of socio-political forces, both the political parties and the functional groups have now shown their orientation towards social development, manifested in the formulation and implementation of development programs in all fields of life to improve the welfare of the people.
Therefore, in order to develop an effective and efficient political life for the implementation of development, the structure, the number as well as the mental attitude of the organizations of socio-political forces, have been renewed by their fusion into two political parties and one Functional Group.
With the creation of the three groupings, which constitute channels by which to voice all the aspirations of society, there will only be three emblems in the next general election.
5. In order to have the people participate maximally in development, the people, especially those in the rural areas, shall be urged to focus their attention on the implementation of development. And be directed to concrete problems which directly concern development.

For that purpose, the formation of political parties and functional groups shall be carried out in accordance with and in the framework of simplifying the political parties and Functional Group, as mentioned above (4) so that the political parties and the Functional Group may continue to guarantee national unity and the acceleration of development. This shall be implemented by statute in accordance with the spirit of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

GOVERNMENT APPARATUS

1. The development of government apparatus is directed towards the ability to carry out the general tasks of the government as well as to activate and smoothen the implementation of development. For that purpose, efforts to reorder and improve government apparatus, which covers the structure, work-procedures, personnel as well as work facilities, have to be continuously made, in order so that the whole government apparatus, both at the central level and at the regional level, will really constitute an authoritative, strong, effective, efficient and clean, completely loyal and obedient organ, the state and the government, occupied by skilled personnel capable of carrying out the duties in their respective fields and solely dedicated to the interests of the state and the people.
2. In order to facilitate the implementation of development throughout the whole country, and in maintaining political stability and national unity, harmonious relationship between the central government and the regional government, based on the integrity of the Unitary State, shall be directed towards the realization of regional autonomy, which is real and responsible, and capable of securing the growth and development of the region, and which shall be realized together with deconcentration. Matters pertaining to regional autonomy including the election and appointment of governors shall be regulated by statute.

3. The competence of regional apparatus, especially at the village level, shall be increased in stages by providing means and facilities.

LAW

1. Development in the field of law in Indonesia, which is a state based on law, has as foundation the source of the state legal order, i.e. the ideals contained in the views of life, legal consciousness and ideals and noble moral ideals, which govern the spiritual life and character of the Indonesian nation, as embodied in Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.
2. Development in the field of law, shall be capable of directing and giving expression to legal needs in keeping with the legal consciousness of the people, which is developing towards modernization according to the levels of progress of development in all fields, so that legal order and certainty may be achieved, as a prerequisite for the promotion of national unity, and for the support of modernization and development as a whole by:
 - a. Codification of national law, among other things by reforming, codifying and unifying law in certain fields, taking into consideration the legal consciousness of society.
 - b. Reordering the functions of legal institutions each in its own proportion.
 - c. Increasing the competence and authority of law-enforcement agents.
3. Efforts shall be made to promote legal consciousness in society and to develop the mental attitude of the authorities and government functionaries towards the upholding of law, justice, and protection of human dignity, and legal order and certainty in accordance with the 1945 Constitution.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

1. To continue the implementation of an active, independent foreign policy to serve the national interest, especially with respect to economic development.
2. To take steps to strengthen the regional stability of Southeast Asia and Southwest Pacific, so as to enable the countries in these regions to take care of their own future through the development of their own national resilience, and to strengthen the organization and cooperation between the members of the ASEAN.
3. To foster cooperation for peaceful purposes with all countries and international bodies, and to increase its role in helping nations which are struggling for independence, without sacrificing the national interest and sovereignty.

d. The Field of National Defence and Security

1. The development of national defence and security (Hankamnas) is based on Article 30 of the 1945 Constitution. The implementation of development of this field, is carried out in stages and in consideration of the results of the First Pelita.
2. Determining factors:

Some of the factors which, directly influence the strategic concept of the Hankamnas 1973/1974 — 1978/1979 in general, and the development in the field of national defence and security in particular, are as follows:

(a) The rate of national economic growth

This condition is determined by the implementation and results of national development and the capability of the government to arouse the interest

and participation of the whole People in carrying out development.

The faster the growth the greater facilities that will be available for development in the field of national defence and security, in the form of budget, particularly development budget.

It is estimated that the economic growth during the period of 1974 — 1979 will still constitute a limitation which has to be considered in estimating the budget for national defence and security.

(b) The level of development in national technology

Technology influences the capacity of national defence and security at two levels:

- (1) The capacity of the nation to provide itself with and perfect modern equipment for national defence and security, according to the needs of an industrial potential.
- (2) The capacity of the defence and security elements, of using and maintaining such equipment.

As long as this level is low, the strength of national defence and security shall be based on factors which do not need large and modern equipment.

It is estimated that the development of national technology during this period will still be unable to provide a meaningful support for development in the field of national defence and security.

(c) The Doctrine of National Defence and Security

According to the Doctrine of the Overall People's Defence and Security, the security of the state and the nation is determined by the factor of people, i.e. a patriotic, militant, well-trained and well-organized people of high mental quality, while its organization and skills are determined by the quality of the inner force of the national

defence and security, that is the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia.

(d) The nature of the challenges faced

(1) The international geo-political situation and condition

Nuclear parity and an atmosphere of détente between the superpowers would prevent an open war, but this atmosphere of détente and efforts at a détente would still not eliminate the threat of limited wars and subversion, especially in the Region of Southeast Asia.

There has been a new perception of values in interrelations which are more realistic and pragmatic, and which indicate a greater tendency towards the solving of conflicts without the use of force nor the threat of using the force of arms.

Stability in Asia will be influenced by the big powers, with their greater possibility than the previous years of relations with one another and at the same time, there is a great possibility that other countries in Asia will establish relations with one or more of the big countries.

(2) Threats

These take the form of subversion, both from abroad and from within the country. Besides, the activities of the extremists in the country can also take the form of subversion or can help foreign subversion.

(e) The geo-strategic position of the Republic of Indonesia in face of estimated threats

Indonesia which is an archipelago and which is situated in a very vital and strategic international cross-road, has certain advantages as well

as disadvantages in the face of the nature of the threat i.e. subversion.

Certain parts of the country call for greater attention than others.

3. The Policy and Strategy of National Defence and Security of 1973/1974 — 1978/1979.

(a) General

The Policy and Strategy of National Defence and Security of 1973/1974 — 1978/1979 shall form a logical continuation of the policy and strategy of national defence and security of 1969 — 1973, the essentials of which are:

(1) The Policy of National Defence and Security:

Securing the Panca Krida (Five-point Programme) of the Development Cabinet with the First Pelita as its focus.

(2) The Strategy of National Defence and Security:

a) The consolidation/integration of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia.

b) Completing the solution of the problem of internal security and starting to pay attention to the problem of external security.

(b) The Policy of National Defence and Security

On the basis of the determining factors, related to as set forth above and the need of a logically and consistently continued line of the policy and strategy of national defence and security for the period of 1973/1974 — 1978/1979, is the effort to safeguard the national strategy with the Second Pelita as its focus.

(c) Strategy of National Defence and Security

To execute the national defence and security policy

the strategy of national defence and security aims at: building up strength of defence and security, which is capable of:

- (1) Supporting the struggle for the national interests in the international forum.
- (2) Foiling subversive threats from abroad and from within as well as other kinds of obstacles.
- (d) The main tasks of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia

In order to carry out the policy and strategy of national defence and security, as mentioned above, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia, as the core and leader of the national defence and security forces, have the following main tasks:

- (1) To improve their own operational quality, administration and management, as an organization which has been integrated.
- (2) To safeguard the Second Pelita and to take part in making national development a success.
- (3) To destroy the remnants of the September 30 Movement/PKI and other subversions, and to overcome obstacles to the security and success of all national programs.
- (4) To take part in the maintenance of stability in Southeast Asia in order to support active, independent foreign policy striving to promote the national resilience of the Southeast Asian countries with the ASEAN countries as the focus, as the basis of the regional resilience of Southeast Asia.
- (5) To continue to increase the capacities of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia as a defence and security force and as a social force.

4. Policy

(a) Aim

To build up a force for national defence and security, with a quality and in a quantity that will enable the implementation of the policy and strategy of national defence and security as well as of the main tasks of the Armed Forces.

(b) Physical Target

- (1) The Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia as the core of the national defence and security forces, which have a high mental, physical, and material quality, and which possess a high technical capability.
- (2) The force of the people, which has partly been organized, trained, and has functioned to assist in the performance of the main tasks of the Armed Forces.
- (3) Infrastructure for production and maintenance of a part of defence and security equipment.
- (4) The Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia as a social force, responsible for the implementation of ideological, political, economic, social, and cultural development.

(c) Target of capabilities

- (1) The Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia as a defence and security force
 - (a) Strategic capability to foil all the threats as mentioned above, covering the whole national territory, and limited strategic capability for duties outside the national territory.
 - (b) Capability to know swiftly, to recognize, to follow, and to destroy all threats violating sovereignty in the air in a

limited way, particularly flights for the purpose of subversion and infiltration.

- (c) Capability to create a favourable condition and to assist in a successful implementation of the national strategy.
- (d) Capability to develop the active strength of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia, within a short period of time and any time it is needed.

(2) The Force of the People

- (a) To help the Indonesian National Army in carrying out its tasks for defence.
- (b) To help the Police of the Republic of Indonesia in carrying out its tasks for security and order in society.

(3) Infrastructure

- (a) Capability to produce light modern arms and ammunition, certain spare parts of heavy equipment, material and equipment for instruction.
- (b) Capability to maintain all equipment used by the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia, up to the highest level.

(4) The Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia as a social force:

- (a) Capability to undertake activities for national development, along with other social forces.
- (b) Capability to help create a stable and harmonious condition for the promotion of national resilience.

(d) Principal Programme

In order to achieve the target of those capabilities development efforts shall be spelt out in principal

programmes, which essentially are integrated programmes.

These are:

- (1) Principal programme of force
- (2) Principal programme of infrastructure for the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia
- (3) Principal programme of national infrastructure.

E. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SECOND PELITA

As implementation of the general pattern of the Five-Year Development, the President/Mandatary of the People's Consultative Assembly shall formulate the Second Five-Year Plan of Development which shall form a development plan to achieve the targets of development in various fields in the period 1974 — 1979.

The programme for the implementation of policies and efforts of development for each year shall be spelt out in an operational plan in the form of a balanced state budget.

In promoting the financial responsibility of the state, the Body for the Investigation of Finance shall increase its activities in accordance with the powers vested in it by the 1945 Constitution.

PART V

CONCLUSION

The success of national development will ultimately depend on the response, understanding, consciousness, involvement and participation of the Indonesian People in meeting the challenge of development in a positive manner pave the way for the coming generation to attain a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila.

Decreed in: J A K A R T A
On : March 22nd 1973

THE PEOPLE'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY OF
THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

C H A I R M A N,
(sig.)
K. H. DR IDHAM CHALID

CO-CHAIRMAN,
(sig.)
DRS SUMISKUM

CO-CHAIRMAN,
(sig)
J. NARO SH

CO-CHAIRMAN,
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KARTIDJO

CO-CHAIRMAN
(sig)
MOH. ISNAENI

BIO-SKETCH OF PRESIDENT SOEHARTO

For most foreign political observers and foreign experts on Indonesian affairs, the emergence of General Soeharto to be the head of the Indonesian state has been considered as merely an incidental sequence of the 30 September Movement's abortive coup. Reflecting, however, on his life-long career, surprisingly reveals that General Soeharto has always played important roles during critical and decisive periods in the life of the Republic.

The innermost background he has as a Javanese farmer's son, born in the village of Kemosu, Godean, Yogyakarta, fifty-two years ago, gives its characteristic imprint upon the type of leadership he has: temperance in life with total concern for, and dedication to, work of national development, to materialise social prosperity for the population.

His experiences as army commander seem to have their impact also upon his leadership. Apparently slow in actions, but his actions are firmly founded upon strategic calculations. He has also developed a deep sense of solidarity, an attitude which has developed during his military career: starting from the lowest rank of a soldier, up to the rank of a corporal and that of an officer, until finally to the rank of a full General. It has been indeed a success story of a farmer's born child soldier.

It was not only in 1965 that Soeharto came up prominently during a critical period, but even years before that and in many instances. It was Soeharto who led successfully the general offensive to Yogyakarta on March 1, 1949. By that time the national army had succeeded to gain six hours control over Yogyakarta. This naturally created a bright image of the Indonesian national movement in the international world, and had a favourable impact upon the world's public opinion of that time. George McTurnan Kahin, an expert on Indonesia, was himself present in the town, when the offensive was launched. Mr. Kahin has confirmed the important significance of the event.

When the Dutch had to leave Indonesia, there arose many rebellions and insurgencies, frequently as a result of manouvres by the remaining members of the Royal Dutch Armed Forces in the country. Soeharto again came forward to assume leadership. As

Commander of the Garuda Mataram Brigade, he led an expedition to Sulawesi to put down the Andi Aziz' insurgency in South Sulawesi.

When the fight for the liberation of West Irian began it was also Soeharto who led the Mandala Command at Makasar, to carry on tactical infiltrations of the Indonesian army into West Irian territory. This was in 1962. This military operation to liberate West Irian contributed significantly, to bringing pressure to bear on the international world for Indonesia to win her case.

Much has been said and written about Soeharto's role in crushing the PKI and in removing the late President Sukarno from his position of national leadership. It began on October 1, 1965, when Soeharto assumed a temporary command of the Army, to face the Communist coup, and lasted through the Command Letter of March 11 in 1966 until he was appointed Acting President by the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly, and finally confirmed as the President of the Republic of Indonesia.

In the critical period following the 30 September Movement, we again could see the characteristics of Soeharto's leadership. Within a relatively short time he succeeded in attaining political and economic stability; this restored the image of Indonesia in the international world. Indonesia's isolationism had been broken. A new political life, based upon realism and pragmatism, began to develop as a foundation for national development towards prosperity, justice, and peace, all of which have always been the ideals of the national struggle.

Soeharto, supported by the Indonesian intellectuals, has created big social changes. Thanks to his military experiences, he has not only carried out programs for economic development, but has also prepared the foundations of political change. In his attempt at a new political development, he has consciously and systematically prepared a new and sound political culture. The 1971 general election as well as the simplification of the political structure, are remarkable political achievements. It is in all these that we can look at Soeharto as a reformer of the nation.

From this bio-sketch of Soeharto, it is hardly surprising to us, that in the last general session of the People's Consultative Assembly, he emerged to be the only candidate for the Presidency, and was unanimously elected President of the Republic of Indonesia.

BIO-SKETCH OF VICE-PRESIDENT
SRI SULTAN HAMENGKU BUWONO IX

SULTAN HAMENGKU BUWONO, more frequently known as the Sultan of Yogyakarta, is a prominent civilian figure in Indonesia, by virtue of modesty and his full support for the movement for national independence. The Sultan has no affiliation to any political party in Indonesia. During the first years of independence he occupied various important posts in the government of the Republic. He was Minister of State in the third Syahrir Cabinet (1946 — 1947) and in the first and second period of the Amir Syariffudin Cabinet (1947 — 1948) as well as in the first Hatta Cabinet (1948 — 1949). In the second Hatta Cabinet (1949) he was Defense Minister.

Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX was born in Yogyakarta on April 12, 1912. Before his coronation he was known as Gusti Raden Mas Darajatun. After receiving basic education in Java, he went to Europe for further studies. As a candidate for the Yogyakarta sultanate he studied Indology at the University of Leiden.

During the period of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, he was appointed Defense Minister. It was a very important position with many critical problems to face, especially various insurgencies and acts of terrorism and rebellions perpetrated by the members of the Dutch Armed Forces. In the meantime rationalisation of the National Army was in order.

In the next political period, the Sultan was further given prominent positions. He was vice-Premier in the Natsir Cabinet (1950 — 1951) and in the Wilopo Cabinet (1952 — 1953) he was again Defense Minister. In the Dwikora Cabinet (1966) the Sultan was Minister to coordinate development efforts.

In the beginning of the New Order, Sri Sultan, together with Adam Malik and General Soeharto, constituted a triumvirate in their efforts to develop a new political life in Indonesia. To cooperate with President Soeharto is for the Sultan no new adventure at all, since they had already fostered very close cooperation during the revolutionary period, especially in the general offensive to

Yogyakarta, launched on March 1, 1949. The Sultan had helped so much that the planned attack was a real success.

Next to his political career in government administration, the Sultan is also a national figure having so much attention to the promotion of sports-organisations, pramuka-organisation (boy scouts and girl guides) and tourism.

CHRONICLE

JANUARY — FEBRUARY

At the beginning of 1973 much activity was concentrated on economic problems, particularly on those connected with the problem of food supply. This naturally is closely related to the problem of agricultural development in Indonesia. This special attention can be explained by experiences with rice distribution toward the end of 1972. Furthermore, the government is determined to achieve the target of the first phase of the five year development plan.

For this reason, Prof. Widjojo Nitisastro, Chairman of Bappenas (National Planning Board) went on an inspection tour, of the regions, with the special purpose of supervising the channelling of fertilizer which must be at the disposal of the farmers. In order to solve the problem of food supply, the question of supplying and distributing fertilizer must be carried out smoothly. It was explained by Prof. Widjojo that during the year 1972 — 73 the government provided 544.000 tons of fertilizer. The major portion of this supply still had to be imported, because until now Indonesia has only been able to produce 115.000 tons of the urea type fertilizer. It is necessary to achieve a synchronization between fertilizer supply and availability of credit for farmers, so that the fertilizer can be used by the farmers when they need it.

Besides this, much attention is also being given to the RAPBN (Draft State Budget) which was given over by the President on January 8, 1973. On January 18 the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR-RI) was in full session, during which the four factions discussed this problem and exchanged points of views.

Within the context of raising the level of development, the Committee on Stabilization decided on January 16th to give Rp. 350.000 in aid to the remoter areas on the island of Java, while other regions will soon receive help in their turn. In its meeting of January 30th, the Committee on Economic Stabilization issued a decree concerning import taxes. It was stated that beginning January 31, 1973, the classification of goods which enter or leave Indonesia through the customs office, will be according to the system of the

Brussels Tariffs Nomenclatures (BTN). This means that the Geneva system of classification no longer applies. This decision of the Committee on Economic Stabilization is expressed in the Government regulation No. 2/1973 replacing regulation No. 6/1969. This policy has been carried out with the following aims: a) to support national development, b) to step up production activity c) to increase employment opportunities, d) to ensure protection for industrial enterprises within the country, e) to limit consumption of non-essential items, and f) to secure state income.

On January 17th, Prof. Dr. Sumitro, Minister of Trade, gave several important clarifications concerning trade in Indonesia. It was stated by Prof. Sumitro that this year Indonesia imported 100.000 tons of sugar in order to make up the deficit in domestic sugar production, even though there has been an increase in domestic sugar production, from 834.000 tons in 1971 to 900.000 tons in 1972. Professor Sumitro also presented a picture of the condition of Indonesian trade during 1972. Concerning international trade, he said, there are still many avenues which have not yet been opened for Indonesian interests. Broadening of trade with COMECON countries is still hindered because of the problem of a system of payment. Meanwhile, it may happen that the development of the MEE may not be advantageous to Indonesia, particularly if the MEE tends toward an economic union and market which becomes increasingly closed in on itself.

Political activities, meanwhile, were chiefly directed toward preparations for the General Session of the MPR (People's Consultative Assembly). On January 22nd, the plenary session of the MPR Working Commission stated that the ad hoc Committees I and II of this Working Commission had already completed their tasks and were therefore dissolved. Meanwhile, on January 23rd, the Working Commission of the MPR formed another committee, called the ad hoc Committee II or committee 12, which had as task to perfect the results and formulations of the program decided upon by the MPR. The results of all their work would be ratified by the plenary session of January 31st and then be given to the MPR leadership.

About the same time, on January 23 and 24, the United States and North Vietnam officially requested Indonesia to participate as a member of the ICCS to help ensure the carrying out of the truce in Vietnam. For this purpose, the Indonesian government sent the Garuda IV Contingent to Vietnam, under the leadership of Lt.

General H.R. Dharsono. This contingent consists of 290 men and on January 28 they began to leave for Vietnam.

FEBRUARY — MARCH

On February 1st Ali Wardhana, Finance Minister, gave his reply to the government concerning the observations of the House of Representatives (DPR) on the RAPBN (Draft State Budget). Finally, on March 1st the DPR ratified the RAPBN as Law.

In the full Cabinet session of February 13th, the Chairman of BAKIN (State Intelligence Coordinating Agency) Lt. General Soetopo Joewono presented an overall projected picture of the general situation in 1973. *Politics:* the prospects for national stability appear favorable. The role of Golkar will continue to be decisive, whereas participation of political parties is expected. The birth of two new parties should be noted because this fact appears as a new orientation for the political life of the nation. It is hoped that the results of the General Session of the MPR will become a kind of capital in national development and national consolidation. *Internal Security:* Remnants of the Indonesian Communist Party continue to increase their subversive activities. Territorial operations and intelligence operations are continued as a part of the preparations for PGERS (the Serawak Guerrilla Army). *Economics:* the trend in economic development indicates progress, but improvements are still necessary in the areas of administration and supervision.

Foreign Affairs: During the year 1972, Indonesia succeeded in securing her national interests within the regional and international forums. Developments in Southeast Asia continue to present several possibilities. For that reason it is necessary to hold to the doctrine of national resilience as well as the principle of a foreign policy which supports the national program.

At about the same time, the DPA (Supreme Advisory Council) was in session and discussed the problem of Pancasila Democracy. In Indonesian democracy based as it is on Pancasila, there are already included universal values and norms. And all of these have been crystallized in the 1945 Constitution. With the establishment of the DPR and MPR and with the formation of a new political structure with the amalgamation of many political parties, Indonesia has progressed a step in democratic process.

During the month of February, Indonesia was host to many foreign guests, for example: the vice-President of the United States, the Prime Minister of Papuan New Guinea, a special envoy of the Libyan government, assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic, the British Defence Minister, the Chief of Staff of the West German Federation, and the Australian Prime Minister.

The vice-President of the United States, Spiro Agnew, arrived in Jakarta on February 6th. His visit lasted 25 hours, as one stop in his series of visits to several Southeast Asian nations, such as South Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Singapore and Malaysia. This was intended as part of an attempt to review development in Southeast Asia since the signing of the Vietnam Truce. In Indonesia the vice-President had talks with President Soeharto and other leaders, concerning problems subsequent to the Vietnam war, questions of defence and security as well as economic questions. Spiro Agnew stated that the nations of Southeast Asia must achieve stability, peace and progress. At the same time Agnew asserted that the United States would continue its presence in the region.

From February 9 through 14, the Chief Minister or Prime Minister of Papuan New Guinea, Mr. Michael Somare, was in Indonesia for a visit intended as a step in coming to know Indonesia and preserve good relations between Indonesia and Papuan New Guinea, which will, within a short time, attain its independence. In view of the common boundaries of the two countries, as well as possible incidents or possible common achievements, it is fitting that the two parties prepare those conditions which will ensure mutual guarantees and advantages. This question has been examined from the political, economic, and security angles, as well as from the point of view of a broader cooperation. One problem which was attended to and even stressed, was that of the common boundary. On February 12 a common boundary treaty was agreed upon and signed by Foreign Minister Adam Malik and Mr. Michael Somare. Mr. Somare had received a full mandate from the Australian government to arrange this treaty. Mr. Somare stated that after Papuan New Guinea achieves independence the problem of the boundary will not be raised by his people and that Papuan New Guinea will remain a friend of Indonesia. In this connection, Adam Malik declared that with the signing of this treaty the question of the boundary has been settled and that all other problems can undoubtedly be settled in this way.

THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY

On February 20, Mr. E. Gough Whitlam, Prime Minister of Australia, arrived in Jakarta, for an official visit to Indonesia, which extended to the 25th. The Australian Prime Minister had talks with President Soeharto, Foreign Minister Adam Malik, as well as with economic and security officials. This visit of the Australian Prime Minister was an indication of that country's concern in the Asian world and particularly in Indonesia.

During Mr. Whitlam's stay in Indonesia, discussions centered on the problems of peace, economy, cooperation and security. The Australian Prime Minister expressed his thoughts and desires concerning the realization of a regional cooperation broader than that of ASEAN. In this connection, President Soeharto welcomed this desire for a broader cooperation, but remarked that this would surely require time in order to achieve a concrete realization. In reply, the Australian Prime Minister said that in such a case Australia would engage in careful consultation with her regional neighbours and give attention to the opinions and aspirations of these nations.

At this time was issued a joint communique of the Indonesian and Australian governments, welcoming the truce in Vietnam and expressing the hope that the major powers would promote peace in Southeast Asia. It was further explained that regional cooperation is a part of Australia's foreign policy; indeed it was even hoped that there might emerge a regional organization without any particular ideological tint, which would include all, in order to free the Asian and Pacific regions from outside interference. This ideal would be complementary to ASEAN and not a competitor nor a substitute for ASEAN. Also, Australia would immediately ratify a treaty concerning sea boundaries as well as the frontier treaty between Indonesia and Papuan New Guinea.

This month the world was shaken by an international monetary crisis as a result of a deficit in the balance of trade in the United States since 1971. In order to solve this problem a conference was held in Paris, at which Prof. Ali Wardhana, Indonesian Finance Minister, was present. In this connection Sudharmono, Cabinet Secretary, on February 13 announced that the full cabinet session of that day had declared that the exchange rate of US\$ 1.00 = Rp. 415,— remains unchanged. Also, that the Foreign Currency Exchange in Jakarta would remain open.

Since February 12 there has been in session a workshop of the Dewan Pembimbing Keluarga Berencana Nasional (the Advisory Council of National Family Planning). At the opening of the workshop President Soeharto expressed the following: "A large population increase, if not accompanied by a similar increase in social security can result in a social disaster". Continuing, the President indicated the characteristics of population statistics in Indonesia as follows: first, a tendency toward large increases (if the family planning program succeeds, the population of Indonesia in the year 2000 will number 220 million; if it does not succeed, the population in that year is estimated at 280 million); secondly, an uneven distribution of population (64% on the island of Java which covers only 7% of the territory of the country); thirdly, there is an imbalance between the group of those of productive age and the group of those below or above productive age.

Preparations for the MPR session rapidly increased at the end of the month of February. General Soemitaro, Deputy Commander of Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order, already had talks with President Soeharto concerning the problem of security in connection with the MPR Session. At the same time, President Soeharto stated that the amalgamation of the various political parties was a victory for the parties themselves, since they had succeeded in subjecting their own group interests to the larger national interests. This amalgamation does not mean the death of these parties, but on the contrary, a growth toward a healthy party concept. The President affirmed that this renewal of political structure took no less than three years — an indication of the democratic process in Indonesia.

MARCH — APRIL

The People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) held its General Session from March 12—24. The major items on the agenda in this General Session were: discussion of President Soeharto's accountability report, declaration of the Broad Lines of the State Policy, election of the President and the vice-President, and a review of decisions of the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly (MPRS).

THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY

The MPR is composed of 920 members, who were officially installed in October 1972. After the installation, the MPR formed a Working Committee which had as task to prepare the material which was to form the basis of the decisions of this March Session.

As to the proceedings of the General Session, the following may be noted: the MPR General Session was opened on March 12. On that same day President Soeharto gave the accountability report. After the rules of order for the session were approved, there were general comments from the various factions, and these were continued in committee sessions. The MPR Plenary Session of March 16 decided on the formation of three committees: Committee A with the task of discussing the scheme of the Broad Lines of the State Policy; Committee C to discuss the President's report. After these committee meetings had ended, the elections of the President and vice-President were held by the People's Consultative Assembly. Because all of the factions presented President Soeharto as their candidate, in this session which lasted no longer than eight minutes, the MPR declared General Soeharto as the President-elect. On the 23rd of March in the working session the inauguration ceremony was held, in which the President took the oath of office, gave his inaugural address, and was entrusted with the execution of all the MPR decrees. In the evening of March 23, the vice-President was elected. This, too, went smoothly and the choice fell on Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX as vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia. In this way, an office which has for a long period remained unfilled, was once more filled. On March 24, there was the ceremony of inauguration of the vice-President and at the same time the closing of the MPR General Session. The MPR Session of March 1973 issued eleven decrees:

- Decree I — on the Standing Order of the MPR.
- Decree II — on the Procedures of Election of the President and the vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia.
- Decree III — on the Account of Responsibility of the President of the Republic of Indonesia General Soeharto as Mandatary of the MPR.
- Decree IV — on the Broad Lines of the Policy of the State.
- Decree V — on Review of the Products of the MPRS.

- Decree VI — on Status and Working-Relationship between the Highest State Institution and/or among High State Institutions.
- Decree VII — on Incapacitation of the President and/or the vice-President.
- Decree VIII — on General Elections.
- Decree IX — on Appointment of the President.
- Decree X — on Delegation of tasks and Authority of the President, Mandatary of the MPR to come out Development.
- Decree XI — on Appointment of the vice-President.

It would seem necessary to note several points concerning the addresses of President Soeharto during this month, particularly concerning two very important addresses: his accountability report and his inaugural address as President-elect of the Republic of Indonesia for the term 1973 — 1978.

On March 12, coincident with the opening of the MPR General Session, President Soeharto presented his accountability report to this highest government body. This report is a constitutional command, which was carried out for the first time in the history of the Republic of Indonesia. For the first time a President gave a report of accountability before the highest government body, elected by the people. This address of 86 pages was divided into five parts, according to the division of cabinet responsibilities.

Concerning his task of ensuring political stability, the President outlined the history and background of the efforts toward political stabilization both within the country as well as outside it. Within the country political stability was achieved by carrying out the constitution according to their true spirit and by the promotion of unity. Furthermore, there were efforts to simplify the political structure. Despite the fact that there was pressure from within the society to carry on a drastic renewal of political structures, the government chose a way which was democratic and constitutional. However, this way has produced good results, with the amalgamation of the political parties into two major parties. Concerning foreign policy, President Soeharto stressed that during recent years efforts have been made to return to the realization

of free and active principles of foreign policy for national interests, as well as participating in efforts toward the realization of world peace. The realization of this foreign policy is not easily attained because of steps taken by Indonesia and the position held in her foreign policy in the past. However, it may be said that there have been satisfactory developments. The policy of confrontation has been ended, and has even progressed toward a regional cooperation in what is known as ASEAN. Gradually, Indonesia has been able to regain a certain trust in the world at large, a fact of no small importance for her own national development. In connection with the task of ensuring political stability, President Soeharto touched on the subject of the general election of 1971. We should be proud, said the President, that these general elections could be carried out smoothly and calmly, despite the fact that before the elections there was much tension. The general election which was conducted in an orderly and calm manner, had two beneficial results: first of all to foster a growth toward unity, and secondly to smooth the way for efforts in the simplifying of the political parties.

In connection with his task to ensure stability in defence and security there was a rather detailed report. Essentially efforts in defence and security were carried out within the framework of upholding Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. History has shown that every attempt to undermine or change Pancasila has failed. But the upholding of this ideology and of the constitution must be safeguarded by furthering development and social and cultural values. Indonesia must still make serious efforts to create an atmosphere of national resilience and national security. At the present time there are still activities from remnants of the September 30 Movement (G-30-S) as well as activities which attempt to disturb resilience and security. This can be done by always aggravating a situation which could cause anxiety and instability. In this connection the President asked that all exercise prudence in approaching the question of indigenous and non-indigenous Indonesians. The President also gave a report on communist activities. Reference was also made to political prisoners, a question which is also one of deep concern for the government. The government will make serious efforts, he said, to come to an immediate settlement concerning those accused of being directly or indirectly involved in the September 30 Movement. It is necessary to note

here that all political prisoners classified as "C", a total of some 80.000 have already been returned to society.

The President also gave an account of the steps already taken in carrying out the task of improving government apparatus. This matter is certainly not disconnected from the character of former policies, where government apparatus (offices) became the arena for party and political interests. Consequently, it is necessary that there be improvements and a cleaning-up in this area. For this purpose KORPRI (the Civil Service Corps of the Republic of Indonesia) was developed, so that in this way the whole government apparatus will more surely be directed toward serving the interests of the state. It was acknowledged by the President that although the system of budgeting had been improved, there was still waste. For this reason it is necessary that there be a phase of institutional improvement, personnel and management improvement, so that along-side a healthy political life, there exists the technical know-how to carry out the necessary tasks.

Following these remarks, the President opened his report on efforts in economic development. This matter was linked up with the Program of the Five-Year Development Plans. Essentially, economic development is a step-by-step effort to change the situation and this is carried on within the framework of giving a meaningful content to independence.

In this report the President also stated that ABRI (the Armed Forces) did not want power, but they only desire that the 1945 Constitution clearly and authentically be carried out. The President also stated the importance of a responsible freedom of the press and of expression, because all of these can be of great help in the national development. Finally, in this accountability report, General Soeharto expressed his gratitude to all who in any way support, help, and offer criticism.

Several days later, on March 23, General Soeharto gave his inaugural address as President-elect of the Republic of Indonesia. It was said by the President-elect that the day was an historical one, because for the first time a President of the Republic of Indonesia had been elected by the People's Consultative Assembly, the highest government body, its members themselves elected by the people in a general election. That this should occur after Indonesia had been 28 years independent, leads one to the conclusion that it had been a long, laborious effort and struggle to realize the constitution may not be regarded as finished with the closing

of this MPR General Session, because this is a never-ending task. And it also includes a task to realize continuous development in a concrete manner. This is because development is neither a utopian dream nor an easy promise, but an effort of visible hard work. For that reason, President Soeharto, as President-elect, would make no promises and give no grand utopian vision, but only promised to work hard. Finally, the President expressed a hope for the help and cooperation of all the people. "I also hope for supervision and advice from the people and their representatives and from those who echo the voice of the people".

On March 24, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX as vice-President-elect, in his inaugural ceremony, declared that man is the beginning as well as the aim and measure of development in Indonesia. Also stressed by the vice-President-elect was the necessity of a prosperity made concrete in the form of social justice. Furthermore, emphasis was placed on the importance of non-economic factors in the development efforts of the Indonesian people.

On March 23, General Soeharto also stated that the Cabinet was to be regarded as an outgoing Cabinet. On that same day, tribute was paid to the former Ministers and it was announced that a new Cabinet would be announced shortly.

On Tuesday afternoon, March 27, President Soeharto announced the formation of the new Cabinet, which was given the name of the Second Development Cabinet, and includes 17 departments:

Amir Machmud, Minister of the Interior

Adam Malik, Foreign Minister

Prof. Wijoyo Nitisastro, Minister of State for Economic, Financial, and Industrial Affairs, and Chairman of the National Planning Board

Soenawar Soekawati, Minister of State for the People's Welfare

Prof. Oemar Senoaji, Minister of Justice

General Panggabean, Minister of Defence and Security

Mashuri, Minister of Information

Prof. Soemitro, State Minister for Research

Prof. Siwabessy, Minister of Health

Prof. Aliwardhana, Minister of Finance

Prof. Sadli, Minister of Mining

Prof. Soebroto, Minister of Labour

Radius Prawiro, Minister of Trade

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Prof. Emil Salim, Minister of Communications

Prof. Soemantri Brojonegoro, Minister of Education and Culture

Prof. Mukti Ali. Minister of Religious Affairs

Dr. J.B. Soemarlin, Minister for the Reordering of the State Apparatus and Deputy Chairman of BAPPENAS (the National Planning Board)

Meanwhile, Ali Said was elevated to the office of Attorney General and Drs. Rachmat Saleh became Director of the Central Bank. In his speech during the installation of the new ministers, President Soeharto stated that the task of the Second Development Cabinet was to continue the efforts of the First Five-Year Development Plan (PELITA I) and to prepare the Second Five-Year Development Plan (PELITA II) by carrying out a seven-point program (Sapta Krida) of the Second Development Cabinet, namely:

1. Improvement of Political Stability
2. Improvement of Economic Stability
3. Improvement of Stability in the Security Field, including control of subversion.
4. Improvement in Development, based on the Broad Lines of the State Policy
5. Improvement in Welfare
6. Further Improvements in Government Apparatus.
7. General Election.

There also occurred a change in leadership of the Army of the Indonesian Republic. General Panggabean became Minister of Defence and Security, and General Sumitro then became Chief of the Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order, with Maj. General Charis Suhud as his deputy. Lt. General Surono was raised to the position of Army Chief of Staff, replacing General Umar Wirahadikusumah, while Maj. General Sayidiman was appointed Deputy Chief of Staff.

CONTRIBUTORS

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